How and why did I get here? A narrative inquiry into the paths to teaching of a group of EFL teachers in Hong Kong

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Abstract

The genesis for this exploratory narrative inquiry was high teacher attrition in a new vocational English programme in Hong Kong. The study sought to discover whether the paths to teaching of the remaining, successful teachers, as construed in their own accounts, might include commonalities acting as contributors to success. An understanding of such contributors could inform and enhance the teacher selection process. Seven non-native English speaking teachers of English participated in the study, in which they were interviewed and observed in their classrooms. Polkinghorne's (1995) framework comprising 'analysis of narratives' (thematic analysis) and 'narrative (storied) analysis' was adopted to respond to the research aim and questions. Thematic analysis of narratives across participants revealed four pertinent themes: (1) perception of a good fit between person and profession, (2) centrality of the student in the teachers' accounts (3) perception of teaching as an enjoyable and satisfying 'virtuous cycle' related to student achievement and (4) a high level of comfort with English as the medium of communication in the classroom. It was suggested that questions crafted to probe for these characteristics could enhance results in teacher recruitment interviews. Analysis of individual participant narratives using structural and literary techniques buttressed by observation data produced nuanced interpretations of the teachers set against the conceptual template of teacher motivation, career and identity derived from the literature and taking into account their cultural context. Portraits of these teachers add to the very limited literature to date on non-native English speaking teachers of English working in their home countries with students sharing their first language. The teachers' stories and stories of teachers produced in this study illuminate the lives of these members of the teaching profession. Finally, it is suggested that interrogating success is an appealing approach to uncovering knowledge about teachers and addressing educational problems.

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This dissertation is for my sisters, all of us raised by our mother to believe that we can do anything to which we set our minds.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"The good teacher's life is not an orderly professional pathway; rather it is a personal journey shaped by context and choice, perspective and values" (Jalongo and Isenberg 1995: xvii)

PART 1: STRUCTURE OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter provides an overview of the study which is the focus of this dissertation. It includes seven parts in addition to this brief introduction. Part 2 sets the scene, describing the impetus for the study, with an overview of its purpose and position in the literature. Part 3 outlines the research development storyline, describing the context of the study and stating the research aim and questions. Part 4 explains the theoretical context of the research and Part 5 discusses the selection of the research methodology. Parts 6 and 7 outline the significance and limitations of the study. Part 8 describes the organization of the dissertation into six chapters, with brief reference to the content of each.

PART 2: SETTING THE SCENE

When three of eight teachers of English as a foreign language recruited for a new, year-long programme are 'on their way out' just three months later – choosing or being asked to leave - alarm bells ring. The first questions asked by programme managers are 'what's wrong?' and 'why did they fail?' It is only after much reflection that the conclusion is reached that it could be more productive to inquire about what is 'right'; that is, what might account for the success of the remaining teachers. Therein lies the genesis of this research study.

The study is a narrative inquiry, using stories of paths to teaching provided by seven non-native English speaking teachers of English (five original and two replacement teachers) working in an innovative vocational English programme for secondary school students run by an educational institute in Hong Kong. The programme was designed as an alternative to the mainstream English language curriculum for students who needed a different opportunity to achieve school-leaving certification in the subject of English. It adopted a student-centred, activity-based approach with targeted language competency development and assessment.

The opportunity for the researcher to conduct the investigation came from her early involvement in the programme design, development and delivery. The study, which examines the paths to teaching as construed by teachers working effectively in the programme, offers the opportunity to hear their own stories about their paths to teaching. Within the body of literature on teachers and teaching, there is relatively little which examines in detail the way in which people choose to become teachers and how their paths to teaching develop. In particular, there is a dearth of literature on how and why non-native English speakers have become teachers of English. Stories told, heard, re-constructed and analyzed in the research study can provide new knowledge about members of a rapidly-growing and under-represented segment of the teaching profession.

PART 3: OUTLINING THE RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT STORYLINE

The problem

The researcher was invited to discussions between programme administrators and members of the senior management at the institute, who were concerned about the teacher attrition. At first, the senior management team suggested that the researcher might look further into the reasons for failure of the three teachers. However, further

discussion suggested that it would be more fruitful to consider the teachers who were deemed to be successful in their roles. Re-examination of all teachers' curricula vitae had found differences amongst individual teachers' background educations and job histories but no significant differentiation between the group of teachers who had left the programme and those who were deemed to be successful. It was agreed that the problem was the inability of the recruitment process to 'select' teachers who had the potential to succeed in the programme.

The programme

The programme is a competency-based English language skills development course offered to secondary schools, for students who are deemed to need an alternative to the mainstream curriculum in English language as a subject. Despite the fact that students in Hong Kong study English language as a subject from Primary 1, achievement levels can be very low. This vocational English programme, competency based and designed for focused skills development, is considered to offer a more appropriate learning platform for students who are struggling with the mainstream curriculum. The programme is benchmarked, with performance at a certain benchmark level recognized as equivalent to a minimal 'pass' in English language in the school-leaving certificate.

The programme includes approximately the same number of hours of instruction -210 - as in the mainstream curriculum. It is designed to enable teachers to engage students in the learning process and focus on the development of language competencies. It is considered innovative for a number of reasons:

- It adopts a competency-based approach focused on what students 'can do' in the language, using 'know about' the language as a means to an end, not an end in itself.
- 2. It uses materials developed specifically for the programme, not English (as a foreign language) textbooks.
- 3. Assessment is derived from and linked to the course materials and specific learning outcomes as defined in competency statements.
- 4. Teaching is done in three-hour blocks instead of the usual 35-minute classes and includes an intensive six-hour day, four-week session run in the summer.
- 5. A comprehensive teacher's guide reinforces a student-centred and dialogic teaching approach, with suggestions for delivery in each lesson.

The definition of teaching success

Teachers were deemed successful if they were motivated to continue in the programme, engaged themselves in follow-up sessions conducted monthly, were receiving positive feedback from the students collected under the programme's quality assurance framework and were seen in observation by supervisors to be using teaching and learning materials as intended and within the set time frames. Attention was also paid to indicators of learning progress amongst the students, who had been given pre-course assessments and who completed their first summative assessment about three months after the programme began.

The research purpose and agreement

Information was needed that could enhance the teacher selection process, which takes place 'before-the-fact' of teaching. The researcher suggested that there might be aspects

in the paths to teaching of these teachers, discovered from their own accounts, which included commonalities contributing to their success in the programme. It was then agreed that the research aim would be to find whether such commonalities existed, reference to which might enhance the effectiveness of the teacher selection process.

The researcher was given permission to conduct the study and the terms were negotiated. Initially it was suggested that the researcher would need to give management the results of the study to agree on before being written up; the researcher did not consent to do this and it was finally agreed only that the institute would not be named in the study. Programme administrators suggested that they distribute participant consent forms and encourage teachers to participate; the researcher, concerned about ethical issues related to 'persuasion', did not agree and carried out all communication herself, making the choice of participation as clear as possible. One teacher declined to participate.

Statement of the research aim and questions

The aim of the research study is to discover, from the teachers' own accounts, whether there might be commonalities in their paths to teaching, the recognition and understanding of which could inform and enhance the teacher selection process. The research questions were established within a framework of one main and three subquestions, as follows:

According to their own accounts, how do these teachers construe the routes by which they came to teaching?

- Why and how did they make the decision to become teachers?
- How does teaching fit into their lives?

• What views do they hold of teaching itself?

The three sub-questions were shaped in an iterative process during which the literature was examined for accounts of teachers' paths to teaching and taking into account both the dimensions of those accounts and their conceptual underpinnings.

PART 4: EXPLAINING THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The paradigm

The research purpose and questions locate the study in the interpretivist paradigm, within which reality is taken to be socially constructed (Gergen, 1999; Mertens, 2005). The researcher is trying to understand the "complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it" (Schwandt, 1994:118). The researcher's ontological position is that "human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as construct or make it" (Schwandt, 1994:125). The study is anchored in Blumer's (1969) theory of symbolic interactionism, with its view that "human reality is not simply 'out there' awaiting scientific study [but is] instead socially and symbolically constructed, always emerging in and relative to other facts of social life" (Sherman and Webb, 1990:124).

The approach

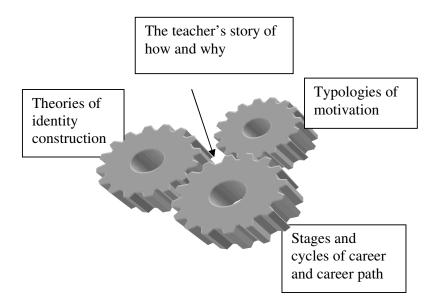
This is a qualitative study, located in the interpretivist paradigm as described above. It seeks information from research participants in order to understand how they construe their paths to teaching. The researcher is interested specifically in those paths, not in all aspects of the teachers' past and thus uses what Dimmock and O'Donoghue (1997) refer to as an 'edited topical life history approach'. In using interview as the principal method of data collection the researcher's epistemological assumptions are that such a process is interactive. The meanings derived in and from the stories are reconstructions, developed

both in the telling and through analysis and re-telling. Rather than seeing such reconstruction as threatening the idea of 'truth' in the findings, the researcher adopted the view that the layers of 'telling' provided richer interpretations of meaning.

The conceptual template

Notions of motivation, career and identity emerged from the initial search of literature relevant to the study of teachers' paths to teaching. These notions served as "a conceptual template with which to compare and contrast results, not [to establish] a priori categories for data collection and analysis" (Mertens, 2005). The sub-questions were mapped back to the three notions to ensure that responses would contribute to an understanding of the teachers' constructions. Figure 1.1 below illustrates the conceptual template. Note that the illustration is not a model; it does not suggest that any of the notions has a greater or smaller influence or that they occur in the same proportion across the teachers.

Fig.1.1 Conceptual Template



PART 5: SELECTING THE METHODOLOGY

Using the pilot interview process

The research questions were formulated to elicit data which could be examined for the research purpose. In the pilot interview process it became clear that the new knowledge produced in each interview illuminated the life of that teacher as a member of his/her profession. Each participant's story was thus of interest in itself. In addition, examination of each participant's story in comparison with the others would enable an investigation of possible themes across the data. Examination of the themes would enable a response to the research aim to enhance the teacher selection process. It was therefore important to employ a methodological framework enabling both the foregrounding of individual stories and the development of themes across the stories.

Examining narrative research

The data to be examined was present in the form of narrative - a powerful medium for the communication of information, ideas, thoughts and feelings - provided by the teachers. Narrative research studies and discussions of narrative methodology were reviewed. While multiple and sometimes confusing notions of narrative research methodology exist (Riessman, 1993, 2008; Mishler, 1999), there is a useful distinction between narrative research in general and narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry not only uses narratives, but adopts particular methods of analysis which reflect narrative's broad and diverse background in philosophy, psychology, history and literary research (Riley and Hawe, 2005). Thus narrative inquiry adopts "a particular view of experience as phenomena under study" (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006:477).

Building a framework for narrative inquiry

The work of psychologists Bruner (1985; 1986) and Polkinghorne (1988, 1995) provided the basis for a methodological framework for narrative inquiry. Bruner (1985, 1986) drew a distinction between paradigmatic and narrative cognition to argue for 'separate and equal' ways of thinking. Polkinghorne (1995) mapped the terms 'analysis of narratives' and 'narrative analysis' onto that framework. The former aims to discover themes across narratives; the latter develops plotted stories from individual narratives. This framework is 'fit for purpose' for the study, enabling both the examination of individual narratives as subjects of interest and thematic analysis across the narratives.

The expressions 'teachers' stories' and 'stories of teachers' are used by Connelly and Clandinin (1990:3) to refer to narratives in teachers' own words and from their perspective on the one hand, and narratives crafted about teachers by someone else on the other. Both 'teachers' stories' – constructed in participants' own words – and 'stories of teachers' – selected by the researcher from individual narratives and through thematic analysis across the narratives – inform, constitute and reflect the interpretive process in this study.

The narratives are viewed as experiential – that is, they are studied for the range of experience and participant reaction to that experience rather than principally to identify a series of 'events' within that experience (Squire, 2008). Drawing on the diverse background of narrative, the researcher chose to interpret the individual narratives through lenses of structural (Cortazzi, 1993; Polkinghorne, 1988) and literary (Mitchell, 1981) analysis. Structural analysis focused on content and theme, not on structural analysis of events according to Labov and Waletsky (1967). In addition, a review of the

interpretations as they were shaped suggested the application of the concepts of competing and conflicting stories (Clandinin and Connelly, 1995b). Competing stories indicate alternatives construed by a participant as choices which allow his/her life story to continue to play out. Conflicting stories place the participant at odds with his/her social environment and may result in the end of a particular story. For thematic analysis of narratives the researcher employed techniques outlined by Miles and Huberman (1994), with some reference to Cresswell (2003).

The study also included classroom observation as an opportunity to 'buttress' (Huberman, 1993) understanding of the participants. It was not the intention to use observation to triangulate findings in the sense of checking the 'truth' of participants' accounts. There is no reason in this research project to consider that what teachers say is in some way less trustworthy than what they do (Goodson, 1992b). Like Hayes (2009a) the researcher's purpose was to "record impressions of general teaching approaches...[and]...provide another perspective on what informants had to say about their classroom teaching" (2009a:3). Observation was conducted as an "active recording" of what was going on in the classroom, with reflections expressing the "personal, practical knowledge" of the researcher (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990:5).

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PART 6: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

In a state-of-the-art article reviewing research on non-native English speaking English language teachers, Moussu and Llurda (2009) include Canagarajah's (2005) assertion that "80% of the English teachers in the world are NNSs" [non-native (English) speakers] (2009:319). As examples, China is estimated (Bolton, 2004:388) to have about 500,000 non-native English speakers teaching English in secondary schools and

Thailand (Hayes, 2009a) reports just under 64,000 Thai teachers of English at primary and secondary school levels. Despite indications of growing interest, the volume of research on non-native English speaking teachers of English does not yet reflect the significance of their presence. As Medgyes (2000) notes, "On the whole, the study of the non-native teacher remains a largely unexplored area in language" (2000:445). This study will contribute to the relatively small but growing body of literature in that domain.

The Moussu and Llurda (2009) review and an examination of other literature on language teachers and teaching suggest that much of the research on non-native English speaking teachers of English is conducted within a frame of comparison with native English speaking teachers of English (see for example Clark and Paran, 2007; Medgyes, 1992; Reves and Medgyes, 1994; Seidlhofer, 1999; Shin and Kellogg, 2007). Some studies report on non-native English speaking teachers of English working in English-speaking environments (see for example Braine, 1999; Pacek, 2005). This study is not cast in that frame of comparison. It is interested in the research participants in the context of their paths to teaching, not in juxtaposition to the question of native speaker versus non-native speaker.

In two important studies on non-native English speaking teachers working 'at home', Braine (2005) provides biographies of non-native teachers framed by the history of English language teaching in their countries, while Tsui (2003) traces the background and practice of three teachers in Hong Kong to research expertise in teaching. Hayes (1996, 2005, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2009 in press) has explored the lives, motivation, commitment and practice of non-native English speaking teachers/teacher trainers of

English working in the state systems of Thailand and Sri Lanka. Hayes (2009a) contends that "the active agency of NNESTs [non-native English speaking teachers] as teachers within their own educational systems is insufficiently explored when we consider the numbers of teachers involved" (2009a:2). This study of a group of teachers working within the Hong Kong education system will help to fill that gap.

In particular, there are few studies on why and how non-native English speaking teachers of English choose their professions, perhaps reflecting the general situation suggested by Hayes (2008) that "TESOL literature seems little troubled by the reasons why individuals become English language teachers or the effect that initial motivation may have on commitment to the profession" (2008:473).

Research on the paths to teaching of non-native English speaking teachers of English in Hong Kong appears to be very limited. Tsui's (2003) study of teacher effectiveness includes the backgrounds of the three teachers in the study as only a minor part of the discussion. Lai et al (2005) examine senior secondary school students' views about teaching as a career but do not trace subsequent career choices. Trent and Gao (2009) examine the matter of second career non-native English language teachers in Hong Kong secondary schools, but principally to investigate identity development rather than paths to that second career. The present study will provide new knowledge in this relatively unexamined arena.

The study is also of significance in that it attempts to address a real problem. Silverman (2001) suggests that one of the hallmarks of a good qualitative research study is that it tackles a problem of "theoretical or practical significance" (2001:189). The problem that

this study tackles is a practical one – the issue of teacher selection. Results of the study will be used in an attempt to address that problem.

The methodology used in the study is of some significance. The researcher has not been able to locate studies of English language teaching and teachers that employ the Polkinghorne (1995) framework of analysis of narratives and narrative analysis to underpin interpretation. The assumption is that this is the first study of non-native English speaking teachers of English to do so. The results of the study illustrate the efficacy of the framework for a narrative inquiry which seeks to interpret individual stories to illuminate the lives of research participants and simultaneously explore the stories to locate meaningful themes across the participant group. Other researchers might wish to examine the use of the framework for similar studies, considering ways of enhancing its application.

Finally, although this is an exploratory study which does not, and did not intend to, produce generalizable theory, its process, findings and interpretations may be of interest to other researchers working with teachers and particularly with non-native English speaking teachers of English. Other teachers may find the stories of interest, comparing and contrasting them with their own. The stories may resonate also with teacher educators who seek to understand how teachers construe the relevance and value of teacher education and professional development programmes. That is, results of the study are transferable in so far as they inform other interests in the field.

In summary, the significance of this study is found in four areas. First, it addresses a gap in the literature, bringing new knowledge about teachers who as a group are under-

represented in the literature. Second, it addresses a real problem, adding measurable value to its effort. Third, it usefully employs a methodological framework to engage both narrative and paradigmatic analysis – a method which may inform and be further tested in other research. Finally, its results may interest and inform other researchers and practitioners in the field of education, thus lending 'transferability' to the study and its results.

PART 7: LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is of a small 'case' – seven teachers working in an innovative vocational English programme in Hong Kong. Although the intention was to sample every member of the 'population', one teacher chose not to participate. This meant that the sampling was not complete. The study is exploratory in nature and stops short of producing generalizable theory. It is instead an example of qualitative research in which the researcher seeks to understand how people construe a part of their lives. It cannot be generalized to use these participants as representative of non-native English speaking teachers of English in Hong Kong or elsewhere.

Eliciting the participants' constructions was done through interview and observation. Limitations related to the use of interview include issues of access, time and participants' construction of stories. The researcher interviewed participants at their places of work, for their convenience. This meant that some interviews were conducted in relatively noisy school environments, making it challenging on occasion to hear participants' words clearly when replaying the tapes for transcription. Teachers had limited time available for discussion with the researcher. Agreement was reached for

one long interview, to be followed up by email correspondence. The ability to return to certain topics in additional face-to-face discussion could have been useful.

Literature on interviewing makes frequent reference to the possible artificiality of the interview situation, in which participants may endeavour to present certain constructions on events and feelings that might not represent 'truth' (Sikes, 2000). This limitation was in part offset by the interviewer's position as a knowledgeable and empathetic insider and by the purpose of the interviews, which was to elicit participants' constructions, not 'truth' as identified in the logico-scientific paradigm (Phillips, 1997).

The researcher as insider may also be seen as a limitation. Participants may skew responses to what they perceive the researcher wants, in this case because of the researcher's role in programme design and development. However, when the pilot interviews revealed that risk in discussion about the current programme, the schedule was reshaped to ensure that participants were not directly asked to evaluate it. They did, in fact, state opinions about the programme quite frankly as part of discussion about their view of teaching.

Classroom observation is open to questions about the influence of the observer on what happens in the classroom and the influence of the observer's own perspective in the way in which observations are reported. In this study, the fact that teachers were not being evaluated through the observation was made clear; however one teacher reported that she was nervous about being observed. Students were used to observers in the classroom through course management quality assurance practices and the fact that

classrooms were open to visitors from the educational arena in Hong Kong. Observer bias was in part mitigated through the use of an observation protocol (Cresswell, 2003:188-9) separating descriptive notes from reflective notes.

Finally, researcher ability is a limitation. Narrative inquiry "has a long, strong and contested tradition. There are many approaches to narrative inquiry, emanating from diverse disciplines such as psychology, sociology, medicine, literature and cultural studies" (Riley and Hawe, 2005:227). In taking up a particular position and the use of particular analytic methods in this study the researcher is conscious of what *wasn't* chosen and the risks accompanying choices. The aim has been to use methods appropriate to the purpose, intention and questions of the research and to ensure that the rationale for these choices is made clear to the reader.

PART 8: ORGANISATION OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation comprises six chapters. A brief summary of each chapter follows here. The present chapter has introduced the study, providing the rationale for the research and its aim and questions. It has briefly described the theoretical position of the study and has explained the choice of methodology. Finally it has discussed the significance and possible limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews literature on teachers. It provides an overview of literature focusing on the teacher and then examines literature within the conceptual template comprising motivation, career and identity. The literature review aims to build an understanding of research relevant to this study and to highlight gaps in the field which this study can address.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology adopted for the study. It explains the theoretical location of the study and outlines the position of narrative inquiry in qualitative research. It then goes on to explain Polkinghorne's (1995) framework of narrative analysis and analysis of narratives. Sampling and data collection methods are described and the rationale and tools for data analysis are explained. It then lays out claims for credibility and trustworthiness of the research. Matters of ethicality and the role of the researcher are addressed. Finally, it discusses limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 discusses the findings of narrative analysis, showing how an 'interpretive spiral' was used to develop participants' stories and then successively 'thicker' stories of participants to respond to the study's three research sub-questions. Data is held up to the conceptual template of motivation, career and identity to build portraits of these teachers and investigate their stories for theoretical meaning. The final part in this chapter links narrative analysis to analysis of narratives, the subject of Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings and results of thematic analysis undertaken in the analysis of narratives. It highlights early findings in the analytic process and explains how four themes addressing the research aim were derived. It elaborates on the themes with material from the participants' stories. The chapter concludes with a summary of the efficacy of using the Polkinghorne (1995) framework in a narrative inquiry.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation, highlighting the study's achievements. It reviews the research process and revisits the matter of limitations. Finally it discusses theoretical and practical implications of the study and suggests opportunities for further research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

As outlined in Chapter 1, the aim of this study was to discover, from the participants' own accounts, whether there might be commonalities in their paths to teaching, the recognition and understanding of which could inform and enhance the teacher selection process. The participants in this study are non-native English speaking teachers of English, a group which, despite growing interest from researchers (see, for example Moussu and Llurda, 2009) still has limited representation in the literature on teachers and teaching. As Hayes (2009a) reflects, "It seems valid to echo Medgyes (2000:445) 'On the whole, the study of the non-native teacher remains a largely unexplored area in language education'" (2009a:2).

The study's research question and sub-questions are:

According to their own accounts, how do these teachers construe the routes by which they came to teaching?

- Why and how did they make the decision to become teachers?
- How does teaching fit into their lives?
- What views do they hold of teaching itself?

During pilot interviews it became clear that the definition of 'paths' and 'routes' to teaching, mentioned in the research aim and questions, was being construed broadly, encompassing childhood experiences, references to personality, descriptions of circumstances, explanations of reasoning and decision-making all along the 'way' of teaching, not just 'before' teaching, 'at the point' of entering teacher training or 'when beginning' teaching. The opening invitation 'Can you tell me about why and how you

became a teacher' elicited full-blown accounts that required few prompts along the way and generally ended with talk about the current situation.

An initial search for literature related to that broad definition of paths to teaching suggested the relevance of three notions – motivation, career and identity – which were subsequently chosen as the organizing conceptual template for the literature review. The notions are intersecting sets, influencing and influenced by one another. It can be argued that the notion of career, particularly as realized in life history research, (see for example Ball and Goodson, 1985b; Goodson, 1992a, 1992b; MacLure, 1993) encompasses both motivation (to take up a career in a particular profession) and identity (in terms of a professional identity which develops with experience in the career). However, for the purposes of exploring literature relevant to the research questions, the researcher chose to examine the notions separately, noting links amongst them where relevant.

There is limited literature related to language teachers (as differentiated from language teaching) and there are very few studies on language teachers in Hong Kong. For these reasons, the literature review also includes reference to research on teachers in general, particularly where that includes seminal studies (for example, Lortie, 1975; Huberman, 1993) related to motivation, career and identity in the teaching profession.

There are two purposes to this review. The first is to build an understanding of the research that can be drawn on to aid in the interpretation of data collected in the study. The second is to highlight gaps in knowledge about teachers' paths to teaching which

this study can address; in particular, gaps in knowledge about non-native English speaking teachers of English. In addition to this introduction, the chapter includes five parts. Part 2 briefly discusses the current centrality of the teacher in educational research, with the development of both 'stories of teachers' and 'teachers' stories' (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990) in the literature. Part 3 discusses literature on motivation, beginning with an outline of typologies of motivation to teach. It then examines studies in teacher and language teacher motivation. Part 4 discusses the notion of career in teaching. It outlines two broad treatments of career, describes narrative and paradigmatic approaches to teachers' careers and reviews literature on language teachers' careers. Finally, it makes reference to the literature on careers in general and examines two papers which resonate with the narrative approach taken in this study. Part 5 examines literature to illustrate the treatment of teacher identity and reviews the limited literature on language teacher identity. Part 6 concludes with a discussion of emergent themes in the literature related to language teacher motivation, career and identity and explains how the current study will contribute to those themes, filling a gap in the literature.

PART 2: FOCUS ON THE TEACHER

Until quite recently the position of the 'teacher' in educational research tended to be subordinate to that of the 'topic'. Early research in teacher education, for example, (see Noffke and Zeichner (2006) for a review of teacher education research and Crandall, (2000) for a review of language teacher education research) focused largely on programmes. In the mid-60's in the USA, educational researchers "wanted to conduct their research in the laboratory" and Campbell and Stanley's (1963) *Experimental and*

Quasi-Experimental Designs in Research on Teaching "became required reading for graduate students for at least a decade" (Kennedy, 1999: 512-13).

In the mid-80s Ball and Goodson (1985b) suggested that in the UK, the teaching 'role' had been the object of interest in educational research in the 1960s and then in the late 1970s "the bureaucratization and proletarianization of teaching" stimulated attention to teachers as "under dogs" (1985:8). In 2000, Goodson wrote "But this latter characterization of teachers finally opened up the question of 'how teachers saw their work and their lives'" (2000:15). He noted that even in 1981 he had argued that "new research methods were needed" (2000:15). "In understanding something so intensely personal as teaching it is critical we know about the person the teacher is..." (Goodson, 1981:69, in Goodson, 2000:16).

Notwithstanding concerns about the ways in which current education reform initiatives are again thrusting teachers into the background (see for example Day, 2000) there is now a significant body of literature in which the teacher is of central interest. Studies employing a range of methodologies including life history, ethnography, case study and narrative have focused on teachers and their views about their world (see for example literature on teachers in general: Clandinin, 1986; Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Goodson, 1992b, 1997; Huberman, 1993; Malm, 2001; Muchmore, 2004; Nias, 1981; Paris and Gespass, 2001; Rogers, 1986; Sikes and Troyna, 1991; Trevaskis, 2006; on language teachers: Bascia and Jacka, 2001; Borg, 2006; Cowie, 2001; Johnston, 1997; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Warford and Reeves, 2003 and on non-native English speaking teachers of English: Braine, 1999; Cheung, 2008; Hayes 1996, 2005, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; 2009 in press; Kamhi-Stein, 2004; Urmston, 2003; Tsui, 2003; Zhao, 2008).

Reflective practice is being encouraged in the domain of both pre-service and in-service teachers (Schon, 1991; Woods, 1996; Zeichner and Liston, 1996). The increasing recognition of action research as a legitimate mode of discovery also puts teachers themselves into the front line of academic discussion and theorizing (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989; Verma & Mallick, 1999).

This body of literature contributes to our knowledge of members of the teaching profession through the examination and understanding of both 'teachers' stories' – teachers' own voices – and 'stories of teachers' – description, analysis, theorising and reporting on teachers by others, including researchers (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990). Studies examined in this literature review do both; particular attention is paid to studies in which 'teachers' stories' are made available because they are of central interest in a narrative inquiry.

PART 3: BECOMING A TEACHER: MOTIVATION AND COMMITMENT

Introduction

This section begins with an overview of research which has produced early typologies of motivation towards teaching. It then examines data from studies which reflect on or add to those typologies, with particular attention to the work of David Hayes (1996, 2005, 2008, 2009a) and his focus on the lives of non-native English speaking teachers of English in Asia.

Three typologies of motivation to teach

Lortie (1975) suggested five themes to categorize motivations for becoming a teacher: 'interpersonal', 'service', 'continuation', 'material benefits and 'time compatibility'.

He contended that most teacher trainees would be drawn from the population that had done well at school, had enjoyed their schooling and were therefore willing to take up teaching as a profession, maintaining the approach that they perceived to have worked well for them.

However, Cole (1985), found that some teacher candidates exhibited a type of negative motivation; that is, they had been dissatisfied with their own education and entered teaching with a view to changing and improving the situation. Cole suggested that these pre-service teachers – 'innovators' - were those with a vocation for teaching. In contrast to this group, Cole found another group that he termed 'conservatives', who were less committed and who would consider leaving teaching if dissatisfied.

There appeared to be a drift into teaching: respondents found it difficult to pinpoint any particular time when a decision to teach had been made, or the reasons for it. Some used expressions like 'an assumption that I would be a teacher' to describe the gradual evolution of their choice of career during secondary schooling.

(1985:94)

Cole also noted that some student teachers were positive and expected to enjoy and stay in the profession. In conclusion, he was careful to note that his intention was not to generalize overall but to "uncover some possibilities, subtleties and complexities, and perhaps to formulate some hypotheses which future research might be designed to explore in greater depth and breadth" (1985:92).

Huberman (1988, 1993), in a landmark study of 160 teachers in Switzerland, developed a more refined and detailed typology of motivations under three broad categories: 'active' (deliberate, positive choice), 'material' (attraction of a decent, reasonably-paid career) and 'passive' (last resort, low-level commitment, default choice). Hayes (2008) suggests that to date "Huberman's ...work offers the most comprehensive means ...of classifying motivations to choose teaching as a career" (2008:473). An examination of the three models shows overlapping categories, with the Huberman (1993) model being the most informative.

Testing the typologies

Rinke (2008), in a recent review of research on teacher careers and teachers' professional lives, explored the literature on initial motivations, finding strong support for Lortie's (1975) themes of 'interpersonal' and 'service' with more limited support for the themes of 'continuation', 'material benefits' and 'time compatibility'. She also found what she termed two emergent themes – 'subject matter' and 'self concept'.

The theme of subject matter was seen in two American studies (Espinet et al, 1992 and Lyons, 2004). Participants in the Espinet et al (1992) study were science teachers while those in the Lyons (2004) study were urban education graduates. Teachers in those studies had either first liked the subject which they then taught or ranked the subject as "an extremely important reason for entering teaching" (Rinke, 2008:7). Although 'love of the subject matter' may have appeared as emergent in the studies examined, it was also one of the constituents within Huberman's 'active' motivation and in his 1993 study appeared strongly amongst teachers' reasons for entering the profession.

Liking for the subject matter was also identified as a strong motivator in a study in the UK (Younger et al, 2004) which focused on 36 secondary school trainee teachers. Linked to that 'liking' was the desire to 'pass it on', as illustrated by one participant "I've just always loved reading...and if I can foster that same sort of love in other people's children, that will be great" (2004:248). Earlier research in the UK (for example Reid and Caudwell, 1997; Edmonds et al, 2002) had similarly identified intrinsic reasons and positive experiences in schooling as major motivators for the choice of teaching as a career.

Subject matter as motivator is a theme of particular interest with reference to the choice of non-native English speakers to become teachers of English. Autobiographical accounts by four non-native English speaking academics who teach English (Lin et al, 2005) paint vivid pictures of their encounters with English as language learners and early positive perceptions of the language and English language learning and teaching.

Subject matter as a motivating theme is raised again in the voices of some of the participants in Hayes' (2008) investigation of Thai teachers of English. Using data from in-depth interviews with seven teachers, Hayes discussed the ways in which their own schooling and sociocultural/economic settings influenced their decisions to become teachers of English. Responding to the question about why she had become a language teacher, one participant said "I think the first thing was that I was good at English language and I like it" (2008:481). Another declared "I'm not that good but I love it, that's the main point for me to decide to be an English teacher" (2008:481).

Rinke's (2008) second emergent theme was that of self concept. In several of the studies investigated (Weiner, 1989; Sugrue, 1996; Schutz et al, 2001), participants either thought their personalities were suited to teaching or had been told that they would make good teachers. This theme of self concept as it appears not just in studies on initial motivation but also along the paths to and in teaching (see for example Nias, 1981, 1991 and Knowles, 1992) is revisited in Part 5 on the notion of identity.

Huberman's (1993) typology of motivations formed the background for the Hayes (2008) study mentioned earlier. In his investigation of Thai teachers' motivations for teaching, Hayes (2008) mapped participant responses to the Huberman (1993) typology, finding strong positive (active) motivation in three participants, active and material motivation in two and passive motivation in two. He noted that of the two who were passively motivated, one "was forced into teaching against her will by her mother – and, as a dutiful daughter in a socially conservative household, she acceded to her mother's wishes though without any enthusiasm" (2008:487).

Huberman's descriptors under passive motivation do not allow for that factor of 'dutiful acceptance', which is reminiscent of the discovery by Chen et al (2005) of the category 'required motivation' in English language learners in Taiwan. Chen and colleagues labeled this 'the Chinese imperative', suggesting that this differed from instrumental motivation in that it reflected the recognition of the expectations of parents and society rather than 'need' or 'gain'. This type of motivation may reflect sociocultural influences in Asian societies (de Zepetnek and Jay, 1997).

Hayes (1996) in an earlier study of "teachers' lives and careers in Thailand" (1996:177) also noted this theme of 'required motivation'. Investigating background motivations of Thai teachers of English at two in-service development centres in Thailand, Hayes interviewed and observed nine teachers/trainers. He compared his early findings with those of Huberman, noting that in Huberman's study where "choice on the part of the individual is taken for granted" (1996:178), this was not necessarily the case in Thailand, where his participants reported strong influence by family.

Hayes (1996) also suggested that for Thai teachers, motivation deriving from respect for the status of the profession did not map clearly to Huberman's definition of 'material' motivation as being characterized by the individual's desire for a higher social status. For one participant "...the motivation to join the profession appears to derive more from *respect* for the group as she experienced it, not a personal desire for improved social status" (1996:178).

However, Hayes' participants also appeared to signal that the matter of professional status was changing. Their words lead to the question of whether lack of perceived status, linked to lower monetary reward, will become a 'material' demotivator for those considering the profession.

At that time [15-20 years previously] education is, being a teacher is a successful career. [Interviewer: "Is it the same now?"] No, being a teacher is not, [it] can't make you a lot of money. ...It's the last choice [nowadays] for student to choose to be a teacher.

(1996:182)

[People in] another job look down [on] the Thai teachers because the Thai teachers get less salary than the other jobs and [they] don't want their children to be the teachers. I used to ask my students "You want to become the teacher?" Less of them answer me to be the teacher, because less salary is the main point.

(1996:182)

The theme of status in the teaching profession is taken up again in Part 3 on the notion of career.

Finally, Hayes (1996) noted that Huberman's (1993) 'active' motivation suggested modeling of a particular individual while the focus with the Thai teachers seemed to be more on the group as a model. However, Hayes did note some cases in which a teacher recalled a particular influence.

When I studied ...it's my first time that I saw an English teacher ... she comes from Canada and I like the way how she teach so I think maybe when I grow up I will be a teacher.

(1996:179)

This example returns us to Lortie (1975), his 'apprenticeship of observation' and the influence of key figures from teachers' own schooling and earlier life. Lortie's view that prospective teachers' experience as learners (their apprenticeship of observation) shapes them as teachers is now commonplace in the literature.

However, not all studies show teachers strongly influenced by their years as students. Hammond (2002), in an investigation into why 15 graduates were training to become teachers of information and communication technology, reported that: "This study

suggests that experiences of taking part in 'teaching-like' activities are more salient than experiences of being a learner when reaching a decision to train to teach" (2002:135).

Much of the information on motivation to teach is captured in teacher education programmes (Bradley, 2000; Jarvis and Woodrow, 2005; Kyriacou et al, 2003; Priyadharshini and Robinson-Pant, 2003; Thornton et al, 2002; Younger et al, 2004). Of interest is the Priyadharshini and Robinson-Pant (2003) study in which evidence was found of 'negative' motivation (Cole, 1985). The study of 34 trainees entering secondary school teaching as a second career in the UK looked at profiles of career changers and reasons for switching careers. The researchers identified five major reasons that can be categorized as push (away from what they were doing) or pull (attraction to teaching) motivating factors.

Push factors included dissatisfaction with previous work or career, changing life perspectives and desire for greater career stability; the latter two which then became pull factors as respondents considered what would satisfy the new perspective and desire. Pull factors included memories or experiences of school and the desire to make use of their subject knowledge (2003:100-106). With reference to school experience, "The idea was to either replicate their positive experiences for other children, or to try to improve what they saw as a system that had failed some" (2003:105).

Within that reference to respondents' schooling, Priyadharshini and Robinson-Pant (2003) found some evidence of what Cole (1985) had termed negative motivation. Talking about the reasons for going into teaching, one participant explained that

I had a bad time for about three years at secondary school myself. I was a maths drop-out and I went through a period when I did really badly and really I've got to the stage now where I would like to put back what I didn't get at that time.

(2003:105)

Another remarked on the difficult time he had had at school:

I got absolutely nothing out of it at all. I was made to feel I was a terrible waste of space, couldn't achieve anything, so I had a completely low opinion of myself – no self esteem at all.

(2003:105)

This respondent then contrasted that experience with the result of support from one teacher who then helped him find his way: "So...he influenced me and he influenced the way I would want to teach. [...] I would want to be able to identify kids who are good at something and give them joy" (2003:105). The example links the presence of Cole's (1985) 'negative motivator' with the subsequent influence of a positive role model, reminding us that motivational factors are not unconnected. It also suggests that the ability to "give [the students] joy" might signal satisfaction and on-going motivation – commitment - in the profession for that teacher.

From motivation to commitment

Lortie (1975) believed that people attracted to teaching were those who had been successful at school. That being the case, trainee teachers would be relatively unquestioning, content to accept the status quo and be committed to the profession and the continuation of established practices. Cole (1985) disputed this, suggesting that one category of trainees joined the profession to change it and 'right wrongs' because of their commitment to a vocation of teaching. He did, however, recognize that there

would also be conservative entrants to teaching. His point was that one shouldn't assume a homogeneous intake or a single motivation to join the profession. Cole (1985) also linked these two motivations to degrees of commitment to the profession, with the 'innovators' having a stronger commitment than the 'conservatives'.

In a study of Sri Lankan English teacher educators, Hayes (2005) made reference to Cole (1985), noting the view that "reasons for entering teaching may be seen to have an impact on commitment to the profession" (2005:176). Hayes found, however, that while the reasons for entering teaching varied greatly amongst his three participants and "...to varying degrees...were all influenced by context and by chance as much as, if not more than, personal predisposition" (2005:176), all demonstrated significant commitment. In the words of one of the teacher educators:

I don't think I weighed the pros and cons or the merits or demerits of teaching. The decision was sort of thrust on me. There was money, there was this job...and there were these eager students. They liked me and I liked them, and from that time onwards I think I really developed a great liking for teaching.

(2005:176)

The example suggests that for this teacher, commitment – signified by his 'great liking'
- developed as a corollary of his pleasure in the positive teacher-student relationship.

Hayes (2005) goes on to link commitment to a sense of vocation, present in all three of his participants. He points to the possible threat to vocation in the decreasing status of teaching as a profession. One of the teacher educators in the study echoes the Thai teacher (reported earlier from Hayes, 1996) when she says [My] "own children would never want to be teachers. Why? One thing is they know the gravity, the responsibility

and also the meager salary that they get. [...] Maybe, you know, looking at me they decided never to become teachers" (2005:180).

In another study, Hayes (2009a) investigated the sources of commitment for seven Thai teachers of English, finding these to be both external (for example, family encouragement) and internal (for example, motivation to do well). Commitment was reflected not just in abstract terms but in what the teachers did. In one example, a teacher took deliberate steps to try to improve the attendance of a group of students so as to enable them to meet the requirements of the course.

So I just try to look for them and then, you know, talk to them – not like in other teachers' ways but in my way. I gave them good reasons...they did [return] ... I was happy about these students and then they remembered me after they graduated from the school.

(2009a:8)

Hayes (2009a) found that a major theme in the voices of these teachers was that of enjoyment with teaching. He links enjoyment with satisfaction "...enjoyment in the interaction with students, in helping them to learn, remains a major source of satisfaction for teachers, whatever their situation" (2009a:8). Said one of the participants "When I teach I teach the students and I teach the subject matter. I teach the human being as well. I see him as a human being and also I give, I provide knowledge" (2009a:9). There is a suggestion here that commitment is shaped at least in part by teachers' regard for students and growth of enjoyment of their profession.

The studies reviewed in this part were selected for their 'telling' ability, rather than for their 'representativeness' (Mitchell, 1982). They provide a picture of commonalities in motivation amongst teachers in a wide range of settings which resonate with some of the early findings in the current study. The few examples of studies on the motivation to teach of language teachers and non-native English speaking teachers of English in particular, illustrate the need for more information on why these teachers choose their subject and their profession. Of particular interest to this study are the possibility of the influence of 'required motivation' and the notion of status as 'respect for the profession' in the context of an Asian teacher's choice to teach.

Hayes' work (1996, 2005, 2008, 2009a) was drawn on extensively in this part because of its focus on non-native English speaking teachers of English in Asia. In these papers Hayes' principal intention was to 'make known' the voices of his participants (Hayes, 1996:173) and their reasons for joining the profession. Interpretation is therefore limited to an examination of congruence between the voices and assumptions in early typologies of motivation. The current study will both add to voices of non-native English language speaking teachers of English and interpret their stories to provide a more nuanced portrait of the participants.

PART 4: PATHS TO TEACHING: CONSTRUING CAREERS

Introduction

There are two broad treatments of 'career' in the literature on teachers and teaching. The first takes a helicopter, macroscopic view of the question of career within the framework of teacher recruitment, selection, retention and attrition. The second traces the notion of career paths in the profession. The first treatment is described briefly

below; there is limited literature relevant to this study. The review then focuses on the notion of career paths in the profession. It discusses early teacher career models and then examines the positioning of career as experience. Literature related to language teacher careers is reviewed. Finally, the broader domain of career research is referred to and two papers relevant to this study are discussed.

Teacher recruitment, selection, retention and attrition: the helicopter view

This treatment of careers has traditionally taken what Clandinin and Connelly (2000) term a 'seeing things small' view in which the individual teacher does not figure. Studies in this approach tend to unpack 'career' as entries on sets of curricula vitae or employment records. Research in this arena is characterized by large-scale studies carried out or commissioned by government/political bodies or educational institutions. Such studies are often quantitative in nature, with the purpose of building an understanding of macro trends in, for example, teacher development programme take-up and completion, from which management bodies may take reference or which they may use as a basis for action (see for example Lai and Grossman, 2008).

Some studies include a focus on teacher retention and attrition (see for example, Boe et al, 1998; Marso and Pigge, 1997; Odland and Ruzicka, 2009), sometimes seeking to discover causes or reasons for patterns of behaviour in these two domains (see for example, Borman and Dowling, 2008). Some studies have engaged in deeper thinking about the puzzles of and reasons for these trends (see for example Cochran-Smith, 2004 and Watt & Richardson, 2008).

Research on teacher recruitment often explores recruitment linked to retention, in turn linked to satisfaction with the school setting. Guarino et al (2006), for example, review recent US-published empirical literature on teacher recruitment and retention. They suggest that empirical research has a role to play in helping policy makers understand the "advantages and shortcomings of various policies to recruit and retain teachers" (2006:173).

More recently in this macroscopic domain, however, attention has been turning to what teachers themselves have to say about the topics of study (see for example Day et al, 2006; Freedman and Appleman, 2009). Researchers looking into motivators to teach in order to inform the teacher training recruitment process are conducting qualitative studies in which teacher trainees are consulted for their views (see for example, Jarvis and Woodrow, 2005; Thornton et al, 2002). In a notable early study, Barone (1987) used a biographical case study to foreground the notion of 'fit for purpose' when he argued for "selection processes that enable the identification of progressivist ideals in teacher candidates" (1987:12). Barone adopted a biographical approach, seeking to discover from a future teacher "biographical influences on the development and early employment of her *pedagogical platform*" [author's italics] (1987:12).

There is little in the literature on the selection of teachers for particular programmes. Webster (1988) reports on validation studies of a teacher selection system. An article by Clement (2008) in the magazine 'Principal' discusses "behavior-based interviewing" - a technique Clement says is used in the business world - as an interview tool for discovering capability in applicants who are new teachers. Contending that "some skills can be generalized for all teachers", she suggests that "the interviewer can prepare questions that will ascertain whether the candidate has those skills" (2008:44).

In the skills and questions mentioned by Clement there is relatively little focus on such topics as the student-teacher relationship, student needs, the teacher's interest in the subject or how and why students are motivated to learn. It is not clear whether these would not be susceptible to behaviour-based questioning or whether interviewing for 'skills' precludes those topics.

Career paths in the profession

Huberman et al (1997) describe two main approaches within the literature on treatment of career path. These are patterns of career path and 'underlying dynamic' on the one hand – "presented in propositional rather than in story form" (1997:14) and life stories and professional case histories on the other – "career as experienced" (1997:13). Huberman et al (1997) liken the distinction to that drawn by Bruner (1985, 1986) between paradigmatic and narrative modes of cognition. The distinction is also made by Polkinghorne (1995) in his framework for the treatment of narratives, which informs the methodology in this study. Discussion in this section first briefly outlines three 'propositional' career models and then examines narratives of 'career as experienced' against these, focusing on notions of career for language teachers. Distinctions between the two approaches are sometimes blurred (Rolls and Plauborg, 2009) by the introduction of theories that intersect with both (for example Measor, 1985). Links and intersections amongst the concepts of career, identity and motivation are highlighted.

Teaching career models

Three foundational models are those of Sikes (1985), Huberman (1993) and Fessler and Christensen (1992). Sikes (1985) postulated five stages in a teacher's career, all linked to approximate ages of the teachers. Huberman (1993) developed a model around seven major themes, also linked to years of teaching. (1993:37). The Fessler and Christensen

(1992) teacher career cycle model is similar to those of Sikes and Huberman in that it also refers to stages in career, but progression is not linear. Fessler (1995) later expanded his model to link career, professional development and aspects of life. More recently, Day et al (2006, 2007), in the VITAE project (Variation in Teachers' Work, Lives and Their Effects on Pupils), broadened the study of career to include the matter of teacher effectiveness throughout the career. Six career phases linked to years in the professions were identified.

None of these models suggest that teaching careers progress through 'climbing a ladder' of promotion and successively higher positions. Rinke (2008), drawing on Bicklen (1995) and Yee (1990), noted that "literature on teachers' professional lives does not view careers in the traditional sense of upward mobility through a series of formal organizational benchmarks" (2008:7).

An examination of the models suggests three points of particular reference to the current study. First, the context is a national schooling system. Second, there is an assumption of a uniform mode of entry to teaching through teacher education. Third, this assumption informs the discussion of career entry and the first phase of teaching. The table below illustrates treatment of that first phase in the four models.

Table 2.1 Career model descriptions of first career stage

Author	Term	Description
Sikes,1985	Entering adult world	Shock, followed by development of subject expertise
Huberman, 1993	Career entry	Survival & discovery; wanting to try
Fessler & Christensen, 1992	Induction	Adjusting to reality
Day et al, 2007	First 3 years	High level of commitment

(from Rolls & Plauborg, 2009:10-13)

Measor (1985) links career to identity in her study of critical phases in a teacher's life. She argues that critical incidents "provoke the individual into selecting particular kinds of actions, they in turn lead them in particular directions, and they end up having implications for identity" (1985:61). Measor listed six critical career phases where important decisions by the teacher are required. She identifies the first of these as the decision to enter teaching and then links others to years of teaching, career moves and promotion and pre-retirement (1985:62).

Career as experienced

Teacher life history studies take a holistic approach to the study of career (Goodson, 1992a, 1992b; Goodson and Sikes, 2001; Woods, 1985; Knowles, 1992) and offer important information in the voices of the teachers themselves. In such studies the notions of motivation, career and identity are intrinsically linked.

Career studies increasingly incorporate an interest in professional development along career paths (Johnson and Birkeland, 2003; Keltchermans, 1993, 2009; Pomson, 2004; Watson, 2006). The scope of such studies is broad, encompassing teacher careers at primary, secondary and tertiary levels (Fugate and Amey, 2000; Keltchermans, 1993).

Keltchermans' (1993, 2009) 'narrative-biographical' (2009:30) approach is examined more closely here. He states that:

...in the narrative- biographical perspective on teachers' work lives, one is less interested in teachers' formal career (the chronological list of positions a teacher takes up over the years), but rather looks at the so-called subjective career, i.e. teachers' personal experiences in their professional lives over time

(Keltchermans, 1993)...we are not...so much interested in teachers' experiences as historical facts, but rather in the meaning these events have for the people who live them.

(2009:30)

Keltchermans (2009) notes that in his approach he collects and analyses teachers' stories to produce what he calls career stories. He sees career stories as

...constructed in the act of telling: they are told and can be retold. Their importance and relevance lies not so much in their historical truth but rather in their power to reveal the particular meaning events had for the teacher.

(2009:31)

Like Clandinin and Connelly (2000); (see also Clandinin, 1986; Connelly and Clandinin, 1999), Keltchermans (2009) refers to the context of the teacher's career – its time and space. He also notes the presence of critical incidents and persons in the teacher's career, stressing that

...the critical character of ...incidents, persons and phases lies not so much in the incident, person or phase as such, but rather in the meaning they had and have for the narrator. [They] are identified in retrospect and are as such 'constructed' by the storyteller.

(2009:33)

Keltchermans (2009) stresses the difference between his approach to career, grounded in teachers' subjective experience, and the approach in the Sikes (1985), Huberman (1993) and Fessler & Christensen (1992) paradigmatic models. Unlike Measor (1985),

Keltchermans does not assign critical phases to a particular career stage. Keltchermans' purpose is to produce not generalizable models but "career stories, which reveal how teachers make sense of career experiences and what they learn and take with them in their future perceptions, deliberations and actions" (2009:32).

Rinke (2008) comments on the retrospectiveness of much research on career in the teaching profession and, echoing Keltchermans' aims, suggests that it could be enhanced by attention paid to teachers' own stories - their perspectives - perhaps also encompassing research into job satisfaction. Johnson (2004) moves from retrospectiveness to write about the next generation of teachers and what will be needed to locate, recruit and retain them.

Even where researchers speak of 'life cycle' in writing about teachers, they generally define that cycle as beginning with teacher education. Hayes (1996) referring to Sikes (1985), writes that "Sikes [...] explores the life cycle of secondary school teachers, from entry into the profession until retirement" (1996:176). Keltchermans (1993) used a questionnaire with participating teachers to ask them to "reconstruct [their] former career chronologically", assuming that the first of such work entries would be the starting point for discussion (1993:94).

There is little treatment of career as part of the path to teaching where that path circumvents formal teacher training or is traced through, for example, the development of a particular knowledge or skill set without reference to courses on pedagogy. Grossman (1989) reported on analysis of three un-trained graduate teachers of English (as a subject) in the USA, to "examine more closely the nature of these teachers'

pedagogical understanding of subject matter that is informed by their past and present experiences, rather than by a program of professional preparation" (1989:192). Of interest in the study are the voices of the teachers talking about how they entered the profession and thus returning to the links between motivation and career. None had planned to be teachers.

Jake – having originally planned to pursue medical studies but not doing so immediately after initial graduation: "I needed a job. I like literature and I figured I'd be around it....Because I love literature is why I decided to teach English" (1989:194).

Kate – having intended a career in theatre, having thought again about the difficulties and having gone to Japan to teach English language

I found to my astonishment that I was using the exact same constellation of skills and talents that I had developed in theater and that had attracted me to theater, but I was doing, accomplishing the same things much more effectively in the classroom...So in the classroom, you're doing the same things. You're probing people, you're trying to bring out the best in people.

1989:195)

Lance – having decided not to take up an academic career despite completing a doctorate, explained why he had not sought formal preparation for teaching: "too airyfairy […] (not much more than) "a rap session" (1989:197).

Bayer and Brinkkjaer (2009) make the point that teachers' careers are located in the context of their workplace. They use the concept 'workplace curriculum' "understood as a post hoc curriculum which, more or less implicitly, prescribes certain elements in

the content of teachers' professional learning...to add a situated learning perspective to studies of teachers' career trajectories" (2009:94). Using data drawn from their longitudinal study of teacher career trajectory in Denmark, the authors comment:

It strikes us that the school's workplace curriculum does not, to any great extent, give any indication that teachers are expected to get better at teaching over time....mastery of teaching does not necessarily result in any great benefit to a teacher's career. Teaching cannot in this regard be considered a career in a positional sense, but as a kind of entrance requirement or threshold.

(2009:115)

The last study reviewed in this section is one from Hong Kong. Cheung (2005) conducted a study into Hong Kong secondary school teachers' understanding of their career paths, examining results in relation to particular models of career development. Her starting point was the beginning of the teachers' careers and her focus the changes during the career. "The key question was: try to think back over your career as teacher, what were the major changes that you went through? What factors caused these changes to occur?" (2005: 134).

Although she notes in her findings that participants did mention personal contextual factors: "Pre-professional life experiences (secondary schooling, religious beliefs, personality, family education and background)" (2005:138) as having some influence on career change she did not pursue this aspect in her research analysis and conclusions. Cheung does suggest that:

A deeper and more careful look at the teachers' subjective world in their careers

– their biographies, satisfaction, dilemmas, aspirations, etc – would help to give
a better picture with regard to teachers' choices, attitudes and actions.

(2005:146-7)

Language teachers' careers

Research conducted into the professional careers of ESL/EFL (English as a second language/English as a foreign language) teachers (Bascia and Jacka, 2001; McKnight, 1992) has suggested that the profession of English language teaching exists out of the mainstream of education, thus making the concept of career difficult to define. Johnston (1997) asked "whether in fact these [EFL teachers'] lives can best be conceptualized in terms of careers and profession or whether other theoretical approaches might be more fruitful" (1997:681).

Johnston's (1997) subjects were EFL teachers in Poland, both native and non-native speakers of English. Using Bakhtinian analysis, Johnston concluded that "in teachers' discursive presentations of their lives, teachers' life-story narratives do not appear to be present" (1997:681). His reference was to the fact that none of his participants had initially set out to be teachers of English and none referred to a sense of vocation. Nor did his participants express a unitary 'teacher' identity. Hayes (2008) points out an important context to this research, which is that of teachers working outside the state school system. Teachers on that periphery may well view their careers as more fragmented, less stable and less predictable than do teachers working within a state system.

Borg (2006), in a large-scale study with 200 pre- and in-service teachers to explore the existence and nature of distinctive characteristics of teachers of English as a foreign language, notes that some participants mentioned "the wide range of qualifications for and routes into English language teaching...as a distinctive characteristic of this field" (2006:15). Whether this characteristic was considered helpful or hindering was not mentioned.

McKnight (1992) describes career aspirations of native English speaking teachers in adult EFL/ESL, showing that there are significant disconnects between what these teachers aspire to do and the reality of their positions. Simon-Maeda (2004) echoes this theme. Skinner (2002) discusses the 'disconnect' between teacher training and the workplace for native English speaking ESL teachers.

One language teacher study tested the Huberman (1993) model of career stages. Waites (1999) examined the careers of teachers of English as a second language in Geneva and Sydney to discover whether the Huberman (1993) career phase model could be applied to other groups/situations in the teaching profession. Results of the study suggested that the teachers had significantly more variation in their career cycles and that the unpredictability of the profession may have made it more engaging for the participants.

This contrasts with other studies, (for example, see Johnston, 1997), in which the unstable aspect of the profession of language teaching is seen as a disadvantage. Keltchermans' (1993) study, while not of language teachers, also illustrates the desire for stability amongst some teacher groups. His study of ten Belgian primary school

teachers showed that striving for job stability was one of two important and consistent themes in their career stories, the other being perceptions of vulnerability.

The notion of the attractiveness of unpredictability resonates with the adoption of a presentistic outlook (Lortie, 1975). Warford and Reeves (2003) noted that for participants in their study of novice TESOL teachers, one aspect of presentism "came from a sense of one's own life experience as being serendipitous, a philosophy connected to this 'falling into' sense of their professional life" (2003:59).

A note of caution: Warford and Reeves (2003) conclude that underlying the uniqueness of the presentism context in TESOL is "recognition of the socio-political complexities of the profession; and a day-by-day outlook on life that may come from either a sense of interpreting one's experience as serendipitous or Evangelical Christianity" (2003:60). While the formation of this aspect of a model for a "novice TESOL teacher coherence system" (2003:60) may be legitimate for the cohort examined, it is scarcely credible in a wider context.

Finally, Hayes (2005) makes a telling point about assumptions in the definition of 'profession' in TESOL.

There is a tendency within TESOL when we talk of it as a 'profession' to assume that we are speaking of the concerns of NS [native speakers]: hence the debate over whether it is really a profession at all (see Maley, 1992). The experience of NNS [non-native speaking] teachers of English within their own state education systems does not figure in this debate. Clearly for NNS in their

own government schools, colleges and universities teaching English is their profession.

(2005:189)

Hayes (2005) speaks of "...the virtual absence of any research into the lives and careers of non-native speaking English teachers in countries beyond the west (as well as within it)..." (2005:174) and then adds that "It is, however, perhaps important to see teachers of English in countries such as Sri Lanka as *teachers* within their state systems first, and *teachers of English* second" (2005:189). This is interesting with reference to the participants in the current study, some of whom very decidedly state their identity as language teachers first and exclusively, even though they are working within a type of state system.

Hayes (2005) reports quite significant differences between career perceptions of his participants (three Sri Lankan teachers of English in their state system) and those in the Johnston (1997) study. He also notes his participants' continuing commitment to the field:

All have remained in teaching for a considerable number of years, have derived satisfaction from it, and, in those cases where outside work has been pursued, this has also been teaching-based....none...seem to have suffered from diminished energy and commitment, even though [two] are in the later stages of their career. This is in contrast to what has been found in the UK, with Sikes' (1985) age-related phases of a teacher's career in the 50-55 age range, and Day and Bakioglu's (1996) developmental phases of head teachers' careers where 'disenchantment' characterizes the latter phase.

(2005:185)

The studies reviewed suggest that the notion of career for language teachers is more varied and perhaps fragmented than for teachers in general, although as Hayes (2005, 2008) notes, language teachers working within their state systems may not reflect that pattern. It can be argued that Bayer and Brinkkjaer's (2009) concept of career as unfolding through professional learning is applicable across teachers of all subjects and in all contexts. The notion of professional learning led the researcher to look into the broader domain of literature on careers in work and career theory (Blustein et al, 2004; Bosley et al, 2009; Bujold, 2004; Holland, 1997; Inkson, 2004). Two papers – Bujold (2004) on the construction of career through narrative and Inkson (2004) on metaphorical images of career - are of most interest to this study because of their resonance with a narrative approach to career.

Bujold (2004) suggests that a narrative approach to career accords with the way in which career development actually operates:

...the conceptualization of narrative substantially differs from what other traditional approaches to career...propose. For example, one of the evaluation criteria of a good theory, in the traditional perspective, is its capacity to explain, and predict a reasonable number of phenomena. Career development, however, through the multiple decisions that it requires and the risks that it involves, and because of the individuals' unique ways of dealing with obstacles, unforeseen events, various circumstances, change, and inner conflicts, can be considered, at least in part, as a creative process.

2004:471

Bujold (2004) also discusses narrative and career theory, drawing on Cochran (1990, 1991) and Polkinghorne (1990) to explain the efficacy of narrative as story-telling to explain career development. Bujold's paper links the notion of career back to life story and history (Goodson, 1992; Huberman et al, 1997) and confirms the potential power of 'a person's story' to tell the 'story of a person'. Bujold's discussion also draws attention to links between narrative, identity and career, referring in particular to the view of McAdams et al (2001) that:

...people make meaning of the transitions in their lives through the construction and the sharing of their stories, and ... the stories they make and tell about the major transitions in their lives contribute to their identities, affect their perception of the future, and contribute to their positionings in the social and cultural world.

(2004:475)

Bujold's paper is illustrative of the trend to the use of a qualitative approach and a focus on participants' stories in the domain of career research (see for example recent issues of the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*).

Inkson's (2004) discussion of metaphors as images of career is the second article of interest. He describes nine key metaphors derived from theoretical and practical work in career. In Chapter 4 of the current study the researcher uses this typology as an interpretive tool in the narrative analysis of the participants' career stories. The metaphors are described briefly in Table 2.2 on the following page.

Table 2.2 Nine career metaphors

Metaphor	Description
Legacy: career as inheritance	Influences of family, social structure
Craft: career as construction	Internal agency, creativity, choice
Seasons: career as cycle	Stages linked to age, intersections of family and career cycles
Matching: career as fit	Matching personal and occupation characteristics
Path: career as journey	Career as movement, in any direction
Network: career as encounters and relationships	Embedding of career within social systems
Theatre: career as role	'Doing' career through performing job roles
Economic: career as resource	Ownership of one's own career, management of career by the organization
Narrative: career as story	Narrated by ourselves, giving meaning to accounts

From Inkson (2004:100-106)

PART 5: PATHS TO TEACHING: PERSPECTIVES ON IDENTITY

Introduction

This study adopts the perspective that "our lives are storied and identity is narratively constructed" (Smith and Sparkes, 2008:5). Within that perspective, Polkinghorne (1996) cautions that

...the identity stories gathered as data for narrative research are not mirror reflections of people's experientially functioning identity stories. The gap between the publicly presented story and the lived identity story requires that researchers infer from their collected told stories the actual operating stories (or story fragments) that inform the lives of their subjects.

(1996:366)

Identity is considered neither static nor fixed, but "constantly shifting, unstable and multiple" (Johnson, 2003:788 on teacher identity, with reference to Norton, 1997; Norton Peirce, 1995). Nias (1991) and Knowles (1992) relate professional identity to concept of self, arguing that concepts of self influence teachers' development and practice, which in turn develop into a 'concept' of professional identity. Kelchtermans (1993) discusses self-image and self-esteem as components of teacher identity, suggesting that professional identity comprises self-image, self-esteem, job motivation, task perception and future perspective.

With reference to Keltchermans (1993) Day et al (2006) conclude that "a positive sense of identity with subject, relationships and roles is important to maintaining self-esteem or self-efficacy, commitment to and a passion for teaching" (2006:604).

With that background, discussion in this part first draws on research to illustrate the treatment of teacher identity and then examines research in language teacher identity. It seems appropriate to begin with the note of caution provided by Beijaard et al (2004). Reviewing recent research on teachers' professional identity, they conclude that "the concept of professional identity was defined differently or not defined at all" (2004:107) in those studies. "Most of the researchers saw professional identity as an ongoing process of integration of the 'personal' and the 'professional' sides of becoming and being a teacher" (2004:107).

Treatment of teacher identity

Beijaard et al (2004:122) identify four significant features of teachers' professional identity as expressed in the studies reviewed:

- (1) professional identity as an *ongoing process* of interpretation and reinterpretation of experiences...
- (2) professional identity implies both *person and context*. A teacher's professional identity is not entirely unique
- (3) A teacher's professional identity consists of sub-identities that more or less harmonize. The notion of sub-identities relates to teachers' different contexts and relationships...
- (4) Agency is an important element of professional identity, meaning that teachers have to be active in the process of professional development

(2004:122)

Beijaard et al (2004) go on to note that "...in most of these studies, the relationship between professional identity and personal practical knowledge was assumed but not explained" (2004:123). They make an exception, however, for the studies about stories.

In the studies on stories that (re)present professional identity, particularly in that of Connelly and Clandinin (1999), this relationship was made explicit: the authors increasingly noticed that teachers' answers to their questions about knowledge seemed to be answers to questions about identity.

(2004:123)

Connelly and Clandinin (1999) refer to 'stories to live by' in their discussion of how teacher identities are developed.

The identities we have, the stories we live by, tend to show different facets depending on the situations in which we find ourselves. This is no less true for teachers in their professional knowledge landscapes. Different facets, different

identities, can show up, be reshaped and take on new life in different landscape settings.

(1999:94-5)

Nelson (2008) echoes this theme of change. "As the experiences of our lives take us into new spaces and places, our 'stories to live by' become threaded with the new stories of experience we encounter therein." (2008:217). Drawing on Clandinin and Connelly (2000), she adds "to study experience...implies the study of shifting identities. One cannot be done without the other" (2008:217).

Clandinin and Connelly (1988) have long contended that teacher knowledge is fundamental to teacher identity. Xu and Connelly (2009) state that "Teacher identity expresses personal practical knowledge gained in experience, learned contextually, and expressed on landscapes of practice" (2009:223). With reference to teacher education programmes, they add that

A teacher education reformer may think that what is intended is value neutral and therefore easily learned by teachers. But teacher knowledge is personal knowledge and anything taught to teachers as knowledge-for-teachers becomes teacher knowledge and touches the very heart of who teachers are by touching their identity as teachers and as persons. (2009:223)

In contrast to the discussion above, Bullough (2008) sets the idea of 'performing' against the idea of 'living' a professional identity. He describes, from earlier research (Bullough, 1992) two beginning teachers he saw who were either not able to act out a professional identity or who had chosen one that didn't fit. In the first case the teacher was uncertain as to the shape of identity, allowing herself to be entirely influenced by

her situation. In the second case the teacher had decided that a strict, disciplinarian persona was the only way to manage the classroom situation. In another case, a colleague, preparing to teach, said ..."time to put on my teaching mask.... It's like playing a part. I have a teacher's face that I wear when teaching" (1992:65-66).

Ball and Goodson (1985b) had earlier made reference to the "separation …between teacher and person" (1985b:18), noting that "For some a career in teaching becomes an odyssey in search of forms of teaching work where this dichotomy can be abandoned or reduced" (1985b:19).

Language teacher identity

Research interest in English language teacher identity is growing (Duff and Uchida, 1997; Inbar-Lurie, 2005; Johnston, 1999, 2003; Kubanyiova, 2009; Llurda and Huguet, 2003; Medgyes, 2000; Pavlenko, 2003; Pennington, 2002; Seidlhofer, 1996; Simon-Maeda, 2004; Varghese et al, 2005; Tsui, 2007; Reis, 2008; Moussu and Llurda, 2009). Three examples - the Varghese et al (2005) review of three perspectives on language teacher identity, the Pennington (2002) paper on teacher and teaching identity in TESOL and Tsui's (2007) study of identity formation in a Chinese teacher - are examined more closely. The Varghese et al (2005) paper includes examples of identity theories applied to language teachers. The Pennington (2002) paper is of interest because of the author's background in working with non-native English speaking teachers of English. Tsui's (2007) study is a narrative inquiry using a single theoretical construct.

Pennington (2002) refers to

Two different orientations [for the identity of teachers of English to speakers of other languages]. One is...derived from social psychology, which provides perspectives on teachers' social identity. The other...is derived from the teacher education literature, which provides perspectives on teachers' professional identity.

(2002:1)

Discussing social identity in teaching itself, Pennington notes:

Teachers who construe or construct themselves as part of an in-group to which their students also belong create a co-identity with their students which gives them a sense of responsibility for and participation in their students' learning process and progress. The effect of this constructed in-group status or co-identity with students is a strong bonding between teacher and students that influences the students to have a strong commitment to the teacher and to the class. In this sense, the students also co-identify with their teacher and perform accordingly.

(2002:4)

The assumption here is that teachers have the ability to construct an "identity of pedagogy" (see also the third study in Varghese et al, 2005, below). In this notion we hear a teacher's voice in Hayes (2009a) "So I just try to look for them and then, you know, talk to them – not like in other teachers' ways but in my way. I gave them good reasons…they did [return] (2009a:8).

Varghese et al (2005) postulate the appropriacy and robustness of viewing language teacher identity from more than one perspective, suggesting that it is not necessary to argue the superiority of any one theory. Using three different studies of identity, they

juxtapose social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), situated learning theory (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and concept of the image-text (Simon, 1995) to enable "a richer and more useful understanding of the processes and contexts of teacher identity" (2005:21).

The authors' comments on the three theories are linked to and limited by the three exemplar studies. In reviewing the first study, they comment that the limitations of social identity theory "lie in the reliance on oppositional and static social categories. ...this does not allow us to look at the evolution of ...teacher identity" (2005:27).

The second study examined the ability of situated learning theory to illuminate identity formation in a group of bilingual teachers undergoing professional development and seeking to apply their learning to classroom teaching. The focus of discussion here was on the ways in which the teachers negotiated their identity within the teaching profession, with reflection on implications for teacher education. Teacher education is not the direct interest of the current research study; however, the authors' comment that "Situated learning...makes the link between learning and identity by viewing learning as an identification process" (2005:29) resonates with the Bayer and Brinkkjaer (2009) discussion of career and the 'workplace curriculum'.

The third study discussed image-text theory, which describes a picture of 'the way we do things around here' that develops through the juxtaposition of perceptions, practices, instruction modes and teacher-student interactions. The researchers examined the way in which a teacher might deliberately build a particular methodology – a pedagogy – to project a certain identity and the effect of doing that. In this study, the teacher found that "those aspects of his personal or professional identity that might be of pedagogical

value would need to be contingently discovered, based on emergent factors in the classroom" (2005:32)

One caveat to the Varghese et al (2005) study is the authors' reference to "a disempowered and marginalized profession such as language teaching" (2005:37), a notion to which two of their studies speak. That is not the context within which the current study takes place.

An important study in identity formation of language teachers is Tsui's (2007) narrative inquiry of the experience of a mainland Chinese person as a learner and teacher of English as a Foreign Language. Tsui draws attention to three major issues in the study of teacher identity in TESOL: "the multidimensionality or multifaceted nature of professional identity...the relationship between personal and social dimensions of identity formation [and] the relationship between agency and structure of identity formation" (2007:657-8).

Tsui's theoretical framework for the discussion is Wenger's (1998) framework on the dual process of identification – identification and negotiability of meanings. Within that framework she develops a highly coherent story of one EFL teacher's emerging identity. Tsui concludes that "The narrative inquiry of Minfang's experiences as an EFL learner and teacher shows that teacher's identity formation is highly complex" (2007:678).

Within the discussion of language teacher identity there are studies on the position of language teachers in the teaching profession, exploring themes of marginalization and inferior status as noted in Varghese et al (2005) above, whether for native speaking or non-native speaking teachers (see for example Duff and Uchida, 1997; Braine, 1999; Simon-Maeda, 2004, Jeon, 2009). Braine (1999) expressed concern about the possible lack of identity for a non-native English speaking teachers of English and the risk that such lack might "lead to low self- confidence and to an acute sense of one's marginalized, unstable status in the profession" (1999:xvii). The themes of native versus non-native teacher and threats to identity from constraining political and cultural forces are not pertinent to the teachers' situation in the present study and are not explored further in this review.

Finally teacher and teaching identity may also be looked at in contrast to teacher and teaching methods and techniques. Britzman (1991) contends that "role speaks to function whereas identity voices investments and commitments" (1991:29). Mayer (1999:5) contends that "Learning to teach can be learning the skills and knowledge to perform the functions of a teacher or it can be developing a sense of oneself as a teacher. In the former, one is "being the teacher", whereas in the latter, one is "becoming a teacher" (in Clarke, 2009:187).

PART 6: CONCLUSION: EMERGENT THEMES AND MISSING PIECES IN THE LITERATURE ON LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Emergent themes

This literature review has revealed several emergent themes in the study of language teachers. An overarching theme is the growing attention to and recognition of the voices of these teachers themselves, a reflection of that trend in studies of teachers in general.

A second overall emergent theme reaching across the discussion of motivation, career and identity is that of teachers as individuals, less easily fitted to categories of identity or life stages of career. The teachers and their contexts have changed and will continue to change in this postmodern world, making it more challenging to describe them in terms of generalities.

The development of this second theme is perhaps to be expected as a corollary of the attention to teachers' voices, through which an understanding of an individual person is as important as that person's contribution to the compilation of a 'whole' such as a typology or model. At the same time, an understanding of individual teacher voices offers the opportunity to map them back onto typologies/models/notions of motivation, career and identity to add dimensions, nuance and richness to those constructs while recognizing that there will be no perfect fits.

With reference to teachers of English as a second or foreign language, two worrying themes in respect of motivation, career and identity can be seen. One derives from assumptions about language teachers operating within a marginalized and under-valued subset of the profession. The second highlights the contentious positioning of non-native and native English speaking teachers of English.

A counter-theme emerging in a very limited literature to date is the discovery that nonnative English speaking language teachers working within their state systems may neither consider themselves marginalized nor construct their professional identity in terms of comparisons with native English speakers. That counter-theme is set within the larger emergent theme of non-native English speaking teachers of English working in their own countries and sharing the first language of their students. That growing literature both mirrors and stimulates recognition that the majority of English language teachers in the world do not speak English as a first language and do have the ability to function both competently and confidently within the teaching profession.

Missing pieces

The 'missing pieces' in the literature are in part foreshadowed in the brief discussion above. There are few studies on non-native English language teachers working 'in their own right', even though they constitute the majority of English language teachers. This means that the literature is skewed towards themes drawn from information about native English speaking teacher contexts and contexts in which native and non-native English speaking teachers are described in terms of contrasting and sometimes conflicting identities.

Voices of non-native English speaking teachers of English are thus rare in the literature. Although there is a growing literature on the position of English language teachers in countries such as China, many such studies discuss teaching rather than teachers and many report results of large studies using methods consistent with a quantitative approach which tends to subdue individual voice.

Within the body of work on non-native English speaking teachers of English there is limited research on their paths to teaching, encompassing motivation towards teaching, perceptions of career and the development of identity. In particular, there are very few such studies of Chinese teachers of English in Hong Kong. Studies of teachers in general which treat motivation to teach tend to focus on why one *became* a teacher

rather than on why and how one *chose a particular path* to teaching. Career cycle models, for example (Sikes, 1985; Huberman, 1993; Fessler & Christensen, 1992) suggest that teachers enter the profession directly from initial teacher education programmes. Paths to teaching are understood to be those depending from or including such formal programmes.

There is little research on the paths to teaching of non-native English speaking teachers of English where the definition encompasses time before or instead of enrollment in formal teacher education, Tsui's (2007) study of one Chinese teacher being a notable exception. Hayes (2008) notes that recent literature on non-native English teachers includes references to their experiences and beliefs but "does not address in any depth the reasons for individuals to become teachers" (2008:476). There appear to be no studies which seek to link 'paths to teaching' to a selection process for a teaching programme (Barone, 1987, being the exception with reference to selection for a teacher *education* programme).

Finally there is a 'missing piece' of a much broader nature in respect of the cultural context for discussions of motivation, career and identity in general. While there is not room here for an extensive examination of differences between 'Western' and 'Eastern' cultures, it can be noted that much literature in the domains of motivation, career and identity assumes a Western culture in which the foregrounding of the individual is almost unquestioned (see Polkinghorne, 1996 on McAdams, 1996). There is room to question whether there are other, perhaps 'collectivist' influences, particularly on the notion of identity, for teachers coming from an 'Eastern' culture.

Contributions from this study

With reference to emergent themes and missing pieces discussed earlier, this study with its narrative inquiry approach contributes to the emergent theme of attention to language teachers' voices. It adds to the examination of teacher motivation and career typologies/models and explores interpretations of professional identity in this group of language teachers, taking into account possible influence of an 'Eastern' cultural context. Focusing on a group of non-native English speaking teachers of English working 'in their own right' it helps to counter-balance a tendency to themes that focus only on a minority of teachers of English – native English speakers.

In doing so, the study addresses a particular gap in the literature – knowledge about non-native English speaking teachers of English. Given the explosion of English language learning, national aspirations towards competence in English and the expanding variety of programmes (see Graddol, 2006) in Hong Kong and beyond, non-native English speaking teachers of English will be of growing importance on the landscape of teaching and learning. This study will add to the literature on teachers in Hong Kong and enhance knowledge about an important member group in the teaching profession. Non-native English speaking teachers of English are receiving increased attention but are still under-represented in the literature, in which there are many more 'stories of teachers' than there are 'teachers' stories'.

Finally, this study addresses a real issue – the matter of teacher selection for a particular programme – a topic on which the researcher could find almost no literature. Some scholars see the addressing of such issues as most important, in that "the very point of educational research is to help provide specific solutions to particular problems" (Johnston, 1997:683 referring to Donmoyer, 1990).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

This study aimed to discover, from the participants' own accounts, whether there were commonalities in their paths to teaching, the recognition and understanding of which could inform and enhance the teacher selection process. The main research question and sub-questions were: According to their own accounts, how do these teachers construe the routes by which they came to teaching?

- Why and how did they make the decision to become teachers?
- How does teaching fit into their lives?
- What views do they hold of teaching itself?

The study was shaped as a narrative inquiry, in which narrative was both the phenomenon to be investigated and the method of inquiry (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006). This chapter outlines the methodology of the study.

In addition to this brief introduction, the chapter comprises eight parts. Part 2 sets out the theoretical location of the study. Part 3 locates narrative inquiry in the domain of qualitative research and explains how it is defined and handled in this study. Part 4 explains the adoption of Polkinghorne's (1995) framework of narrative analysis and analysis of narratives as the methodological anchor for the study, outlining the application of principles and tools within that framework. Part 5 discusses the methods of sampling and data collection. Part 6 explains the rationale for and procedures of data analysis, with a brief retrospective meta-narrative explaining how and when the need for the Polkinghorne (1995) framework was recognised. Part 7 attends to the questions of credibility and trustworthiness. Part 8 addresses ethicality and the researcher's role.

Part 9 explains the limitations of the study.

PART 2: THEORETICAL LOCATION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This part discusses the paradigm in which the study is located and the rationale for a qualitative approach. It outlines the place of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) as the theoretical anchor for the study and then draws links between symbolic interactionism, narrative and life study. Finally it describes the edited topical life history approach adopted to focus the study.

Paradigm and approach

The study seeks to discover how the participants construe the 'how and why' of becoming a teacher. It understands that each participant will construct his or her own reality of that path. The 'what' of the story, as told in documented *curricula vitae*, does little to explain the paths taken. The interpretations of those paths belong to the participants and it is the narratives of those interpretations which will respond to the research questions. An understanding of the nature of the data to be collected locates the study in the interpretivist paradigm, in which knowledge is considered to be socially constructed (Schwandt, 2000).

The nature of the study is exploratory, focused on in-depth and iterative collection and analysis of data to discover and understand participants' construction of meaning and build new knowledge, not to test an established hypothesis. It takes a qualitative approach, the strengths of which are argued by Miles and Huberman (1994):

Qualitative data...are a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts...good qualitative data are more likely to lead to serendipitous findings and to new integrations...

Finally, the findings from qualitative studies have a quality of "undeniability". Words, especially organized into incidents or stories, have a concrete, vivid, meaningful flavor... (1994:1)

A qualitative approach is congruent with the interpretivist paradigm as explained by Denzin and Lincoln (2000):

The word *qualitative* [authors' italics] implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researchers and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasize the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress *how* [authors' italics] social experience is created and given meaning.

(2000:8)

Underlying assumptions: symbolic interactionism

The assumptions underlying the approach taken in this study are those embodied in the theory of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969). Symbolic interactionism theorizes that people make sense of their worlds by finding meaning in the objects with which or whom they are associated, in accordance with three premises:

- Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them
- 2. The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows
- 3. These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters (1969:2)

Blumer (1969) asserts that such meaning-making takes place not just in group interaction but also in individuals with themselves as objects; that is, in their constructed views of themselves, their reflective processes. He notes that "the use of meanings by the actor occurs through *a process of interpretation*" [author's italics], that this is "an instance of the person engaging in a process of communication with himself" and that "it is necessary to see that meanings play their part in action through a process of self-interaction" (169:5).

The premises of symbolic interactionism underpin a study which seeks to understand the sense that the participants make of their paths to teaching: how and why initial decisions were made, where and how relationships and events might have played a role and how the participants interpret these elements in construing their paths to teaching, their professional identity and teaching as part of their lives.

Symbolic interactionism, life history and narrative

The telling of stories about paths to teaching involves the telling of some part of life history. Muchmore (2004) notes that "life history research has a basis in the sociological tradition of symbolic interactionism in which meaning is viewed as a social creation achieved through human interactions that are mediated by language or symbols" (2004:64). Minichiello et al (1990) find "a fundamental affinity between the central tenets of symbolic interactionism and life history research" (1990:152), building on arguments presented by Plummer (1983) that individuals function in and can not be separated from a social world, that individuals experience a world in their own terms as their lives develop, and that different individuals may see the same situation differently. Widdershoven (1993) links narrative and life history, suggesting that individuals'

personal stories of experience make up a "narrative identity...the unity of a person's life as it is experienced and articulated in stories that express this experience" (1993:7).

In investigating these paths to teaching the study is adopting a partial life history perspective. The researcher deliberately asked participants for their narratives about how and why they became teachers. She did not ask questions, for example, about the full extent of the participants' childhoods or all the events marking the paths to adulthood. The perspective is bounded by the time and space that a participant decided to include in recalling life events, influences, people and decision-making related to his/her becoming a teacher. Dimmock and O'Donoghue (1997) term such a bounded perspective an 'edited topical life history approach'.

PART 3: NARRATIVE INQUIRY IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Introduction

This part begins with a discussion of the position of narrative research in the literature. It then provides definitions of narrative and narrative inquiry adopted for this study. Since members of the academy hold differing views of narrative research, it then foregrounds four issues in narrative inquiry to signal the researcher's recognition of the need to be 'wakeful' (Clandinin et al, 2007) throughout the research process.

Background

Narrative research has been termed part of the "reformist movement" (Polkinghorne, 2007:472) in academic research in which qualitative studies have come to the fore. The majority of narrative research lies within the interpretivist paradigm, with narrative researchers focusing on "how individuals assign meaning to their experience through

the stories they tell" (Moen, 2006:5). Bruner (1986) suggests that narrative inquiry's focus on people's sense-making of themselves and their experiences started from the mid-seventies, when "the social sciences had moved away from their traditional positivist stance towards a more interpretive posture" (1986:8).

Narrative research has a "long, strong and contested tradition" (Riley and Hawe, 2005:226), in disciplines including, for example, education (Barone, 2007; Bell, 2002; Bruner, 1996; Carter, 1993; Clandinin and Connelly, 2000; Clandinin et al, 2007; Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Cortazzi, 1993; Cortazzi and Jin, 2000; Gudmundsdottir, 1997; Jalongo & Isenberg, 1995; Witherell and Noddings, 1991), sociology (Mishler, 1995; Riessman, 1993, 2008), literary studies (Mitchell, 1981), cultural studies (Bruner, 1990, 2002), psychology (Bruner, 1985, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1988, 1995) and medicine (Holloway and Freshwater, 2007; Riley and Hawe, 2005).

Barone (2007) acknowledges this varied background, suggesting that

...the narrative turn in the social sciences and the humanities arose out of [a] complex set of developments in academic culture. Prominent among them were the prior legitimation of qualitative research, the successes of postmodern theory, and the incursions of literary criticism into the field of philosophy.

(2007:467)

This broad background to narrative inquiry accounts for the wide range of analytic tools adopted in narrative analysis. Those selected for this study are described in Part 4 of this chapter.

Connelly and Clandinin (1990, 1999, 2006) have researched and written in the field of

narrative inquiry in educational research for over two decades. (See also Clandinin,

1986, 2007; Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). They claim the first use of the term

narrative inquiry in the field of educational research (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990;

Clandinin et al, 2007). Connelly (1995) in a foreword to Teachers' Stories (Jalongo and

Isenberg, 1995), notes the changes in focus in the social sciences, the shift from

discussion of the researcher's point of view and experience to that of the respondent's

and his view that "narrative is now quite widely accepted as a legitimate research

approach" (1995:xii).

Riessman (2002) acknowledges that "There is no binding theory of narrative but instead

great conceptual diversity" (2002:229). Carving a path through that diversity is

challenging and begins with the need for clear definitions of narrative and narrative

inquiry.

Definitions of narrative and narrative inquiry

This study defines narrative according to Polkinghorne (1988) and Lawler (2002):

Narrative is the fundamental scheme for linking individual human actions and

events into interrelated aspects of an understandable composite...a meaning

structure that organizes events and human actions into a whole, thereby

attributing significance to individual actions and events according to their effect

on the whole.

(Polkinghorne, 1988:13-14)

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[Narrative is an] account which contains transformation (change over time), some kind of 'action' and characters, all of which are brought together within an overall 'plot' [and that] are a central means with which people connect together past and present, self and other.

(Lawler, 2002:254)

The epistemological assumption behind this composite definition is that storying is meaning-making. This study interprets such meaning-making in terms of the three premises of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969).

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) distinguish between the 'story' told by the research participant and the 'narrative' constructed by the researcher. They refer to 'teachers' stories' as those told by teacher participants, reflecting their own perceptions and experience of realities. They use 'stories of teachers' to reflect the distance between researcher and researched in the bulk of research which limits itself to others' (including the researchers') opinions and findings about teachers. This study uses 'teachers' stories' to refer to the teachers' voices and their constructions as revealed in interviews. 'Stories of teachers' refer to stories constructed by the researcher in the research report. Within this framework, listening to and transcribing of interviews are considered bridging points between teachers' stories and stories of teachers.

•

As stated briefly at the beginning of this chapter, the study uses the definition of narrative inquiry proposed by Connelly and Clandinin (2006):

Arguments for the development and use of narrative inquiry come out of a view of human experience in which humans, individually and socially, lead storied lives. People shape their daily lives by stories of who they and others are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Viewed this way, narrative is the phenomenon studied in inquiry. Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story, then, is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular narrative view of experience as phenomena under study.

(2006:477)

The study focuses on narratives captured in interviews and developed through classroom observations, using narrative inquiry methodology to investigate these with reference to the research purpose and questions. The position reflects Moen (2006), for whom "...the narrative approach is a frame of reference, a way of reflecting during the entire inquiry process, a research method, and a mode for representing the research study" (2006:2).

Four issues in narrative inquiry

With reference to 'contested' areas of narrative research, Alvermann (2000) suggests that "...thematically, the issues...cluster around what is commonly referred to as 'the postmodern critique of narrative inquiry.' This critique is concerned primarily with three issues: subjectivity, truth claims, and representation" (2000:1). The fourth issue is a concern about analytic rigour in narrative research.

By subjectivity is meant the 'insider' position of the researcher with its consequent effect and the need to acknowledge both position and effect. The researcher thought her insider position in this study would help to establish a comfortable and collegial setting for interactions with participants. She adopted a careful reflexive process, including extensive memoing, to keep her 'wakeful' (Clandinin et al, 2007) to risks of skewing in participants' accounts and/or bias in the researcher's selection and interpretation of data.

Truth claims relate to the positions taken about the veracity of stories. Phillips (1997) for example, from the perspective of the positivist paradigm, questions lack of attention to the 'epistemological warranty' of narratives. Bruner (1985), on the other hand, discusses verisimilitude of narratives, stating that "...believability is the hallmark of well-formed narrative" (1985:99). This study attends to the ways in which participants construe their paths to teaching, recognizing that all such constructions are themselves interpretations.

The issue of representation raises questions about "...the assumed link between a narrative that tells about a real person's life and the text that explores that life" (Alvermann, 2000:7). While recognising that "There is no clear window into the inner life of a person" (Denzin, 1989:14, drawing on Derrida, 1972), a deliberate attempt was made in this study to give room to 'teachers' stories' as their own representations.

Concerns about analytic rigour in narrative research arise from the plethora of approaches to narrative analysis and the descriptive nature of narratives themselves. They also arise from what has been termed the 'celebration' of narratives (Atkinson and Delamont, 2006) in postmodern work (see for example Hendry, 2007) wherein stories

may be positioned to 'speak for themselves' without the application of traditional analytical processes.

Because narrative draws on such a diverse background, it is treated with a wide range of analytic tools. Cortazzi's (1993) models of narrative analysis based on sociological/sociolinguistic, psychological, literary and anthropological disciplines highlight this range. Riessman (2008) comments on the different focuses that a narrative researcher may take, from, for example, themes, episodes or events, the order in which things happen or are told to the way in which interaction unfolds. Table 3.1 shows sample topics and approaches in narrative educational research to illustrate the range.

Finally, narratives are by definition descriptive. While some researchers such as Kramp (2004) state that the narrative researcher's role is principally to attend to that description, others question whether description 'counts' as analysis (Atkinson and Delamont, 2006). The position taken in this study is that the representation of 'participants' stories' and the examination and interpretation of those stories to build 'stories of participants' linked to the conceptual template framing the literature review constitute rigorous treatment of the data. That analytic approach is consistent with the purpose of 'narrative' which "looks for particular conditions and is centered around the broader and more inclusive question of the meaning of experience" (Bruner, 1986:11-13.

Table 3.1 Narrative research in education: some topics and analytical approaches

Author/s	Frame of Study	Analytical approach
Barkhuizen 2008	Context in language	Writing and sharing stories to build a layered,
	teaching	three-level story of context
Connelly &	Studies of teachers and	Descriptive and calling on new narrative language
Clandinin 2006	school reform	'living, telling, retelling, reliving' (p. 478)
Court	Feminist life history in the	Foucaultian analysis
2004	research of co-principals	
Craig	School reform	Story constellations
2007		
Golombek &	Teachers of English as a	Narrative inquiry as a mediational space; teachers'
Johnson 2004	second/foreign language	written narratives
Kelchtermans &	Teacher socialisation	Narrative-biographical and micro-political
Ballet 2002		approach
Rex et al	Teachers' stories of	Prose paragraphs: looking at content and
2002	pedagogy	pedagogical function
Rippon and	Primary teachers in first	One plotted story to provide insight into emotional
Martin 2006	year of teaching	dimension of identity attainment
Rosiek &	Teacher education	Genre and sub-genre
Atkinson 2007		
Tsui 2007	EFL teacher identity	Identity theory (Wenger)
	development	

PART 4: THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK: NARRATIVE

ANALYSIS & ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES

Introduction

This part discusses the theoretical foundations of Polkinghorne's (1995) framework for a narrative research methodology.

Theoretical foundations

The methodological framework for the study, posited by Polkinghorne (1995), is based on the distinction between paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought made by Bruner (1985, 1986). Bruner's discussion of paradigmatic and narrative cognition was set within the mesh of argument about the privileged position enjoyed by logical, scientific thinking – what Bruner termed paradigmatic cognition. His position was that two different forms of thinking – paradigmatic and narrative – exist and should be

afforded equal status. At the same time, Bruner drew attention to significant differences between the two:

...they differ radically in their procedures for establishing truth. One verifies by appeal to formal verification procedures and empirical proof. The other establishes *not* truth but truth-likeness or verisimilitude...the one seeks applications that are context free and universal, and the other seeks explications that are context sensitive and particular.

(1985:97)

Bruner (1996) later argued the cross-referencing of these two modes of thought. Each may inform the other; for example a narrative may be used to explain the results of a paradigmatic study while paradigmatic analysis may be used to develop understanding of narrative data.

Polkinghorne (1995) used Bruner's (1985, 1986) explication of paradigmatic and narrative modes of cognition to construct a rationale for what he termed the analysis of narratives on the one hand and narrative analysis on the other. Polkinghorne (1995) suggested that in *analysis of narratives* the research study has data that consists of narratives or stories. The purpose of the analysis of those stories is to establish common categories or concepts of which the stories are examples or illustrations. The researcher wishes to discover, from the individual stories, common attributes that will define the overall concept.

In contrast, the purpose of *narrative analysis* is to understand human action. The data comprises a series of actions and events, with the 'story' appearing only after analysis.

Polkinghorne suggested that the work of narrative analysis is the composition of events and actions into a story. The analysis seeks to link events in order to account for a final outcome and how that might have come about. "The storied production that is the outcome of the research is the retrospective or narrative explanation of the happening that is the topic of the inquiry" (1995:18).

Narrative analysis, then, aims to produce an understanding of the situations described by participants, rather than to use those situations as instances from which to draw emerging themes. Polkinghorne (1995) refers to events and actions. In this study, these are interpreted according to Bruner (1985):

It [the narrative mode] operates by constructing two landscapes simultaneously. One is the landscape of action, where the constituents are the arguments of action: agent, intention or goal, situation, instrument. Its other landscape is the landscape of consciousness: what those involved in the action know, think, or feel."

(1985:99)

Bruner (1990) referred to the ability of narrative accounts to provide "the basis for interpreting why a character acted as he or she did. Interpretation is concerned with "reasons" for things happening, rather than strictly with their "causes". The loose link between intentional states and subsequent actions is why narrative accounts cannot provide causal explanations" (1990:7). In this study the 'cause' of the teachers' satisfactory performance in the role was not sought. Although paradigmatic, thematic analysis of the teachers' stories was conducted, it was to discover the possibility of

'reasons' which might contribute to satisfactory performance, not 'causes' of that performance.

The aim of narrative analysis is to achieve an understanding of the actions of a particular participant and how they contribute to a final outcome for that participant. The analysis provides an explanation of how the information provided by participants makes sense. There is no attempt to link the information amongst participants as examples of overriding categories or concepts. Barone (2007) suggested that "Because this recasting of data into a storied form is more accurately described as an act of textual arrangement than of analysis, I prefer the term *narrative construction* for this research approach" (2007:456). However, it can be argued that textual arrangement is itself a form of analysis involving selection and interpretation.

Thick description (Geertz, 1973) has a significant role to play in this type of analysis since it is through such description that the elements in the data repository are made most revealing. Polkinghorne (1995) states that this type of analysis is "not merely a transcription of the thoughts and actions of the protagonist, (but) a means of making sense and showing the significance of them in the context of the denouement" (1995:18). The analysis illuminates the voices of the research participants.

Kramp (2004) returns us to the relationship between the two forms of analysis. Concluding her discussion of the Polkinghorne (1995) framework she states that:

These methods of narrative inquiry are not inherently contradictory. They can be complementary. Used together, they provide a rich analysis of the stories your research participants shared with you in their interviews. An analysis of the

narratives that leads you to identify the individual and the shared outcomes would certainly inform and shape the plots you construct when you create your storied analyses.

(2004:120)

Operationalising the framework

Perspective

The narratives in this study are those of personal experience. The perspective taken is that of experience-centred narrative research, in contrast to event-centred narrative research. Event-centred narrative research (Labov and Waletsky, 1967) views a narrative as a text and focuses on the events told in that text. Labov's six-part model (abstract, orientation, complicating action, result, evaluation, coda) is used to analyze the text (Andrews et al, 2008; Cortazzi, 1993; Riessman, 1993).

Experience-centred narrative research is defined by Patterson (2002) as "texts which bring stories of personal experience into being by means of the first person oral narration of past, present, future or imaginary experience" (2002:128). In Patterson (2008) she argues that:

...it makes no sense to treat the complexity and subtlety of the narration of experience as though it *should* [italics the author's] have an orderly, complete structure by reducing it to the one type of text that conforms to the paradigmatic [Labovian] model.

(2008:37)

Squire (2008) elaborates: the experience-centred approach "...assumes that narratives are sequential and meaningful, are definitively human, 're-present' experience, reconstituting it, as well as expressing it and display transformation or change"

(2008:42). Adopting an experience-centred perspective enables attention to three aspects important to the current study: participants' responses to events through the expression of feelings, beliefs and perceptions; the variable nature of the meanings of story; the context of the narrative. All are pertinent in the discovery of how the research participants construe their paths to teaching.

Principles

Connelly and Clandinin (1999) contend that

Narrative researchers are concerned with the representation of experience, causality, temporality and the difference between the experience of time and the telling of time, narrative form, integrity of the whole in a research document, the invitational quality of a research text, its authenticity, adequacy and plausibility.

(1999:139)

Attention to their three commonplaces and eight elements (Clandinin et al 2007) shapes the underlying principles of the study. The three commonplaces are temporality, sociality and place. Temporality recognises that the study occurs at a particular time within a continuum of transition. Sociality recognises that personal and social conditions, including the relationship between researcher and participant, build the context for each participant. Place recognises the importance of the location of the study, again an aspect of context. The eight elements are "a set of questions to ask ourselves at each phase of a narrative inquiry" (Clandinin et al 2007:24).

In summary form, the elements include attention to why the study is important, what is being studied, the methods used, the analytical and interpretation processes, positioning of the research relative to the literature, the unique contribution of narrative methodology, ethical considerations and how the research will be represented in text (Clandinin et al: 2007). Attention to these elements builds what Clandinin and Connelly (2000) refer to as the 'wakefulness' of the researcher to the hallmarks of good research practice. Wakefulness is explained as

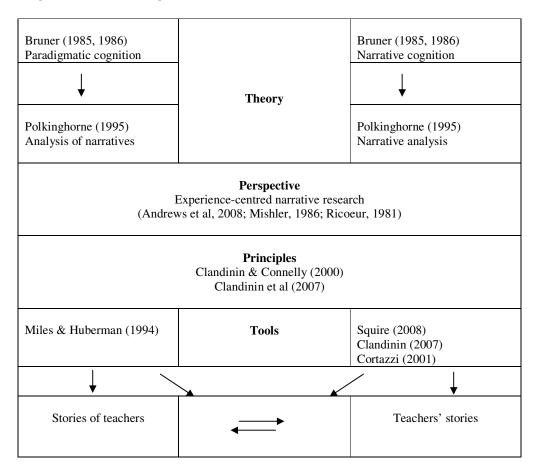
[the] need to find ways of being aware of what those on either side of the reductionistic or formalistic boundaries might think or say of our work, and we need to be alert and aware of the contexts for our work, and we need to be alert and aware of questions about field texts and research texts from the point of view of the three dimensional narrative inquiry space.

(2000:182)

Tools

Tools for analysis of narratives to produce stories of teachers were derived largely from Cresswell (2003) and Miles & Huberman (1994). Tools for narrative analysis in the construction of teachers' stories were found in Squire's (2008) discussion of the hermeneutic aspect of the analysis of experience-centred narratives. Clandinin and Connelly's (Green et al, 2006) concept of 'competing and conflicting' stories was also employed. Bridging the two 'frames' within the framework calls both sets of tools into play. Techniques of analysis complement and inform one another in the production of teachers' stories and stories of teachers, which in turn inform one another. The overall methodological framework is represented in Figure 3.1 on the next page.

Figure 3.1 Methodological framework



PART 5: SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION

Introduction

This part includes a discussion of the rationale for choices in sampling and data collection. It explains the methods used for each, linking these to the purpose of the study and its research questions.

Sampling

The intention was to include the whole population, that is, eight teachers, in the study; after some hesitation one teacher chose not to participate, leaving seven participants. The purpose of whole population sampling was in accordance with the purpose of the

research – to discover, from the participants' own accounts, whether there might be commonalities in their paths to teaching, the recognition and understanding of which could inform and enhance the teacher selection process. The participant profile is shown in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 Participant profile

Participants+						
Name (Pseudonym)	Age range	Sex	Ethnic origin/ First language	Years of teaching	Role in programme	
AG+	50s	F	Chinese/Cantonese	Eighteen	Teacher	
Clara+	20s	F	Chinese/Cantonese	Seven	Teacher	
Danny+	40s	M	Chinese/Cantonese	Six	Teacher	
Matt+	30s	M	Chinese/Cantonese	Five	Teacher	
Pei Lin+	30s	F	Chinese/Mandarin	Ten	Teacher	
Reina+	20s	F	Chinese/Cantonese	One	Teacher	
Rose+	50s	F	Chinese/Cantonese	Six	Teacher	
Angie*	30s	F	Chinese/Cantonese	Six	Teacher/administrator	
Dana*	30s	F	Chinese/Cantonese	Ten	Teacher/programme manager	

⁺ entire cohort except for one teacher who declined to participate

The two additional 'managing' teachers were excluded from the definition of 'whole population' because their roles in the organisation extended beyond participation in the programme, their roles in the programme had been assigned principally for administrative purposes and their teaching roles in the programme were minor and supervisory. However, these two teachers helpfully agreed to participate in pilot interviews to enable testing of the interview protocol.

Data Collection

Two major types of data collection were used, interview and observation. The reasons for choosing each and related procedures are included in this section.

^{*}pilot interviews

Choosing to interview

Interviews were selected as the primary mode of data collection because of their efficacy in accessing teachers' stories of their paths to teaching. Lawler (2002) writes:

...within social research, one compelling reason for carrying out qualitative interviews is that they offer a means of exploring the ways in which social actors interpret the world, and their place within it. These interpretations are often extremely complex and nuanced, and would be difficult to access through other means.

(2002:242)

Use of interview is consistent with this study's theoretical underpinning in symbolic interactionism and its intention to discover participants' construal of their paths to teaching.

According to Gubrium and Holstein (2002) participants in the interview can be seen as "significant commentators on their own experience" (2002:5). Through the use of probes and prompts (deMarrais, 2004) a researcher can build a thick description (Geertz, 1973). The interview process enables a concurrent and ongoing collection and analysis process that enriches the data, shapes the research and builds understanding. Whatever the research topic and question, building an understanding is the underlying purpose of qualitative research, which seeks, like quantitative studies, to "contribute to a general body of knowledge" (Brenner, 2006:367).

The role of the qualitative researcher in a project using the interview as a tool is critical: "...the researchers themselves become the data-gathering instrument whose skills in listening, observing, and understanding are crucial" (Rubin and Rubin,

2005:21). Kvale (1996:4) perceives the researcher as drawing out the respondents' "stories of the lived world". An informed, sensitive interviewer can uncover meanings that might otherwise remain hidden, perhaps even to the respondents who hold those meanings somewhere in their experience. Kvale (1996:4) talks about "wandering together with" the respondents. Narrative inquirers speak of 'wondering about' respondents' stories (Clandinin and Rosiek, 2007). Such language calls to mind the possibility of rich data, of new knowledge to be had for the asking and more particularly for the listening.

Conducting interviews

Data was collected primarily through individual 'in-depth' (Berry, 1999) interviews. Berry (1999) describes an in-depth interview as a type "which researchers use to elicit information in order to achieve a holistic understanding of the interviewee's point of view or situation" (1999:2). Wengraf (2001) similarly refers to "depth interviewing", but cautions that a depth interview "has to be planned and prepared for like other forms of research activity" (2001:3). Lofland (1994) also makes reference to the purpose of the interviewer in describing a "guided conversation whose goal is to elicit from the interviewee rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis" (1994:18).

Pilot interviews were conducted with the two managing teachers, to test the opening, 'inviting' question and discover what data the interviews might elicit. The pilot interviews revealed that if deliberately asked about the programme, participants might try to provide positive feedback to please the researcher; that information was subsequently not sought in the actual interviews.

Each participant was invited to tell his or her story of becoming a teacher. No indication was given as to 'when' in time that story should begin; the topic was signaled by the opening, inviting question. The length of the interviews ranged from one to one and a half hours, determined by how and when participants signaled their views that the story in response to the opening question had, for that moment, run its course. The researcher occasionally questioned for her own clarification, summarised briefly, probed for clarification or used active listening techniques (I see...so...tell me more...) to seek further elaboration. Sometimes the researcher added a comment about her own experience, most often with reference to students or student reactions to materials.

The interviews took place at the teaching sites, for the convenience of participants and to enable observation of classes during the same visit if appropriate. Agreement was sought to record the interviews, which were then transcribed by the researcher. Each participant's transcript was given back to him/her to review and amend or elaborate on as wished. Participants were also invited to comment on and suggest possible changes to the researcher's initial re-construction of the story told in the transcript.

In taking these steps to build authenticity and trustworthiness in the research, the researcher was also aware of possible risks in enabling 'changes of mind' by participants when reviewing their stories. For example, participants might wish to put a more positive face on a particular reaction or to change their accounts in other ways. However, because the researcher sees stories as constructions of reality it seemed epistemologically contradictory to disallow participant construction at a particular stage. In fact, no participant suggested 'content' changes to the stories constructed or questioned the 'rightness' of the interpretations. Several participants commented that it

was interesting to reflect on their paths to teaching and themselves as teachers along the route.

Choosing to include classroom observations

Data was also collected through observation of the participants at work in their classrooms, to enable the researcher to build a 'thicker' description of the participants by seeing them in action, 'doing' their professional selves. May (2002) notes the belief of sociologists Gerson and Horowitz (2002) that

Observational methods provide information concerning how individuals and groups behave in a range of social settings, while interviews uncover the perceptions, motives and accounts that people offer for their actions and beliefs. [The two methods] share a core of epistemological assumptions that make them complementary and interconnected. In the end, a good qualitative study requires some of both approaches. The choice is not which method to use, but rather which forms the foreground and which the background.

(2002:200, in May, 2002:10)

Adding observation to interview enabled the painting of a multi-dimensioned picture of the teachers' stories - what Huberman et al, (1997) call 'buttressing' an interpretation. The purpose of observation was not to check the 'truthfulness' of the teachers' reports but to build more information to contribute to the development of a credible interpretation. Observation allowed the researcher to add another dimension to the stories of individual teachers, to enrich the readers' understanding and further illuminate the responses to the research sub-questions.

Conducting observations

Each participant's class was observed either before or after the interview. The choice of timing was made by the teacher to accommodate the changing teaching timetables. It was not felt necessary to ensure that an observation always took place before an interview because the purpose of observation was not to 'verify' the participants' stories about becoming and being a teacher. Rather, it was to develop a more nuanced picture of the participants by seeing them at work in the classroom, playing out their identities as teachers. The researcher ensured that each participant was engaged in a brief chat before and after the observation, to enable the researcher to express her thanks and to check if there was anything the participant wanted to comment on. In retrospect, the researcher could find no differences in the interviews which could be linked to whether observations came before or after that discussion.

Participants had been informed of the purpose of the observations and were reminded that no attempt would be made to evaluate the teaching and learning in specific arenas since that was not the purpose of the observation. The researcher generally followed guidelines recommended by Pennekamp and Allen to student teachers visiting classrooms: "Keep a log of your observations. Use a mental "brainstorming technique" when doing so: at first, write down everything, without screening what you see, hear, intuit: it is all food for learning (http://www.humboldt.edu/-tha1/observ.html:1) [Accessed 24 August 2009]. That seemed to be a useful way to guard against researcher bias, although examination of the observation notes revealed expressions such as 'real communication' which appeared to signal the researcher's view of this as a 'good thing'. See Appendix iii. for a sample of this in a transcribed and memoed observation note.

Each participant was observed in the classroom once, for approximately one hour, usually on the day on which the interview was conducted. The researcher generally did not participate in the class except when drawn in by the students, who were sometimes interested in 'performing' for the observer, asking for help or checking that interactions were appropriate. Detailed notes about the classroom activities, student behaviours, student-teacher interactions and overall 'feel' of the classroom were taken in an attempt to capture in a holistic manner the atmosphere and goings-on of the class.

Some participants, observed before the interview, drew on aspects of the classroom to illustrate their meanings. Other participants, observed after the interview, commented after or even during the observation on aspects of the classroom that they thought pertinent to what they had discussed in interview. These were perceived as additional opportunities for co-construction of the narratives in the study.

PART 6: DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

This part begins with an overview of the treatment of interview data using the Polkinghorne (1995) framework, followed by an 'interrupting meta-narrative' explaining the process by which the framework was selected. Then procedures of data analysis for narrative analysis and analysis of narratives are described in detail.

Treatment of interview data

Using the methodological framework outlined and pictured in Part 4, interview data were analysed in two distinct ways – as narrative analysis and as analysis of narratives, with stages in each. In *narrative analysis* the participants' stories were examined as

narratives of experience (Squire 2008). The interview transcripts were reviewed using structural and literary analysis tools. In the context of an experience-centred approach, structural analysis of narratives uses the examination of whole text to look at topics and modes of expression (Polkinghorne, 1988). The identification of topics enables the researcher to say 'what' the participant is talking about. Picking out modes of expression (referential, narrational, persuasive, expressive) contributes to the interpretation of global meaning (Rogan and deKock, 2005). Structural analysis also includes attention to individual word choices, including the use of words and expressions to intensify or quantify. Word analysis builds detail to buttress the interpretation of whole text and global meaning (Cortazzi, 1993; Gee, 2000). The results of that level of analysis were re-constructed, descriptive 'teachers' stories', representing each participant in his/her own words as closely as possible.

The application of literary analysis techniques (Bruner, 1986, 1990, 2002; Eisner, 1997) again focuses on both whole text and individual words, but using a slightly different lens. The interpretation of whole text is to identify emplotted stories which represent the teller's view of meaning. Examination of these stories may lead to the generation of themes (Polkinghorne, 1988, 1995) within the narratives of each speaker. In narrative analysis as contrasted with the analysis of narratives these themes are with reference to each speaker, not across all speakers. The purpose of individual word analysis is to discover the use of figurative language (for example, metaphor) that adds nuance to the stories and can be used to strengthen interpretation.

Application of these analytical tools is not wholesale. For example, some accounts contain little use of figurative language. Stories were then reviewed through the three

lenses of identity, motivation and career that had been derived from the literature review. The stories aimed to illuminate the paths to teaching of the participants, with their own accounts as anchors in the descriptive analysis.

In *analysis of narratives*, thematic data across all the interview stories was sought to begin responding to the research intention to seek possible evidence of commonalities. Techniques used were those outlined in Miles and Huberman (1994) with reference also to Cresswell (2003). Miles and Huberman (1994:10) view qualitative analysis as a process "consisting of three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification". That process undertaken within this study is outlined in five steps below.

Step 1 was the transcription of taped interviews and observation notes. Step 2 consisted of reading and re-reading transcripts to get a general sense of the information. Step 3 involved coding of the data and the development of coding memos. About 160 codes were used overall. A sample coding sheet and sample coding memo are included in Appendices i. and ii., to give readers access to content in the procedures undertaken by the researcher.

As part of Step 3, the codes were examined and grouped into topics. Topic clusters were then formed. Cluster groups were labeled 'major', 'unique' and left over' (Cresswell, 2003). Table 3.3 on the next page shows the topic clusters for codes related to 'students'.

Table 3.3 Topic clusters: students

Major	Unique	Left over
Enjoyment of students	Students in Taiwan	Parent attitudes to student after-school classes
Different student types	Students in the UK	Student programme content
Student needs	Students as 'qualified' (in	One student with
	vivo term)	developmental problems
Student behaviour	Student interest in culture	
Student discipline	Students as empty vessels	
Management of students	Student respect for teachers	
Student comparisons	Student peer learning and help	
Student capability	Students as 'my children' (in vivo term)	
Relationship with students	Students as friends	
Student motivation	Personal identification with students	
Student engagement	Peer motivation	
Student de-motivation	Cantonese and student relationships	
Empathy for students	Student willingness to make mistakes	
Encouragement of students	Student recognition of English as 'the way' (in vivo term)	
Procedures to help students learn		
Students as active		
Student appreciation of		
learning		

In Step 4, all topic clusters were examined individually, returning to the transcripts to check on evidence for each major topic cluster. For example, examination of topic clusters for 'students' generated two categories – 'student behaviour' and 'perception of students'. Other categories generated were motivation to teach, professional development, career choices, attitude to English, view of teaching, self as teacher, perception of role of English in the programme and programme evaluation.

Next within this step, the conceptual template comprising motivation, career and identity was mapped onto each category to test for relevance to the literature on teachers' paths to teaching (See Chapter 5 Fig. 5.1 for a schema on view of teaching). The use of an unstructured interview protocol had meant the generation of wide-ranging topics, not all of which, upon investigation, showed up as contributors to the purpose of the research. While some topics had been identified as unique or left over at an early stage in the analysis (cf Table 3.3), reference to the conceptual template further sharpened the analytic focus. In Step 5 each schema was re-examined for evidence across the participant transcripts. This final stage in the analysis produced four compelling themes relevant to the research aim.

Re-viewing the process: the search for a methodology

While the process as described above sounds relatively straightforward, it is necessary in this overall account to retrace the analytic journey from the 'middle' (choice of the methodological framework) to the beginning and back again. Narrative inquiry involves the overlapping and layering of story in an iterative process of data examination, description and analysis. Analysing narrative data means not just responding to the purpose and questions of the research study but paying attention along the way of the 'research story' to the participants' stories and the development of a plausible, trustworthy, ethical and engaging story of the participants. A narrative researcher needs to be wakeful to value in individual narratives and make every effort to guard against separation of the 'data' from the 'person' who constructs it and in doing so, makes it available.

Capturing, transcribing and careful reading and re-reading of the pilot interview transcripts was part of, not separate from or preliminary to, an analytic process. Tentative descriptive and inferential coding and the development of topics suggested that the interviews had indeed elicited data responsive to the research questions. The process also suggested that it would be possible to locate commonalities in the form of themes across participant construals of their paths to teaching. The themes could be examined with reference to the research aim.

However, revisiting the literature on narrative research and re-examining the richness of the data in the interview transcripts reminded the researcher of the opportunity and obligation to examine and interpret the individual narratives. Narrative inquiry is interested in the particular. Both individual teachers' stories and stories of individual teachers should be attended to, in addition to the single story of commonalities in the participants' constructions of their paths to teaching. Analytic tools suited to narrative analysis, not thematic analysis, would be required to produce credible interpretations to that end.

The teachers' stories contained 'new knowledge'; presenting and re-presenting that knowledge would need to be carefully done so as not to obscure the real source – the individual participants – and so as not unwittingly to treat individual participant data simply as a means to the end of cross-participant thematic analysis. This understanding led to the search for a methodology fit for purpose and to a wider exploration of narrative research methods. Discovery of the Polkinghorne (1995) framework offered the opportunity to enrich the findings of the study by attention to both *analysis of narratives* and *narrative analysis*. Reference to Squire's (2008) suggestions for

treatment of experiential narratives provided tools for narrative analysis consistent with interpretation of responses to the research questions.

Treatment of observations

Data collected through classroom observation were treated within the narrative analysis frame, that is, as narratives of each teacher at work. The detailed observation notes were written up and examined first for major impressions which were added as a memo for each teacher. Then the notes were examined again for the specific events, language, physical behaviours – 'evidence vignettes' that contributed to those impressions. These were added to the memos. Each memo was then reviewed against the relevant interview transcript to look for correspondences and differences. In that process, reference was made again to the original observation notes to ensure that overall perceptions being crafted were not subject to undue bias or selective attribution. Finally, the memo notes were crafted into 'snapshots of practice' to set alongside the teachers' stories constructed from the transcripts. No attempt was made to compare observation notes across the participant cohort.

PART 7: CREDIBILITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE RESEARCH

Introduction

Researchers working in the positivist paradigm recognize the need to demonstrate the validity and reliability of their research results. Polkinghorne (2007) draws attention to the treatment of validity for research situated in the interpretivist paradigm. "Validation of claims about human experience requires evidence in the form of personally reflective descriptions in ordinary language...(2007: 475). In the two sections within this part, the first examines trustworthiness (validity) using four categories proposed by Miles and

Huberman (1994:277-280): confirmability, dependability, credibility and transferability, as guiding precepts. These categories have considerable overlap; taken as a whole they build the trustworthiness, what Bruner (1986) calls the 'believability' of the research. In the second section, attention is given to concerns related particularly to the use of story in narrative inquiry. Again, there is overlap in the explanations; however, the somewhat 'contested' state of narrative research suggests that separate consideration of questions about story will be helpful in securing readers' ability and willingness to perceive the research as credible and trustworthy.

Confirmability, dependability, credibility and transferability

Confirmability asks whether the study could be replicated; is the information about methodology and procedures, about how conclusions were drawn and the basis for such, clear enough to enable another researcher to undertake a similar study. Linked to this is the need for evidence that conclusions are drawn from participant data, not from researcher belief or bias. In this study attention was paid to explanation of the steps taken in the research process and to the iterative and layered process of data analysis. A record of work is available for examination in this thesis and the Appendix. Clear distinctions were drawn between 'teachers' stories' and 'stories of teachers' and the influences of the researcher on each.

Dependability refers to the care and consistency with which the study was undertaken. The research questions were developed and then revised through a careful and iterative process including examination of relevant literature and piloting of the interview schedule. A copy of the evaluation of the pilot interviews is included in Appendix vi. Data analysis was undertaken consistent with theory underlying the methodological

framework and evidence of each step is included in the report. Inter-rater reliability testing was done on initial transcript coding. The researcher's role and status in the study are described in detail, together with an outline of the effort made to ensure that the role did not unduly bias data collection.

Credibility asks "Do the findings of the study make sense? Are they credible to the people we study and to our readers? Do we have an authentic portrait of what we were looking at?" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:278) To build credibility with the participants in this study both the transcripts of the interviews, the 'teachers' stories' constructed from those interviews and the 'portraits' of the participants in the classroom were returned to them for comment and annotation. Attention was paid to building descriptive, interpretive and theoretical understandings (Maxwell, 2002) through attention to both 'sides' of the methodological framework.

Credibility was also enhanced by thick description (Geertz, 1973) through the construction of teachers' stories and stories of teachers taking into account interview and observation data. Attention was paid to providing appropriate information for the reader about the context of the study: the programme in which the participants were involved and specific aspects of that programme; pertinent biographical details of the participants; the relationship between the researcher and the participants.

Transferability raises the question of generalizability; that is, to what extent the findings and conclusions might have meaning beyond the limited context of the study. This study was exploratory in nature, seeking to produce new knowledge rather than

generalizable theory. That being said, the manner in which the study was conducted and the transparency of methods will perhaps suggest a template for similar studies.

Trustworthiness concerns about narrative research

The question of story in narrative inquiry

The nature of stories

Atkinson and Delamont (2006) discuss criticisms and limitations of story, suggesting that analysis in narrative research is an impoverished method used when experimental methods are not available to the researcher. Behar-Horenstein and Morgan (1995), turning to the epistemology of narrative, note that "story is conceptually rooted in mentalistic psychology rather than behavioral psychology" (1995:151) and offer the observation that this means "it suffers from an inability to offer persuasive knowledge claims that society can trust" (1995:153). The assumption by some scholars is that knowledge claims within the positivist paradigm *are* necessarily trustworthy, which in fact is not the case.

On a similar theme, Behar-Horenstein and Morgan (1995) consider the challenges to narrative inquiry raised by traditional empiricists who are uncomfortable with the idiosyncratic nature of individual stories and concerned about whether such stories are useful, authentic or true as claimed. They note that the history of educational research focused on the 'what' rather than the 'why' of teaching; thus building an early behavioural basis for research conclusions.

It is suggested that a careful and clear delineation of the interpretive paradigm in which this study sits, with its grounding in symbolic interactionism, responds to these concerns. While research questions about what teachers do may usefully be addressed through a study of behaviours, where questions are about 'how' and 'why' it is necessary to look for the interpretations that individuals hold within their socially-constructed world. There is not a single 'society' to which these stories need to make claim to persuasiveness.

Barone (2007:463) speaks of "...the ongoing tension between the democratic thrust of the narrative research movement and notions of excellence within the craft." One of these tensions is between truth and believability. Alvermann (2000), discussing narrative approaches to literacy research, notes Fenstermacher's (1994:218) question "How, in the use of stories and narratives, are such problems as self-deception, false claims, and distorted perceptions confronted and resolved?" Alvermann (2000) speaks of methodological reflexivity and suggests that reflexive practice and attention to ethics helps in establishing the credibility of the researcher's results.

Denzin (1989) saw narratives as fictional accounts about actualities in real lives. When one produces a narrative of experience one moves away from that experience in the telling of it. Moen (2006) describes a resolution to the argument about truth and believability:

Facts refer to events that are believed to have occurred, and facilities describe how those facts were lived and experienced by the interacting individuals. Fiction, then, is a truthful narrative that deals with the facts and facilities, and is faithful to them both. True stories are, thus, stories that are believed. (2006:7)

The stories in this research study begin with, to return to the Connelly and Clandinin (1990) distinction, the *teachers*' stories, not the stories *of the teachers*. These stories are the teachers' *perceptions* of their paths to teaching and of their experiences along those paths. It is these perceptions that provided the individual portraits responding to the subquestions in the study. Long interviews and member checking helped to ensure that those perceptions were captured accurately and with appropriate nuance. Acknowledging the limitations of written text in representing experience and the fact that story-telling is itself a step removed from and an only partial re-creation of experience, every effort was made to encourage the fullest possible rendition by the participants.

The issue of 'stories for their own sake' and implications for generalisability

Some researchers examining narrative as methodology warn of the risks in simply displaying narratives as important in themselves (Carter, 1993; Hargreaves, 1996; Conle, 2001; Georgakopoulou, 2006) without attending to the rigour that is the basis of good academic research. Elbaz-Luwisch (1997) refers to Clandinin and Connelly's

work on developing teachers' empowering knowledge, which she says may lead to the

criticism that such research "amounts to a celebration of the status quo" (1997:78).

Elbaz-Luwisch (1997) suggested that narrative analysis as described by Polkinghorne (1995) in contrast to analysis of narratives "poses a more radical challenge to accepted forms of inquiry" (1997:76). The point was that analysis of narratives leads to generalisable outcomes, while narrative analysis does not, and does not intend to do so. Elbaz-Luwisch describes what she saw as a resulting paradox in which narrative researchers "do not aspire to generalization in the usual sense, nor do they promise

immediate practical benefits; yet they make strong claims for the authenticity and power of narrative research" (1997:76).

Behar-Horenstein and Morgan (1995) see limitations in that "emergent insights derived from one's own story or a study of stories has [sic] implications only in the context in which the story was located" (2006:154). Gudmundsdottir (1997) raises the questions of meaningfulness and importance "...if there are no larger issues (social, educational, theoretical, political, methodological) behind the story or narrative, it is a story not worth telling"(1997:2). Lawler (2002) offers a response to these concerns:

If we want to find out how people make identities, make sense of the world and of their place within it - if we want to find out how they interpret the world and themselves - we will have to attend to the stories they tell.

(2002:255)

Even so, in 'attending' to the stories told, a researcher must probe, clarify and infer with care to produce compelling interpretations. The narrative inquirer seeks to interpret the stories told to build yet another story or set of stories. These in turn can form the basis for further research. The contexts, however small, in which the stories are told and created are contexts that matter.

In summary, construction of this study has been done with care to ensure that the research aim and questions are attended to. Collection and re-presentation of data has aimed to enrich the research story for the reader: teachers' stories, that is, data 'in their own words' seeks to illuminate teachers' voices; and alongside, deepening and broadening the portraits available to the reader, are word pictures of the teachers in the

classrooms – individual stories of the teachers. In addition, there is a thematic story of the teachers overall, offering a sense of the group of teachers and some insight into elements which might be drawn on to enhance a teacher selection process. Details of the analytic path are included for the readers' examination and to help them understand the meta-narrative of the study.

Wakefulness to concerns about narrative research and the nature and use of story has produced thick description, an attention to rigour and transparency in analysis and care in suggesting conclusions and possible bases for further research. Within the boundaries of interpretive research, it is suggested that all these lead to the trustworthiness of the study. Narratives are crafted in the telling, reshaped in transcription, again in the selection process, interpreted through lenses chosen by the researcher and examined, experienced and interpreted once more by the reader. Therein lies the power of narrative – not to refute charges of untrustworthiness, but to give shape, substance and meaning to data in the composition of multiple levels of constructed meaning.

PART 8: ETHICALITY AND THE RESEARCHER ROLE

Permission, confidentiality and control

Merriam (2002:30) suggests that "examining the assumptions one carries into the research process – assumptions about the context, participants, data, and the dissemination of knowledge gained through the study – is at least a starting point for conducting an ethical study".

Permission to conduct the study and to write up results of the study without managerial overview or editing was sought and confirmed in writing with the institution in which

the prospective participants worked. Each prospective participant was then sent a letter outlining the purpose and content of the research, the researcher and participant roles, steps that would be taken to ensure confidentiality and a clear message that each teacher was free to choose whether to participate. A sample copy of the letter is included in Appendix v.

Once the study began and when tape transcripts were returned to the participants, each was asked whether he/she wished any possible identifying elements (for example, family background, location of work) to be made anonymous. Participants were also asked to choose names to represent them in the report. Initial re-constructions of the teachers' stories were returned to them for comment and annotation.

All transcription was done by the researcher. All materials related to the study – tapes and tape scripts, rough and finalised notes of observations, coded transcripts and coding memos, were backed up on disk, given reference numbers and stored in a locked filing cabinet when not in use. Transcribing and composing were done on one password-protected computer. Inter-rater reliability techniques were conducted on anonymised tape scripts.

Researcher position

Amongst the principles adopted for this study is Connelly and Clandinin's seventh element (Clandinin et al, 2007) "What ethical considerations need to be understood, particularly in terms of the relationship between researcher and participant". Sikes (2006) discusses the handling of interviewer-respondent relationships, questions of

confidentiality and anonymity and the need to do no harm. Bloom (2002:313) notes that ethics "...should drive ...our conscientious attention to self-reflexivity".

The researcher needed to be sensitive to her real and perceived position. The researcher developed the framework and general approach for the programme, compiled the detailed teachers' guides and participated in the orientation and teacher-training session. All teachers were aware of her position and role in the programme. Brenner (2006:363) suggests that in educational research it is natural that the interviewer's expertise is acknowledged.

However, the accompanying risk in this project was that as the interview discussion moved from 'past' to 'present' time frames, participants might be moved to provide information or responses they thought would 'please' the interviewer, for example with reference to programme design. The realization of that risk was discovered in the first pilot interview; the actual interview schedule was then amended to exclude explicit reference to programme evaluation. In fact, several participants commented freely on constraining aspects of the programme.

The researcher has many years' experience as an English language teacher, including experience in Hong Kong within the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors. The shared understanding and involvement with teachers in Hong Kong enabled an 'emic' perspective which offered several advantages. First, a shared understanding of a teacher's role could be assumed to some extent - participants often indicated their perceptions of a mutual understanding in expressions such as 'you know what that is like' and 'I suppose it's been the same in your classes'. Second, there appeared to be a

tacit understanding of the researcher as a cultural insider – one participant confided "You know what Chinese parents are like." Third, since the researcher had met the participants several times previously there was a degree of ease during the interviews and class observations. Participants appeared not to be reticent when talking about their paths to teaching, often commenting on aspects of these in asides to the story.

However, it was important that the insider view did not lead to bias in the research process. The researcher had no supervisory role in the programme, evaluation of the programme was kept to a minimum in interview discussions and participants were assured both in writing and immediately before and after the interview of the confidentiality of their responses. In the transcription process the recorded interviews were listened to many times to ensure that the actual words of the participants were captured correctly. In these ways the researcher sought to maintain the perspective throughout of an interested and disinterested professional colleague.

All participants were ethnic Chinese, with Cantonese or Mandarin as a first language. All interviews were conducted in English, meaning that participants were using their second language in the discussion. However, none exhibited any discomfort or constraint in doing so; as teachers of English they were both competent and confident in the language.

In summary, the researcher was wakeful to possible risks related to her position. Pilot interviews helped to shape the interview schedule. The relationship established through contact early in the programme helped participants to be comfortable in conversation with the researcher as colleague. Participants' own profession as English language

teachers ensured their high levels of comfort, confidence and competence in interviews conducted in English.

PART 9: LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The number of participants was small and the decision of one teacher not to participate in the study meant that the 'whole population' could not be sampled as intended. The need to conduct interviews at locations convenient to the participants meant that conditions were sometimes noisy, adding to the challenge of transcribing recordings. The teachers guarded their time carefully, allowing for only one long interview with follow-up done generally by email or telephone.

The challenges in using interview were discussed in the section on trustworthiness of the study. It is recognized that, asked to present themselves, participants may select or shape information to influence the interviewer in some way. While every effort was made to ensure that the stories told were constructions of actual experience, the underlying problems in reported data are acknowledged.

Finally, as noted earlier, the study is concerned with a particular population in a particular context. It was not intended to produce theory that could be generalized to other settings. Attempts to use the research model in other such settings may be possible but should be undertaken with the understanding that the stories in and of this research study are those related to 'this' group of participants in the context of their engagement in 'this' programme.

CHAPTER 4: NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

PART 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF RESULTS

This chapter and the next comprise the findings and results of the study, examined through the frames of narrative analysis and analysis of narratives (Polkinghorne, 1995). The methodological framework, perspective, and tools proved to be an effective means of examining the data with reference to the research aim and questions. Narrative analysis enabled the development of layered interpretations of individual participant data to respond to the study's research questions with new knowledge about participants as members of their profession. Analysis of narratives produced a number of themes across the participant stories, four of which could be related to the time and space of 'paths to teaching'. In fulfillment of the research aim, these themes can be explored with applicants for teaching positions in the programme, to enhance the teacher selection process.

Interview material proved to be rich in content, extending in some cases to topic areas beyond the scope of the study. It is suggested that these be explored by the researcher at a later date. Observation data buttressed findings derived from the interview data. In fact, there were no 'negative cases' uncovered in the observations; that is, the classroom 'scenes' observed were in every case congruent with interpretations of views of teaching derived from analysis of participants' reports. Observations served as an additional lens through which to capture a rich, nuanced view of the participant teachers.

One negative case was discovered in the analysis of narratives process; that is, the interpretations derived for one participant, deemed a successful teacher in the

programme, did not map to the themes discovered through reference to the other six participants. A possible explanation for this case was built by returning to interpretations developed through narrative analysis. The explanation is included in the discussion in Chapter 5.

In addition to this introduction, the chapter includes five parts. Part 2 discusses the way in which the narrative analysis of participant data was shaped in this study. Part 3 foregrounds initial participant stories. Part 4 examines the stories in the light of the conceptual template of motivation, career and identity. Part 5 adds observation data to the interpretation, to enrich the interpretation of participants' views of teaching. Part 6 summarises the narrative analysis process, underlining efforts to establish credibility of the interpretations. It then develops the link to the analysis of narratives which follows in Chapter 5. Participants' voices as represented in their own words are displayed in italics.

PART 2: THE PROCESS OF INTERPRETIVE SPIRALLING

Squire (2008) describes narrative analysis as "Going round in hermeneutic circles...using a combination of top-down and bottom-up interpretive procedures" (2008:50). Early stages of narrative analysis in this study produced instead the idea of a hermeneutic 'spiral', wherein the 'going round' produced layered interpretations from 'teachers' stories' to 'stories of teachers'. These stories illuminate the lives of the participants as members of the teaching profession. The analysis attends to the research question and sub-questions:

According to their own accounts, how do these teachers construe the routes by which they came to teaching?

- Why and how did they make the decision to become teachers?
- How does teaching fit into their lives?
- What views do they hold of teaching itself?

The first level in the interpretive spiral foregrounds 'teachers' stories' that begin to respond to the main question by showing why and how they made the decision to become teachers, as told in the interviews. The aim was to use participants' own language to convey encapsulated, identifying narrative portraits for the reader as a starting point for understanding the 'stories of teachers' which would be produced through further interpretation. These portraits constitute the first level of the interpretive spiralling.

The second level begins to interrogate the participants' stories beyond the process of (re)construction, guiding reflection on the ways the stories map to the conceptual template of motivation, career and identity derived from the literature. This level in the interpretive spiral begins to 'listen more closely' to the accounts and shapes a tentative set of 'stories of teachers'.

The third level thickens the description of the participants through the addition of the researcher's classroom observation notes. The unedited notes are presented to bring the reader into the participants' classrooms, wherein they 'act out' their views of teaching. The purpose in this level of interpretation is to set the researcher's composed stories about participants' views on teaching – the last research sub-question – alongside vignettes of them in action, 'doing' teaching.

In summary, this hermeneutic spiralling develops the interpretation from miniature portraits in individual participant stories, to a story of each participant formed in examination of those stories, to a broader, multi-dimensioned portrait comprising a larger story of each participant 'doing' the story of teaching.

These multi-dimensioned portraits are discussed with reference to the conceptual template of motivation, career and identity, noting how these are shaped for each participant.

PART 3: TEACHERS' STORIES: CHOOSING AND BECOMING

What follows here are seven short, edited 'participants' stories', reconstructed from the interview transcripts, in the participants' own words, to respond to the research questions 'Why and how did they [the participants] make the decision to become teachers?' and 'How does teaching fit into their [the participants'] lives?' The stories are arranged in alphabetical order by participant pseudonym.

Paragraphing in the stories indicates first, that the information within any one paragraph was captured in an uninterrupted sequence and second, that the story from paragraph to paragraph has been reconstructed by selecting what was interpreted as relevant material, not necessarily in the order in which the original story was told.

The aim in this first level of narrative analysis has been to retain a sense of the stories told by the participants. Riessman (2002) reported that "traditional approaches to qualitative analysis often fracture these texts in the service of interpretation and generalization by taking bits and pieces, snippets of response edited out of context"

(2002:219). Structural narrative analysis avoided such fracturing so as to enable for the reader an initial 'holistic' impression of each participant. As constructions, however, these stories have been acted on by the researcher, not the least through decisions about what to include in each.

AG Well, actually I finished my Form 5 studies in 1974 and then I, I should have proceeded with the Form 6 curriculum but I chose to enter teacher training college...because I thought that I would help my family and after a couple of years of training I would become a teacher.

I am the eldest sister in my family and sometimes we role play teacher and students in home, at home. And of course I like teaching...and I think I have that sort of personality and I have the patience to teach and yeah, that's why I chose it...and of course my family supported me.

We are more disciplined at that time because, you know, people who choose to become teachers tend to be more obedient, rather submissive so on the whole we had a good circle of friendship, and we worked very hard... It was a very fruitful training, we had teaching practice and theory, we had a good groundwork and then we were well prepared...

Personally, at that time I thought that I was quite well-prepared for my job. And then I found a job...['Was it easy to find a job?'] In that year, no. But I was fortunate enough to get into secondary school and I started teaching Form 3.

Well after teaching in secondary schools for some years I got married and then I had children so I thought it was time for me to work for a shorter time. Because we have bisessional curriculums at primary schools, right? So I chose to teach in primary schools...

[Describing her return to teaching after having moved into administration, taken voluntary retirement and focused on her family for ten years] So that's why I choose...actually my career path is, is like, you know, like a curve, going back, to teaching after some years. Well, maybe that's my genuine interest...in terms of really job satisfaction and kind of feedback you get from the students, positive feedback, teaching is more enjoyable [than administrative work] though it's really hard work. [laughter]

I would say that I am a rather traditional teacher...That's why I enjoy teaching adults or older students like the VES. They are more understanding, I think they are not looking for sophisticated teaching aids like teaching games. They want to refine their language skills, they want to clarify grammatical items...they want to prioritise, all of that.

Carla Ok, my mother was a teacher and she had quite a lot of influence on me and then when I was still a student she was teaching in the daytime and night she will say something in common and so we had a lot in common.

And I was a student and sometimes I would think if I were the teacher I would do this and I would do that. And sometimes I have the chance to see or to think about how teachers do something or why teachers do that, like in my school, why do they do these things and sometimes I have a chance to know what is behind the teachers, what are the chaos, because in a secondary school there is, not everything is in a great order. Sometimes I see behind the scene and slowly I started to think I might want to be a teacher...

And then I choose to, to, to study linguistics... At first I was interested in going into secondary schools because my Mum had come from there...but it's not very successful for me to find a teaching job and then I thought maybe it's about the qualifications so I go there for a dip ed. ... It was a one year full time study, but it was not, it was also not a very successful experience because I was a drop-out in, almost, I almost got the certificate, but then I, ...you know March is the second semester of the, of the academic year, ... that means I have to have my teaching, my teaching practice to let people see me teaching. So in March I was lucky enough to get a... temporary post...

And at that time, all of us, my classmates...cannot make sure us ourselves, can have any possibility of getting, you know, of having a **normal** teaching position...So everyone was **hungry** for, for the places ... That's why I went into teaching straight away...And my classmates went for teaching practice.

[relating her job moves] So I started to teach at AAA, part time, because they don't offer full time...The hours are quite flexible so I can continue to do my classes at ZZZ and maybe some other freelance jobs, so living is not a problem but just you can't save any money because it's not very stable.

So I found a supply teacher position in XXX. ... the principal is just like a director of the company and they really have to control the costs, which I don't quite like because the policies don't make your teaching, they don't favour your teaching...so each teacher has to provide their own photocopy cards and make their own photocopies, do it yourself and you have to buy your own paper for copying.

That's why I think it's just like running a company, it's not very favourable and I don't quite like this. You're not supposed to count every paper.

And actually I was a supply teacher for that school for just a few days and then I had an argument with the vice principal. Basically, we agreed that I was a supply teacher for Putonghua to students who didn't speak Cantonese...And later she told me I had to teach one more subject and I just didn't know anything about it...and I said we didn't agree on that and she said no you have to teach it and somebody is going to help you. I wanted to stick to my principles and I said it's not like that so she said ok you can quit, so I quit.

But that five days was quite good experience for me, it allowed me to see that actually there are some schools that don't give good teaching conditions but still there are teachers working hard on it. But sometimes I just don't know why because teachers are just human beings, you can't just ask teachers to be gods

Danny So, why don't I start with my education, I graduated from the Chinese University of Hong Kong, English is my field of study and after that I worked as a secondary school teacher in a private institute which is called Maria College... and later on I was very lucky to be offered another teaching post and um, well, I did have a very good time in that school because I got along very well with my colleagues and my students, but, um, it didn't last very long [laughter]... my parents decided to migrate to Australia because of uncertainties about the handover... I went with them, I had to quit my job with reluctance and that was a painful decision.

But I didn't waste my time, in Australia, I did do something, I tried to achieve something I did two Masters Degrees in Australia, a Master Degree in translation, in interpretation, from English to Mandarin, and the second one a Master in Education, a Master of Education and Administration so it is because of these backgrounds that I started to become a teacher.

[Upon his return to Hong Kong] At first I worked in a very small scale tertiary institute I should put it in this way, I worked in a post-secondary institute. Um, I'm not sure whether you know this institute, it's called XXX College – They are offering post secondary diplomas. I spent one year on teaching in this institute and I was responsible for teaching business communication, translation and also academic writing. And, well, you know, there was a lot of politics at that school and they didn't treat the staff well and everybody was leaving at that time, including me. But I count myself still lucky because I was offered a post at the Baptist University School of Continuing Education and I've been teaching English there.

...When I was very small usually we would have to write an essay about our ambitions and normally I would just put ok, that I want to be a teacher, every year. Because I really enjoy working in the school environment and don't want to be a very ambitious person and I don't want to be a businessman and I don't want to have a very, very complex life so that's why, that's why..

...and I enjoy teaching and I also enjoy the time that I've spent with my children, spent with my students here and other children. So I think it can be very rewarding if you really enjoy teaching but it can be very painful – [laughter] – if you face those very naughty students [in response to a question about whether that had been his experience] No luckily, no, even though I was working in a private school I was not assigned to teach those students...And some do find me, ok, a very pleasant person [laughter]

Matt Actually I, I wanted to be a teacher when I was doing my study at university ... and ah, well, since I was, I was an English stream student so I, and I was interested in writing and I would like to share my joy with my students, I want them to write better and enjoy writing, so I, one of the reasons I want to be a teacher is I want more people to like writing [laughter]... I have no direction when I was in secondary school. Ah, perhaps...when I was doing my diploma ... in CityU... I did a higher diploma in English for Professional Communication and I got exemptions for certain subjects for university in England. And I continued my study in England in a course called English studies at the University of Portsmouth and after that I came back to Hong Kong.

But after graduation I didn't apply for any teaching post immediately because I, I prefer having more exposure to other industry first and I would like to try something like public relations, but I applied to quite a lot of companies, I sent a lot of letters to PR companies, to other companies, but that was not successful

And one day I received an appointment from a theatre company which was the second, second largest theatre company in Hong Kong which was CCC Company. I worked for them as a publicity officer, well at the beginning I was publicity assistant and I was promoted after half a year to publicity officer and I worked there for about four and a half years and after that, and after that I found myself, um, a bit dry perhaps...

So I find myself running out of ideas so I think that was time for me, for me to leave this environment and start what I wanted to do. So I apply, a friend of mine has been teaching for IVE for quite a few years and she told me that there, that there are openings for, for this kind of lecturer's post, in IVE and so I applied at once.

I didn't choose to be a teacher at the beginning since I want to have more exposure in the outside world, in other fields, so that I can have more to share with the students. Otherwise, if you start your career with teaching your perspective is limited and now I got more to share, so the experience with the theatre company is actually a treasure.

This year I was still teaching for them [the institute] but on a part time basis since I've got my own centre, I set up my own centre teaching drama. So, um, since I'm running that centre I, I just work as a part time lecturer... So, I was lucky, actually, when I was running a centre which is losing money [laughter] I've some extra jobs to cover that. It's hard, but, it's been quite an experience actually, first time I've started in my teaching career... Um, I like teaching kids, to, to, I like to inspire them.

Pei Lin I have been teaching, um, ESL, EFL since 1990, 1990 when I was in third year university. At that time that was the trend in Taiwan (I am from Taipei). I was in my college, my major was actually French literature, but there were absolutely no job outlook, no opportunities for French literature majors. So at that time I wanted to make a little bit pocket money. I looked at my friends and then they all started tutoring at some friends' schools. That's how it started. I just fell in love with that.

I didn't know how to teach, actually the trainer, the director kind of showed me a little. I was going, I was supposed to teach phonics – ah, those kids were beginners, there were about 20 kids in the classroom so I'm supposed to teach phonics and some basic sentence patterns and I went in with a straight face. And all the kids were silent and so ... They had big glass doors and the trainer and the lecturer were looking at me with blank faces the whole time...

But I think I was lucky to be led by some really good trainers, so they who told me how to get kids' attention and they told me how to organize some good activities without letting kids go all over the place.

So and then, uh, after a while, 1995, I started doing editing work so I became a writer editor slash teacher for this educational organization. They have English centers all

over the island of Taiwan so I was developing materials at the same time teaching a few classes.

[Then in the US] ... I signed up for the ESL course actually it was English for Academic Purposes. It was wonderful. I learned how to **teach** there. They said so why are you here you can speak English. Of course, you know, like we are teachers so it was easy for me, I came to steal your ideas and I learned so much how to teach grammar, reading, writing, academic writing, oh it was **great**. It was worth every penny so I was just picking everybody's brain.

I was a second-language learner myself so when I went to the States I had firsthand experience, hands on experience so when I went back, when I when came back home I was very confident my language have got better...

[Talking about recent years] And then where am I going? Am I going to be a, a supplementary teacher my whole life? It is quite difficult to get a teaching position in a regular public school if you don't have your PGCE in education. Then I ask myself again, are you, do you want to do education? To tell you the truth, I am more interested in language, I like teaching but I'm not interested in any educational theory, so I said no, I will stay in language.

I think that the first, in early, in first, 1996, first four years, my mother had no idea what I was doing. I was all over the place. ... eventually it [language teaching] became a career so it took a while but it was worthwhile. I tried different kinds of jobs. I always went back to teaching, so eventually I know this is my destiny. Sounds a bit cliché but that's true.

In the future even if I want to get into training or curriculum developing, I will still teach sometimes, cause that's how you can stay in touch and stay up, be current on what's going on.

Reina So I just graduated, I, just got my degree. Because I know my team leader, and, uh, so, and so I'm the tutor of her son. So when she asked me do you have any interest in teaching so I just say yes, so I have a chance to teach here...When I was very young so I want to be a teacher, so that's why and also because I love language. This time because I have a chance to try whether I can be a teacher or not, so that's why I choose to be a teacher.

I'm going to take a diploma of education in the coming September. Yes [laughter] I need to learn about teaching and some skills in teaching. Because I think I'm very fresh, I think...I don't know how to manage a group of students in the classroom so I hope after I finish my diploma [two years part-time] I will be more mature and I will have the classroom management skills – how I can communicate with my students, how I can manage them, for example maybe discipline problems, ...and soft teaching skills....And, I think my English is not good enough – I am thinking of taking an English course to improve my spoken English, during the summer.

I found it interesting to be a teacher, because I love to be able to control the process.

And maybe they can learn something from me and at the same time, so I can learn something from them, because they are quite unique, they're different, and I can learn different teaching skills.

As a teacher I'm afraid that I won't do all the things they need for the assessment. So I have to focus on whether they can do the assessment or not. I'm thinking about whether the schedule is really going to be too tight for them in the summer.

Rose Mmm, it's a rather long story, actually this is like a second career for me, yes, because I've been a teacher for nearly three years and I've worked in several jobs in the past and I've been a housewife for, for a long time, maybe over twenty years, yes, because I've lived overseas for altogether 18 years – four years in Germany, in Frankfurt, and then because of my husband's postings, so I've been, sort of round the globe.

We were in Japan for two years and in London England for 12 years, and we returned to Hong Kong in 1998 after the handover. And therefore just before we returned to Hong Kong I knew that we were going to Hong Kong, so I took an intensive course in TESOL, for teaching English to speakers of other languages and therefore I got a certificate and I thought it could come in handy if I wanted to start working again.

And, yeah, so I got the certificate and then I came back and three years ago, in 2002, I ran into a newspaper advertisement asking for English teachers and I thought, well, I have this qualification, why don't I use it? One of the reasons I applied to become an English teacher is I think I can handle the job, I can use my experience and my, um, exposure, to, um, to really give benefits to my students and I think actually it would be a waste not to use it.

And I was very grateful I was given this opportunity and to become a teacher... So I can work part time here and part time there and still manage a flexible timetable for myself. I think the fact that I met with different people in my work in the past has given me the confidence and, if you like, the competence in using the English language and also in dealing with people...

I think to shape, to broaden their horizon, then I think this is something really worth doing, most rewarding....And I think I was able to give them a peek into some Western culture and they like it. I was able to, you know, tell them little things and they enjoy it.

I have the responsibility to show them how to achieve, how to achieve their goals, and I think one similarity is the fact, whether they are students or adults, they want a guiding hand, they want discipline. That's why I like to tell them what to do and which is the right way to do things. Sometimes the students are naughty in class, even the diploma students, you know, twenty years old, can be even rowdy at times and they want discipline, so I like to tell them off. [laughter]

PART 4: BUILDING TENTATIVE STORIES OF TEACHERS

The notion of initial motivation to teach

An examination of the whole texts reveals several categories within the notion of motivation discussed in the literature – family and personality influences, pragmatism, sense of vocation and English language competency as an enabler.

Family and personality influences

AG and Carla speak clearly of family influence. AG includes references to her own personality and position in the family. Carla extends the influence of her mother beyond the choice of teaching to the matter of how to teach - 'chalk and talk was good enough for my mother and is ok for me'. Danny, like AG, refers to personality as an influencer – AG suggests that teacher candidates are 'passive, obedient'. Danny seems to see his fitness for teaching in contrast to the complexity and ambition needed and characterizing other careers such as business. The story as he tells it suggests motivation around 'not choosing' as much as about 'choosing', with teaching as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. Other participants do not refer directly to influences within this category, although elsewhere in her story Pei Lin refers to her parents' flexibility in letting her find her own way after graduation.

Pragmatic considerations

AG, Danny, Pei Lin, and Rose refer directly to pragmatic considerations. Rose was initially motivated to get a teaching qualification because it might be 'useful and then applies for a job because 'why not use it?' AG can also be said to have had a pragmatic goal in mind, to help her family by going into a stable career available with a school leaving certificate. Pragmatism directed Pei Lin's initial trial of teaching to make

'pocket money' and in recognition of the lack of employment related to her university study. Danny links not wanting to waste his time to his educational studies in Australia and suggests a causal link 'so it is because of these that I started to become a teacher', although he had done some teaching previously. Matt mentions obliquely that teaching jobs help to finance his entrepreneurial activity – setting up the drama centre.

Sense of vocation

There is a need to proceed with caution in attributing a sense of vocation to particular participants. First, there are various definitions of vocation and it can be argued that all the participants were in fact 'called to' teaching in some way. Second, some participants produced more expressive (Polkinghorne, 1988) narratives than others, giving the impression perhaps that their feelings about career choice are somehow stronger than others'. Pei Lin, for example, appears to have moved from an initial pragmatism to the concept of vocational calling. She 'just loves it' and feels that 'It's my destiny'. Matt says that he was interested in teaching from university days, using the concept of 'sharing his love for' writing as a motivator. Reina 'loved languages'.

English language competency as an enabler

Competence in English language is included in the notion of motivation because of the assumption that a lack of such competence would have directed participants away from a career in English language teaching. The topic occurs in several of the participant stories. The place and roles of English and English language teaching are referred to again in the notions of career and identity.

Pei Lin, AG, Rose and Matt make reference in different ways to their development of English language competency as an enabler in their pursuit of teaching. Pei Lin mentions the confidence she gained after being in the US. In contrast, AG makes specific reference to the fact that she didn't 'choose' English; rather that she was 'chosen' because English teachers were always needed. We infer that her English skills were strong and we understand that the MIL qualification strengthened those skills.

Rose consciously harnessed her language skills in her choice of qualification before returning to Hong Kong. Matt talks about how his growing understanding of the way English works built his passion for writing and his desire to share that passion with students. In contrast, Reina refers to her desire to *improve* her English skills. Danny and Carla perhaps perceive their English competency as understood by the listener from references to their initial post-secondary education in the subject of English (Danny) or linguistics (Carla) but don't discuss it directly.

The notion of career in teaching

In this study the notion of career is examined as a developing theme, along and within the path to teaching. Categories discovered through whole text analysis include the place of 'luck', the use of 'principles' as a guiding concept, the idea of linked career pursuits, the place of English language teaching, the matter of career interruptions and changes and the representation of 'work' in place of 'career'. Career development through professional development is not included here. It revealed itself as a separate theme emerging in 'bits and pieces' in the interviews, difficult to capture in the short stories displayed above and more logically included in Chapter 5, discussion of analysis of narratives.

The place of 'luck'

Danny, AG, Pei Lin and Matt make specific references to 'luck' in their stories. Danny says he was 'very lucky' to be offered a second job and 'still lucky' to move to a good job after and perhaps despite having an unhappy experience in one institute. He also says that 'luckily' he has not had to deal with 'naughty' students. Danny appears to discard the concept of his own agency in these excerpts, attributing agency to outside persons or forces and telling himself as being acted on. AG reports that she was 'fortunate enough' to get into a secondary school, having said that it wasn't easy to get a job at that time. Like Danny, she does not in her speech directly attribute her success to her own agency.

In contrast, Pei Lin reports that she was 'lucky' to have good trainers – not a matter of her own or others' agency - from whom she learned initial teaching techniques in her career in language teaching. She then takes ownership by reporting how from that base she was able to develop her own ideas. Matt reveals a degree of pragmatic motivation when he says that he is 'lucky' that he has jobs which provide an income while his drama centre is 'losing money'.

Notions of fortune and luck permeate Chinese culture. References to luck were checked informally with participants after the interview to ascertain meanings. Every participant stated that he/she just felt personally fortunate about the way that these things had happened, without particular influence by themselves; AG, for example, said that many others held the same educational background and results as she did when they were applying for jobs but "for some reason" she had been lucky enough to be selected. AG seemed to persist with the notion, unwilling to ascribe agency to herself.

Linked career pursuits

Pei Lin and Matt have broadened the frame of reference for their teaching careers to include related aspects. Pei Lin has a goal beyond teaching – to be a curriculum developer and trainer. She says that she was always interested in writing and her approach was to state that interest and see what happened. Since then she has done a lot of materials writing. However, she also reports that she will always 'do some teaching' to stay in touch with developments. Matt appears to be balancing his pursuit of drama in education with his ability and desire to develop writing skills in his vocational English students. The researcher was not able to find literature on teaching as 'part' of a career or linked to other interests in the manner expressed by these two participants.

Career interruptions and changes

All participants except Reina, at the beginning of what might become her teaching career, have experienced interruptions and changes in their paths to teaching. AG moved from teaching to administration, then took voluntary redundancy to attend to her family, returning to teaching in the new area of adult EFL after a ten-year gap. Rose moved to teaching after an earlier career in customer service and sales. Matt deliberately worked in another field – public relations – before starting to teach. Pei Lin moved amongst teaching, writing, traveling and further education. Clara moved from job to job, seemingly in a search for stability which included reasonable payment for services.

Danny interrupted his first substantial experience of teaching to accompany his parents in emigrating to Australia. Danny's story of emigrating turns a potentially conflicting story into a competing story (Clandinin and Connelly, 1995b). Emigration was painful and separated him from a satisfying first teaching job but in facing the reality of being

In Australia he decided not to 'waste his time' and so did graduate work to obtain two Masters degrees related to education. The reference to 'not wasting time' is commonly heard in Hong Kong. Colleagues in the workplace discuss taking up evening courses because they have free time and don't want to waste it. An irate parent complained on a radio call-in programme recently about government policy not allowing families who take up the subsidized half-day kindergarden voucher scheme to simultaneously enroll their youngsters in a second fee-paying kindergarden. The parent declared that if his child were not in school in the afternoons as well as the mornings the child would simply be playing with video games, watching TV, playing with the helper or talking on the phone with friends, all of which would be 'wasting time'.

Danny said that if he hadn't been in Australia he wouldn't have taken two masters degrees because "I am a lazy person". The notion of improving oneself – perhaps another facet of 'required motivation' (Chen et al, 2005) in Asian societies – seems to come into play here, together with the notion of duty to family (cf the 'dutiful daughter' in Hayes, 2008). Pei Lin draws a contrast which buttresses that interpretation when she says,

My parents they are very open-minded they're not traditional parents, they're like friends you can really just talk to them and even if they don't understand my Mom doesn't really say anything. I think she will make comments but she's ok, but you know how Chinese parents can be and so I'm very, very lucky.

The place of English language teaching

The career role of English language teacher appears for some participants to include both competence (referred to as an enabling factor in motivation) and interest in the subject. Pei Lin's 'destiny' appears to be language teaching, with most of her experience being in the teaching of English. Reina 'loves languages'; however this first role as an English teacher has been achieved through opportunity provided by another. Matt focuses initially on just one aspect of English – writing – for which he has a passion, but then broadens his interest to drama with its expression not just in writing but also in oral performance. Rose decides to harness her English language skills to a qualification in English language teaching and then reports satisfaction in applying her knowledge of the culture of English speaking communities to enhance learner interest.

AG, though referring to 'being chosen' to teach English in her early career, applies for an English teaching position when she returns to work after a ten-year absence. In contrast, Danny makes no direct reference in his story to the reason for language teaching. Clara provides a loose causal reference 'so I thought I would be a teacher and then I studied linguistics' but makes no further reference to an interest in English.

In fact, attributing causal intention to the participants' frequent use of 'so' and 'because' should not be done without questioning. When the researcher's attention was drawn to the frequency with which these words appeared in some participants' scripts, she examined them more closely. Discussion with informed Cantonese speakers confirmed her suspicion that these words in English are often used as discourse organizers rather than as direct expression of cause and effect. They serve the purpose of 'settling' one set of thoughts before proceeding to the next.

Guiding principles

Clara develops this theme with a spirited story of what she deems unfair administrative practice and the unreasonable shaping of teacher behaviour. She relates the experience with no caveats about, for example, the possible effect on her CV of staying in a job for just five days. She looks instead at what she sees as the usefulness of the experience and makes clear and supported statements about principles and rules in the profession. No other participant included such references in their stories; the category has been included because of the strong presence of Clara's principle-centred position in her construction of professional identity.

Research on teaching careers has produced early models of career stages (for example, Huberman, 1993). In these interviews most participants made very little reference to stages in their careers; admittedly they were not asked directly about this topic. AG uses figurative language, referring to her career as a kind of curve, going back to teaching. Pei Lin makes brief reference to 'where [she] is going', as on a path. A limited investigation of the literature in the broad domain of career revealed the use of such metaphors in career descriptions.

Inkson (2004) suggested that nine key metaphors of career – career as inheritance, construction, cycle, matching, journey, encounters and relationships, roles, resource and story – "act as frameworks for much career theory" (2004:96). Using these metaphors as an interpretive frame for the way in which these teachers construe their careers produces the following tentative assignment with which to buttress the discussion of career.

Table 4.1 Participants' career metaphors

	AG	DANNY	CLARA	MATT	PEI LIN	REINA	ROSE
Inheritance			✓				
Construction				✓	✓	✓	
Cycle	✓						✓
Matching	✓	✓			✓		
Journey					✓		
Encounters &		/		✓	✓	✓	
Relationships Roles				✓	✓		√
Resources							✓
Story		✓	✓	√	✓		

Note: metaphor descriptions are in Chapter 2, Table 2.2 Nine career metaphors

Inkson (2004) suggests that career theorists should frame their work in more than one career dimension or metaphor. Of interest here are the multiple metaphors that appear to be operating for these teachers. The suggestion is that these different metaphors provide multiple lenses through which these participants construct and view their professional lives.

The notion of professional identity

Introduction: identity in the literature

This section refers to the professional identity of each participant that can be interpreted from the stories told. Although identity is not assumed to be a stable, unchanging component of these teachers' lives, it is possible to consider the temporal construct of identity manifested through the stories they constructed at the time and within the context in which they were interviewed. The stories were first held up to the commonalities of teacher identity described by Beijaard et al (2004). These are outlined again here:

- (1) professional identity as an *ongoing process* of interpretation and reinterpretation of experiences
- (2) professional identity implies both *person and context*. A teacher's professional identity is not entirely unique
- (3) A teacher's professional identity consists of sub-identities that more or less harmonize. The notion of sub-identities relates to teachers' different contexts and relationships...
- (4) *Agency* is an important element of professional identity, meaning that teachers have to be active in the process of professional development

(2004:122)

When the participants' stories are held up to this set of general notions on identity the typology becomes curiously unsatisfying and unsatisfactory as an analytical tool. Consider, for example, Clara's professional identity as it plays out in her story of being at odds with current teaching and learning approaches. Consider what 'active in the process of professional development' means with reference to teachers' roles as learners

in professional development programmes. Another of the participants upgraded her qualifications to stay competitive in the field, but appeared to discard as impractical the suggestions for teaching and learning which formed the purpose and content of the programme.

Literary analysis techniques produced more rewarding results for this researcher, enabling telling interpretations of the professional identities of these participants. Personas were derived from identity constructions appearing in the stories. These were the teller, the performer, the friend, the leader, the inspirer and the creative partner. While the interpretations of these personas are presented here, it should be noted that they were constructed with reference also to the experience and notes of classroom observation. Observation 'snapshots' of the participants in action, 'doing' their identities, are included in the next part. Readers might wish to read 'back and forth' between the parts to build their own views of these personas.

The 'traditional teacher' identity (the teller)

AG and Clara each specifically name themselves 'traditional' teachers. In AG's story the evidence for her view can be found in her perception of herself and her colleagues at teacher training college and then in her explanation of her teaching approach and process when she is asked what constitutes a traditional teacher. Clara refers to what appears to be her strongly-held belief in the efficacy and rightness of the 'chalk and talk' approach that she feels has served people well for some decades. Her sense of professional identity is marked in addition by her view of what is 'right' and the principles to which teachers should adhere.

Clara's professional identity story is marked by conflicting stories with reference to her time in teacher training and her experience as a supply teacher. She declares that the teacher training experience was not a success because she was a drop-out. It is only much later in the interview that her story reveals a possible reason for the drop-out apart from her stated desire to get a job; that is, her discomfort with and rejection of the institute instructors' approach to teaching and learning. The researcher had wondered about the first reason given and had probed 'What made you apply for a teaching post while you were still in the middle of your diploma programme?' to which Clara replied "And at that time, all of us, my classmates and so, we are actually, cannot make sure...can have any possibility of getting, you know, of having a **normal** teaching position, So everyone was **hungry** for, for the places".

But this excerpt finishes with [her taking up a job] "And my classmates went for teaching practice" so presumably not all students were in fact so 'hungry' that they forewent the completion of their qualification. The researcher decided not to pursue this further at that point, but another opportunity arose later in the interview when Clara was prompted to say more about her view of appropriate teaching methods. That story is included in greater detail in Part 5 on views about teaching.

Clara's second conflicting story is told with reference to her principled view of how teachers should be treated and behave and was introduced in the earlier section on Careers. Given the researcher's understanding of and experience in the school sector in Hong Kong, Clara's notions of the teaching career as a '9 to 5' occupation and her concern about other teachers' identities as 'too hard-working' it is suggested that these conflicting stories may persist in the longer term.

The 'stage' identity (performer)

Pei lin and Matt both identify themselves with this persona. Pei Lin states directly "I like performance and my classroom is my stage". Supporting detail for the interpretation of Pei Lin as performer is found in the vignettes she supplies throughout her interview.

So I say, no way. I just, ah, reassign them with different partners. Everybody look at your partner, hug your partner and they went like, 'ooh' and they LOVE it. And we help each other.

If someone hasn't shown up after 9 o'clock something they phone and say 'where are you, hurry up' because I tell them, if he didn't pass it's your responsibility too, your partner

I moved Raymond to another group, with Carol, this girl. Carol is like a talk fiend and she is pushing Raymond, hey, we are here now, did you do your homework? And now Raymond is asking questions...so it worked, it really worked.

Matt uses drama and role-play to help his students understand the context of language use, writing short plays and developing extended simulations as frameworks for learning.

The 'inspirer' identity

Matt seems also to see himself in the role of inspirer, using the word and talking about getting rid of the 'myths' that surround confusion about grammar usage.

The primary school kids are lovely and they like doing some silly things. But for the, for secondary school students you have to do it in a different approach, you have to approach them emotionally, not some tricks. Little kids like tricks, like exaggerated acting, but for secondary school students you need to touch them emotionally instead of silly or funny looking actions.

The 'friend' identity

Reina is trying out the friend persona but has discovered some constraints.

Well, I think it's good to be friends with the students, then if there's a problem, like personal problems, they will ask you about them. So the relationship is ok. But with the FD students, then they think that you're not strict, so even though you are friends or you ask them or tell them, they don't hand in homework or pay attention. So sometimes I'm strict, but they just don't listen

The 'creative partner' identity

Danny appears to be acting out the friend persona (the students "find me a nice person") while regretting the constraints that hinder him as creative partner. He refers on more than one occasion to the fact that the course materials don't leave room for creativity by the teacher. He also speaks positively of his students as being creative. The researcher did not follow up to seek clarification of what being creative on the students' part would mean.

The 'leader' identity

Finally, Rose appears comfortable assuming the persona of leader, as evidenced in her language use ("broaden their horizons") and representations of her disciplinary procedures "And sometimes they don't hand in certain work and when the exam's finished 'Can I give you this piece of writing?' and I say **too late** and I **meant** it!" [laughter]

PART 5: VIEWS OF TEACHING

Seven stories, each a 'story of a teacher', follow here. To produce these stories, interview transcripts were examined for references to respond to the last research question 'What views do the participants hold of teaching itself?' The structural analysis already completed was re-visited to locate text on the topic of teaching and learning. 'Learning' was added because in several accounts it was included within the discussion of teaching.

Clandinin and Connelly (2000:79) refer to "doings and happenings" as "narrative expressions." Observation notes have been added to these constructed stories to buttress interpretation of views of teaching as expressed by the participants. Each participant was observed in the classroom for about one hour and notes were taken of what was 'going on' in the classroom. The researcher tried to 'observe' and not 'evaluate' in order to capture a snapshot of teaching in action. Excerpts from these notes are included in the stories about teachers' views of teaching to provide an additional perspective to the interpretation. In line with the purpose of the observation, the notes were not analysed; they are presented as rich detail of the teachers' views of teaching 'in action'.

The identification and examination of competing and conflicting stories of professional development along the path to teaching added another dimension, producing a metanarrative about the place of professional development in the lives of some of the participants.

Stories of teachers: doing and being

AG

Discussing her approach to teaching, AG suggests that at the primary school level, children needed more support than at higher levels...

Well there were at that time, also a lot of Chinese immigrants, new arrival children in the primary schools and the government schools could not say no to these children, they will admit them whenever they come. Very often we have to use our break or after school hours to teach them or coach them even to learn the alphabe...And whenever they have problems with dictation or dictation correction they couldn't follow you at all, we have to follow them up, tell them what to do, how to make the corrections in class work.

The theme of 'teacher responsibility' recurs throughout AG's story both with reference to particular student groups and to what she perceives as her overall approach.

...I would run through those materials very thoroughly and I would think about how I should arrange them, rearrange them or select things for my students and whenever I see that my students are weak in these aspects I would try to enhance or put in more practice in that part.

This theme is reflected in the classroom observation notes, which read:

Students are responding to teacher as an individual before the class begins. Once in teacher mode, clear instructions, louder voice, moving quite quickly, strong evidence of preparation, energetic, commanding attention; addressing everyone by name. A lot of questions 'I don't know how to do it.' A lot of questions in Cantonese, teacher responding in English every time. Calling for attention, 'now focus, pay attention, you will do a mock assessment, before that I want you to look at your mistakes. Do you use...do you use...' Going through the points one by one, refers group to models on flipchart pages, writes up examples on the overhead. Moving on to homework. Let's look at your homework. Most have done it on the email. I saw some good ones – calling out names –saying how they are going 'quite well', 'it's good', 'you've made some improvement'. Hands out homework 'Look at your work and see if you have any questions to ask'. Hands out a prepared correct sample.

AG considers herself to be a 'traditional teacher' and when asked what she means by 'traditional', links her approach to that identity by providing an example:

Well, now, when you teach comprehension, then you say ok, read this passage and you give some introductory hints on what to look at and then you ask them to read, after you read you ask questions and ask them to give feedback and then you do exercises. And then when I finish the exercises I will add in some consolidation. And...the exercises, I will give some more practice on that part.

When the researcher probes again, 'So what would a non-traditional teacher be doing?'

AG first talks in methodological terms

Well, now, when I, when I left the teaching career those ten years, I know that there is something called the communicative approach going on, so it seems that they started with activities and then they ended up with a microteaching part, you know, concluding the teaching point in the end. I don't know whether I'm right or wrong [laughter]. So sometimes the students don't know what they are doing, they are just playing, communicating, yes they are, solving a problem, finding something out, something like that, and in the end the teacher brings in the standard structures, the patterns. Well that's one way of teaching, doing things. Primary school students you start with a song, pictures or something, but if you do this, you know, with secondary school students, I don't know, they are not so responsive...there are no hands, they are quiet.

and then elaborates with a figurative device to illustrate her view of what she perceives as 'performance' attached to the communicative method of teaching.

Sometimes I check with my colleagues, sometimes you are like, doing a monkey show in the classroom but nobody cares about you, they don't know what you are doing! [laughter]

The use of the reference 'there are no hands', meaning that students did not respond by raising their hands, is understood by teachers and suggests that AG views the researcher as an insider. She makes reference to her colleagues, perhaps suggesting that they may feel the same way or perhaps seeking corroboration of her feelings. A 'monkey' can be seen to be entertaining but perhaps neither instructive, comprehensible nor appreciated in AG's construct. Being a 'monkey' may be seen as being foolish. This interpretation suggests that AG sees herself as 'doing' her role as teacher in contrast to 'performing' it as a position different from her view of self.

AG uses statements 'I don't know whether I'm right or wrong' (above) and 'That may be no good' (below) as disclaimers before going on to make her view quite clear 'so sometimes the students don't know what they are doing' and 'that may be no good but it sounds fine to adults'.

But to me, maybe my traditional way of doing things, I'll state the **purpose** at the beginning. **Now**, look at these two sentences, how are they different... active voice, passive voice. That may be no good but it sounds fine, it sounds fine to adults, young adults, it's good for learners who have some learning experience, it's suitable.

AG continues to return to her conception of herself as a traditional teacher, using 'so' in the excerpt below to link the approach with the methods, such as drilling. Mention of the use of games is made as a kind of concession, with no apparent link to teaching and learning.

Well, well ... maybe I, I really need to be more active in class, I don't know, but I only just conclude that maybe I am rather traditional [laughter]. So I depend quite a lot on drills, of practice...But I know that my students like games so I have a lot of games in my bag so every now and again I take out one and let them play for a while.

Carla

Carla is a strong defender of her view of the value of 'chalk and talk' teaching methods...

Um, let me think, um, I could say that I am quite a traditional teacher. When people say we have to use more multilingual or powerpoint, I always think that, I always have a question in mind, are we using powerpoint or a computer just because we use it? I would rather use OHTs, because it's more efficient, but more usually I would just use whiteboard and pen, just chalk and talk. Because it's more efficient, you can't plan for everything, you have too much time, much more time to prepare powerpoint.

But most of the time I can not see why, I don't see the reason why to use powerpoint, that's why it's not my habit to put in everything. So that's why I would say I'm on the more traditional side, because I just don't see why people always oppose to chalk and talk, I just don't know. I don't know how you feel, but I just don't know. Maybe, is it because the new teachers are not used to that, they are not used to chalk and talk, I just don't know. And sometimes I think you

know teaching is not a show on Broadway. You know, you need some skills and you need to arouse people's attention and morale, and...but it's not every minute, so you don't have to wear your costume and you know, act like an actor or actress to do that. If you do that, you are putting the focus on the wrong thing. The main focus should be the content, not the presentation, not too much, I would say.

Clara's reference to performance echoes AG's in that neither is comfortable with a role not consistent with their concepts of self. AG relates her discomfort to the perceived ineffectiveness of performance techniques. Carla's dismissal of performance techniques is guided by her view of what is 'right and wrong' with reference to teachers. Students are not mentioned.

Classroom observation notes reveal a picture consistent with Carla's 'telling' personal and use of 'chalk and talk'.

Some settling in – teacher asking 'excuse me are you in a group? This is not a group, this is just four chairs – students getting settled. Asking for homework 'should be two pieces, right" Rhetorical question not addressed at anyone in particular. Students know what to do, getting out their homework – seems a normal routine. From 9.07 to 9.35 teacher talk running through letter format on the ohp – students relatively attentive, a couple disengaged. No specific address to any one student, no calling students by name. Students passive but generally amenable. Then assigning task 'no problem, if you don't understand anything you let me know'. Teacher using English throughout. Let's look at the swimming course letter first. We usually have how many paragraphs? Reviewing format of letter step by step, students generally paying attention. Now, 'look forward to hearing from you'? Why don't we say, look forward to hear? One student, 'gerund' Teacher 'right'.

The discussion of classroom methods surfaces a 'conflicting story' (Clandinin and Connelly, 1995b) about Carla's teacher training course. She left the course just before her practice teaching period, to take up a job. At that point in the interview she explained her decision by saying that she was, like everyone else, 'hungry for a job'. However, later in the interview, after Carla spoke about her views on using multimedia, the researcher probe 'Was that your experience in your training programme?' was responded to with vehemence.

Yes, yes, exactly. What I had in IED, when I was trying to complete my studies, um, I would say they have a very strange strategy, let's say if you teach something you cannot just let the students know what you are teaching, you have to let them feel that, you have to let them know in another sense. ... What they say is that they don't learn it by remembering the name. But the point is, even if the teacher says, ok we are learning the past simple tense, so what's wrong, what's wrong with the teacher saying this term and what's the problem with the students learning this phrase as part of their learning, and I just don't know why.

The repetition of the phrase 'I just don't know' is interpreted as indicating frustration, lack of understanding and rejection.

Carla refers to student- and teacher-centred approaches in the classroom, suggesting that the approach is actually determined by the students, not the teachers.

Um, sometimes I can ask what kind of activity do you like to do, let's say next week or tomorrow. It's flexible enough and the students are open-minded enough to, I don't know how to say it, the students are qualified enough to let the teachers let them decide sometimes about what they want ...they appreciate

they believe in the teacher. They are quite, they are happy about the teaching...for student centred, I mean, sometimes we can just let the students say what they want, they have a say on telling us we want this and we want that. And under that we could adjust a little bit, not so much because the curriculum is fixed, but, let the students, let the students, let me hear the students. And also in terms of running, working out the lesson like group discussion or pair work I consider this student centred; it gives a chance for the students to be, to be part of the learning, to be part of the learning.

Carla follows this very expressive passage about students being 'part of the learning' and the possibility of being able to 'hear the students' with a poignant description of her view of the teacher position where students are not 'qualified'.

I think the teachers would like to try new things but it's just the students won't let them, the students are not ready to have more liberal teaching, partly because of their standards or partly because of discipline problems or others. Maybe some of the teachers won't try that out, but I think most of them are willing to try but there are just too many restrictions. ...It's not because we are lazy or we don't try. It's just because we have tried so many times before and we don't get a good result or a satisfactory outcome. So we don't try. We say, I know this is going to happen like this, and then we just skip the steps. I think this is teacher control. But just like what I said, it's not the outcome that every teacher wants, it's because you, you cannot just solve every problem to be very ideal, you have to control and the more you want to control, you know teacher control should be the outcome not the means.

Finally, she expresses her appreciation of the bounded aspect of vocational English teaching...

If you teach English language not in vocational courses, I always say that everything is English then you can teach anything, spoken or written English, it can be in the curriculum in secondary school. But here we are more focused on one or two aspects, workplace, routine workplace, um, some very, ah, I don't want to say simple, because simple gives you the idea that it's easier. It's not easier because it's simple, it becomes easier because it is more focused...

...and compares the situation with her own as a learner...

And when I was taking HKCEE sometimes, not sometimes, every time I didn't know what to study or revise. If you revise prepositions or tenses they are very concrete things, but these seem not directly examined in examinations, they won't give you ten blanks to fill in tenses or whatever, so it seems like you are in the middle of nowhere and everywhere is just to pick up a few points and then you have a problem because you don't know that point.

Danny

Danny suggests that his view of teaching is influenced by the needs and expectations of the students. Referring to students in examination preparation classes, he says

Those students came to the College because they, they want to study at university. Now we have, we've got something very similar – I want to teach them, they want to come to university because they want to so it was quite easy to teach those students. Every single day I spent a lot of time, most of the time, doing grammar exercises, we had the same goals. I was just teaching examination oriented things.

This statement of congruence of teacher and student goals contrasts with his description of the needs and behaviour of younger students in the vocational English programme.

I think I have to give them more counseling, more encouragement, positive encouragement to be exact. Some come from poor family background, background. Some time has to be spent on discipline management because they can be naughty, during, especially during the break they keep shouting, and I have to force them to come back to come back to class. ...I think they still young, they are not very mature, they don't know what they want, so I think I have to give them more positive reinforcement.

The idea that students may not know what they want resonates with a concern Danny expresses about the need for highly focused, 'direct' teaching.

You know it can be quite spoon feeding when you are teaching these materials. You know you have to teach all the materials within the limit. That's why sometimes I need to do a lot of talking and I have to give them a lot of instructions and I have to give them a lot of formulas, a lot of set phrases. Sometimes I think it can be very spoon feeding.

The expression of this concern is interpreted as being a story that conflicts (Clandinin and Connelly, 1995b) with Danny's story of himself as creative. He makes several references to his own and students' creativity, positioning the attribute as positive and desirable.

I like these students, because they can be, actually they can be very creative...

...every single section has very specific guidelines that we've got to follow. So
we can't be so creative. I want to be creative some times, I want to add more

personal materials but usually because of time constraints it's very difficult. I try to use my own a couple of times at the beginning. I did try a bit at the beginning and they found it very interesting but I don't have time to finish up all the whole stuff not to mention introducing more materials. At the beginning we, we taught occupations and I tried to photocopy lots of pictures of different occupations with lots of cartoons. And they found it very interesting when they saw some pictures, when they saw some cartoons.

Then he returns to the conflicting story "But you know our teaching model, our scope of work, is full of words".

In leading to the conclusion about 'spoon feeding' Danny describes what he does in the classroom...

First of all I will show them the paper I will list out all the standard vocabulary that can be useful. I am writing to... I am asking...Would you mind answering these questions for me...in the body I have to, ok once again, I have to use those standard phrases to highlight, Firstly...Would you please, Can you please...So every new day, ok, I would start with revising those group materials and then every day I give them dictation, probably five or six vocabulary, to test whether they really revised, and then we just can go on to teach the new materials.

The classroom observation notes bear out his description:

A lot of question-asking: who can spell 'assessment', why do we need to assess you, what part of speech is this, how do you know that,,, what is the verb.

Now, please take a look at the handout what's the meaning of colleague – answering a lot in Chinese, then teacher responds 'in English?'. Most answers coming from one person. Doing a bit of classroom mgmt at the back – addressing whole class – not clear that everyone's with him. Five minutes later, everyone is settling down.

Difficult class layout – class spread over both far sides of room – then teacher regrouping to bring whole group into focus. Then explaining the sample assessment and cue cards. Very careful explanation, providing a lot of help along the way 'Some of you are single' one boy still left on his own – then all pairs practicing and teacher moving around. Difficult to reach pairs in the interior seats. Then one student writes up the script and another says the words. Everyone quieted down – took some time for one student to write. Then practicing again with a lot of help from the teacher. Students willing to try.

Danny views the students positively, attributing creativity to them in the way in which they will try new things including using English...

My students are much better, [than others he has heard of] because they try, they're very active and very creative. They don't feel embarrassed when they make errors. Because at the beginning I tell them, you have to try. This is the only way that you can learn English, if you don't try you never will.

Danny holds a strong view of the need for English as the medium of teaching in an English language class. He couples this with an understanding of the process of learning and the learner, and with a particular belief about learning.

Most of them are improving, because I insist on using English and they know that this is the way. They just keep using very simple English vocabulary, like are you happy, not happy – Chinese English [laughter] but not even the proper sentence structure. And sometimes they keep on making, making pronunciation errors and I think that's very natural. I think learning should be fun, so I don't want to get angry with them and then I don't want them to get angry with me.

For Danny, being angry is not congruent with learning being fun. This view returns the interpretation to the domain of identity. Rosanna, for example, appears quite happy to 'tell off' her students if necessary, understanding from experience that they will not couple that to a rejection of her as a person. Danny is less certain. He mentions, for example, that he has had some success in getting students to speak English during the breaks because "...some do find me, ok, a very pleasant person [laughter] So they really enjoy talking to me, so that's why".

At the same time, there is strength in his ability to identify with his students and link their needs empathically and with humour.

So before the Christmas holiday I have to get them into very tough training whether they like it or not. [laughter] You know, they didn't have any choices. I told them that you do have to pass, so if you don't pass you will suffer, do some very tough dictations and I don't want to see you suffer and I don't want to suffer. [laughter]

Matt

Matt's story is interpreted as a clear view of teaching as inspiration and breaking new ground...

Um, I like teaching kids, to, to, I like to inspire them. So I would like to try, when I joined [MA in Drama in Education] I was a teacher, certainly and I have seen, since I believe it works, I mean that drama can be used as a tool for teaching so I think I should look into this method. And I can be a pioneer if I can apply those skills in teaching. So, as you can see, in the lessons, I use some of those skills.

He describes his usual opening approach in the classroom.

In the first lesson usually I will use the same approach, I ask them to ask questions, and through the questions that they make I can tell how good they are. ... So, the first lesson, when I meet my students in the first lesson I will try to let them ask each other questions. I try to ask, and I raise the questions on the board. On the one hand I can tell their level and on the other hand I can erase their needs. And I introduce grammar, telling them a different way. I can use the logical approach, the situational approach.

Matt seems to equate 'logical' with 'situational', which is interpreted as his understanding of 'logical' as 'sense-making'. In another interpretation, 'situational' can be interpreted as 'adaptive'. Matt has an adaptive view of teaching illustrated in his reference to the need to accommodate the requirements of the curriculum...

So, but, uh, it takes time to develop the sense, and when the time is tight they don't have the opportunity to sense it, they can, have to do the exercises mechanically, and when you have to look after their progress according to the curriculum, perhaps the curriculum is a bit too difficult for them but you still have to push them to the desired level, so it's hard for them, they have a hard time to achieve that level. In fact, I understand the curriculum well, I know how to drill them, I know what exercise is good for them, ah, so, when we need to rush through everything I spend some time on drilling to cope with the requirements of the exam. Since if you don't do that, they won't have the direction, their general English is not actually... good enough to, to tackle the questions, they may misunderstand them, when there is a little misunderstanding they may go off track, they will fail.

Matt draws on his 'apprenticeship of observation' (Lortie, 1975) to explain his view of the necessities in teaching...

I will think about what problem I encountered when I was in Form 3 – I knew nothing about adjectives, adverbs, so I refer to my experience, and eventually I develop, I sort things out from my experience and I, I tell them, I had these problems too and I think you might have problems handling this and that. So I share with them what I encountered. And, give them practice for what I believe they need.

He explains that students hold certain 'myths'. His use of the word is interpreted as his intention to indicate the lack of truth in such precepts. The 'myths' are puzzles to be 'solved'.

For them, for my students, there are myths about grammar. So when I ...it is actually logical so when I explain article they don't know the general sense but, ah, if you can't think of it logically you don't understand or you use the wrong article, like whether you need 'the' or whether you need 'a'. So in the general sense you perhaps need nothing, just need a plural, so I try to approach grammar in a logical way, so, that is how I tackle grammar, you don't have to stick to rules you have to think in a logical way. Like tenses, when I was in primary school, secondary school, the teachers usually generalize it by saying you can't have two tenses in one sentence and all that, this is just an overgeneralization they give it as a rule, they take it as a rule, so I need to change their, change their, solve some of the myths. [Laughter]

Matt moves again to a discussion of the need for 'situational' explanation, concluding, in line with his interests, that 'acting out' a situation would be an effective way to teach and to achieve student learning.

What else... time sense is interesting to them and they need situational explanation. Since when we were in primary school the exercises that we did, when you see every day you need to use present tense, and that is not a situation, that is just the way of a routine exercise and they eventually ignore the real life part, so...I need to explain the real situation, at least in a number of sentences like the train is leaving the town, left the town, has left the town deliberately and let them think about the situations, what's the difference...Actually, I'm thinking, they have to act out the scenes and then they will tell the difference between past tense and present perfect, like I lost my purse and I have lost my purse, what's the difference, tell me the situation, act it out, so that I can tell the difference. It's difficult to understand, actually this real exercise, you have to experience it, to do it in a situation yourself.

The themes of drama and acting are recurrent in Matt's story of his view of teaching. He was immersed in the field of drama in his first job with a local theatre company and has started his own English drama school. He is attending a part-time MA in Drama in Education in the UK and is making use of extensive role play in teaching. Matt differentiates the effective and ineffective use of role play.

So I would like to try...and I have seen, since I believe it works, I mean that drama can be used as a tool for teaching so I think I should look into this method. And I can be a pioneer if I can apply those skills in teaching. So, as you can see, in the lessons, I use some of those skills. So, this is working, and I

did role play in DDD U but I thought it was not working, since I was given a module called oral skills, so we did role play sometimes and we were just given a paper, just a sheet of paper with your role and a little detail about your characters and you have to pretend to be that person and that doesn't work, so when I did the drama course, I did role play there but I, I could get in role, since they got the skills. And I was enthused, so I tried to use these skills in the class.

The classroom observation notes describe the scene:

Teacher starts and explains that class will do role play meeting of the New Town Business Alliance. Teacher speaking English. Students respond to 'Are you using my roll of cellotape'? Friendly, relaxed atmosphere in the room. Teacher asks them to sit together, reps in front – they are slow to react but try to do what is wanted. The meeting agenda is on the board. About 7 minutes to get organized in long row of two desks - like an extended conference table. Teacher opens the meeting, talking, welcoming them to the alliance then says 'you need to pay attention'. Asks them to start about difficulties during SARS period – no responses – call on one student. Student says 'no customers'. Teacher 'Really nobody?' Boy - 'almost nobody'...Teacher - so how? Boy 'we will have a slogan.' Other group at table end interested, exchanging comments in Cantonese. Objective seems to be to get kids to talk – use an authentic situation to help. New topic is discount - 10% off. Teacher 'Can you explain in detail? Boy speaking again – seem to have just one speaker per group but 10% off attracts more interest. Two new speakers now. Six of 14 students haven't spoken yet. I hand over letter teacher had given me - shocked looks from students. Teacher say 'Let me make you a copy' then immediately hands out copies . Students laugh and say 'too fast!'

Matt acknowledges challenges in using dramatic techniques in teaching, referring to his methods with another class...

So, I asked them to write a letter to an object that they treasure most, so, so I collect the letters and I got the stories. I got lovely stories from them so it is related to them ...and they got a sense of belonging, a sense of ownership for the play as well. Uh huh, and it takes time to get that kind of ownership. It is kind of expensive, you can say, if you want to do role play and it's demanding too for

the teacher, sometimes you have to get in role to demonstrate a little bit – it takes time and skills. It's difficult.

Pei Lin

When asked about her approach to teaching, Pei Lin responds immediately and at some length about her focus on students.

...the most precious and valuable lesson I have learned is to build rapport with students. If your students trust you, they listen to you...So a big part of my teaching, is actually, I spend a lot of time, building up confidence, almost psychological. Even giving them ideas and teach them how to learn instead of just run the lesson.

Classroom observation notes indicate high teacher energy and strong student participation:

Discussing requirements. Pattern written on board – I expect, we prefer, we hope and sentence patterns. Using students as examples. Students actively questioning, for example 'can we use 'shared'. Using English throughout and encouraging students to use English. Students writing out the notes. Nice atmosphere, doing a bit of intonation practice. Many flip charts on the walls with conversations written on them. Students working in groups, generally attentive, some participating actively. Teacher using chocolates in a tin as a reward for the quickest responses. 'Any questions? Everybody cool? No problems? Ok, everybody go to page 5'. Teacher good at examples 'How are you today? vs What's up man?' for register. Lots and lots of teacher talk and explaining - kids asking frequently - switch back and forth to phonics reminding them of 'pl' some joke about a Microsoft oven which the kids recognize and enjoy. English the language of communication in this classroom. Leading them through the writing assignment, checking vocabulary, asking them to try the next one themselves – everyone is doing something. Lots of use of the blackboard; clear notes. Reviewing subject and object – students appear very familiar with the concept. One student asking about shifting to passive voice. Students keeping notebooks with words and patterns in them

She moves quickly to the link between language and culture – she and Rose are the two participants who make an explicit connection in this way.

I think, uh, language ability is one thing. Life experience is another. Teaching language is not just the language itself you are actually presenting another culture in front of the students. Taiwan is a very westernized place but, you know, reading and seeing are different things. Learning and doing are different things.

Pei Lin's use of language – the terms 'presenting' and 'in front of the students' recall and reinforce the interpretation of her construct of teaching as performative – "I like performance and my classroom is my stage". Additional evidence for the interpretation is drawn from vignettes 'acted' by Pei Lin later in the interview.

So I say, no way. I just, ah, reassign them with different partners. Everybody stand up, look at your partner, hug your partner and they went like, 'ooh' and they love it! And they help each other.

..and I moved Raymond to another group, with Carol, this girl. Carol is like a talk fiend and she is pushing Raymond, hey, we are here now, did you do your homework? And now Raymond is asking questions...so it worked, it really worked!

She recounts the exercise of her own judgement in the classroom.

But then I realized I had to take them out [the materials] and rearrange the notes because I am an experienced teacher and I rearranged the notes and I chose to teach this part first and this part later, so, um, and I also spent a little bit time, that's why I was a bit behind schedule at the beginning, I think at the beginning I spent some time talking about basic language skills with them. When they have enough classroom language skills and grammar or how to make a sentence, how

to ask questions, how to **interact** with the teacher they feel more comfortable so ok we move back, we go faster, so later on we caught up, we could catch up and they are very devoted students.

Pei Lin's emphasis on 'am' appears to reflect her unconscious reminder to herself about her own competence. Emphasis on 'interact' seems to reflect her view of teaching as dialogic, in contrast to Agnes' expression of a transmissive mode. In another example of her perceptions of teaching as dialogic, Pei Lin concludes

So you can see the growth, it's amazing. They can ask now and they ask me questions, of course you can see some people are lazy they just keep still, but they do know how to ask.

Reina

At the time of the interview it was Reina's first year in teaching, directly after graduating with a degree in bilingual studies. The interpretation of her discussion is that while she is tentative in her statements about teaching and her role, she has come to the job with certain views. In support of this interpretation is her reference to her own experience as a learner.

When I was young if I liked the subject then I would try to find out more about it, but if I didn't like it then I'd stop. So it seems to me that for students it's important to arouse interest so that they will do extra work on their own.

Reina is also experimenting with approaches to her students. She expresses the belief that friendship with students is a 'good' thing, and provides a reason. However, she has

realized that there are consequences with students at school-leaving age or slightly older.

Well, I think it's good to be friends with the students. Then if they have problems, like personal problems, they will ask you about them. So the relationship is ok. But with the XX students, then they think that you're not strict, so even though you are friends or you ask them or tell them, they don't hand in homework or pay attention. So sometimes I'm strict, but they just don't listen.

Reina then shares the way in which she copes, "So in the end I just talk to students who are not paying attention. I just tell them not to disturb the others who want to work". She adds information perhaps to reassure herself that the students who do want to work, value what she gives them "Sometimes those students actually suggest that the homework, for example, is useful" and she provides an evaluation for the behaviour which lays the responsibility at the students' door, "I guess that they have their own minds." Later, having explained that with younger students the problem is not so serious, "But for the VVV students, I can be a bit more friendly and still they think I'm the teacher". She attributes to the older students another reason for their behaviour, "The XX students seem to think 'Oh, you're too young to be a teacher".

It is not clear in the interview whether that is indeed the students' thinking or whether the attribution reflects Reina's concern about her youth and lack of experience.

Because I think I'm very fresh, I think...I don't know how to manage a group of students in the classroom so I hope after I finish my diploma I will be more mature and I will have the classroom management skills – how I can

communicate with my students, how I can manage them, for example maybe discipline problems, ...and soft teaching skills.

In fact, the observation notes show none of the discipline or classroom management problems to which Reina refers. This may be because these are the younger students and because the observer is present; however the impression is one of students being respectful to the teacher and trying to learn.

Students whispering a bit in Cantonese. Teacher walking round, using English, getting the pair-work started. Several pairs teasing one another but then settling quite quickly. All seem to know what to do. Teacher is explaining again and again to each pair. Practice begins and is over quite quickly. Not sure what to do next. Then teacher asks for pairs to demonstrate. No one refuses. Some coaching from other pairs to help performance. Some pairs difficult to hear; teacher asks to repeat; students do so willingly. Agenda for the session is written on the board. Teacher draws students' attention to the next item – assessment practice. Reminds students about salient points in the writing assessment. Writes points on the board. No flipcharts in use. Students settle down to work. Some last questions in Cantonese. Teacher starts to reply in Cantonese, then in English.

When asked directly about her view of teaching and her teaching style, Reina responds

In the first few lessons I used English all the time. Now I keep encouraging them to use English. But sometimes I use Cantonese with them, for example to explain before the assessments, to make sure that they get the concepts. As a teacher I'm afraid that I won't do all the things they need for the assessment. So I have to focus on whether they can do the assessment or not.

Reporting on decisions which are interpreted as being congruent with that focus, and with her view that student interest is key, Reina says

I found it very difficult to use flipchart pages with the blackboard, so I ask them to take down the notes. For example, even though I've told them a thousand times before the assessment about what to do and how to do it, they forget. If I talk to them in Cantonese they are more interested and pay more attention. So they say, like I told you, that they don't understand the questions or the task and that they don't know what to do. So I better explain in Cantonese.

Rose

Like AG, Rose refers directly to her responsibility as a teacher.

I have the responsibility to show them how to achieve, how to achieve their goals, and I think one similarity is the fact, whether they are students or adults, they want a guiding hand, they want discipline. That's why I like to tell them what to do and which is the right way to do things.

Rose goes on to tell a highly expressive story which can be interpreted as encompassing both her developing confidence in her identity as a teacher and the reinforcement of her view of the 'right' thing to do in teaching. The story is reproduced here with slight editing for length.

I remember a time one day when it, just, almost got out of hand. They were just talking in their own small groups and not about the subject I want them to do, right? And I really told them off that time. And I didn't know, really, what they wanted, if they wanted attention or if, you know, it was near the end and they were just tired, maybe tired of me and tired of learning English – all tired [laughter] ...

But we had the SARS therefore the class was interrupted and it was resumed in May and I remember that year my birthday was in June and that was on the same day as the dragon boat festival which was in May...I told them that's my birthday, because we were talking about the horoscopes, because we were looking up horoscopes, the English version and they asked me what's your star and I told them that my birthday was on the lunar dragon boat festival and normally I wouldn't tell people when my birthday is ...but I know on that day it would be a day off, the fifth day of May it would be a holiday and I won't be in the school, they won't be there and I wasn't asking for anything but I was really surprised when actually ... When I went into the classroom nobody was there and all the lights were out, so I, I switched on the lights and I started to get my resources out, looking for, you know, something interesting to show them, I always look at Google to show them something... And one student came in and she said 'Oh, you're all alone". And she went OK, OK, and she went out and then a few minutes later some people came in and they switched off all the lights and they came in with a birthday cake singing happy birthday and ... I couldn't, I couldn't believe it. And you know, this is some kind of unexpected gratification for the students really to appreciate your effort, even if you tell them off. If they needed a dressing down, go ahead! [laughter]

Rose's view of her teaching role encompasses the domain of bringing language culture to bear in the classroom, echoing Pei Lin's reference.

I illustrate a lot of real life examples by situations in Australia, like I talk about the aborigines, talk about Australian cultures, comparing Chinese cultures, like a comparison between East and West, and I also like to use my, my own experience about like, telling them some people about table etiquette, and they all enjoy that. And I tell them, ok, when you put your fork and knife just, you know, separately on the plate it means you are resting, if you put them crossed it means you are finished. And they all laugh. New discoveries. Nothing big but they enjoy it. And I think I was able to give them a peek into some Western culture and they like it. I was able to, you know, tell them little things and they enjoy it.

She speaks clearly of joint responsibilities in teaching and learning...

I often tell them that this may be their last chance to have full time in English lessons with a teacher telling you from the beginning about basic things like tenses and so on and so forth. When you are working in working mode, nobody is going to teach you anything — you either have to copy from here or there and also it's important to tell them that learning is not just inside the classroom, it's a lifetime process, you learn from reading magazines, going out with other people, even waiting for a bus at a bus station, you see all these advertisements in English.

Rose uses a metaphor to engage the students in learning.

I always ask them to **buy** yourself a ring binder and write down all the new words, you know, vocabulary, and look at them when you are waiting for the bus, and traveling on the bus when you have time on your hands and use them at the first opportunity when and then they will become your friends. If you met this person, treat them as a personal friend, if you met them seven times they will stay your lifetime friends and then learn about their friends, the adjectives,

noun, you know, you have a whole chain, whole **family**, you know [laughter] You will be their friend and they will be their friends for life and they are surprised – 'Seven times, huh?'

Finally, she describes her approach when asked to characterise it.

Mmm, I think mostly encouragement because they like having that, and of course for those underachievers I would know how good or how bad they did in their early assessments, only he himself will be given their marks. They wouldn't like telling their friends. I respect their privacy. I tell them to watch out, how to improve in certain aspects. And those who did well will be encouraged to do better.

Notes of the classroom observation buttress Rose's account of her view of teaching:

Teacher going from group to group asking them to check on their work. Very clear English and speaking very naturally – the impression is of genuine communication with the group. Asking one of the students to help to switch off light, etc. 'We are going to visit Robot Land this afternoon. Where's the paper I gave you earlier? Student A's?' All students responding. 'All student A's look at the situation in Task 1. Can you tell me what to do?' Someone readily responds. Some students are responding, a few messing about, but generally seem to be enjoying what they are doing. Seem to have been taught to say 'excuse me' and 'please'. One table 10 minutes late – said they had been at the library – teacher focusing on bringing them up to speed – no scolding but remarked – 'Ai-yah, you are very late!' Then students beginning pair work. Teacher 'First one to get there will get a prize. Student says to partner 'will get a prize!' and starts immediately.

PART 6: LINKING NARRATIVE ANALYSIS & ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES

In this chapter, selected structural and literary methods of narrative analysis have been used to portray the participants through their stories. These stories, captured in the recorded interviews, are themselves constructed interpretations of experience. "There is no telling it like it is, for in the telling there is making" (Eisner, 1991:191).

Nonetheless, such 'made' stories provide the teller, the told and the reader with insights into these lives. In the narrative analysis of these stories, which has included the reconstruction, arrangement and analysis of the story transcripts, the aim has been to illuminate the ways in which these teachers construe the routes by which they came to teaching.

Informed by the notions of motivation, career and identity derived from the literature review, the stories in Part 3 were derived by selection from the transcripts. The stories were (re)constructed, arranged and commented on to respond to the first two subquestions 'Why and how did they make the decision to become teachers?' and 'How does teaching fit into their lives?' The aim was to provide for the reader a set of storied portraits that would enable a holistic view of the participants as different and identifiable 'whole persons'.

Some representations of narrative analysis allow for the full 'story', the complete 'transcript' to stand unedited, in its entirety (see for example, Lemberger, 1997). Although that was neither possible nor 'fit for purpose' here, it is hoped that setting out the partial portraits enhance believability of and in the research and engage the reader's interest.

In Part 4, excerpts from the stories from across each transcript were examined using aspects of structural and literary narrative analysis – attention to whole text and plot, attention to the use of words and to the construction of figurative language, to build stories of teachers mapped to the conceptual template. Part 5 responded to the final subquestion 'What views do they hold of teaching itself?' Excerpts were threaded with analytic comment to draw attention to, wonder about (Clandinin and Connelly, (1995a)

and interpret the individual meanings being developed through and in the narrative process.

Chapter 5 moves the narrative inquiry methodology from narrative analysis to analysis of narratives. It is useful to revisit the roots of this two-sided framework briefly. Bruner (1985, 1986) constructed the distinction between paradigmatic and narrative cognition in a response to argument about the worthiness of each. The argument needs to be considered in the context of the time, when the 'logico-scientific' mode of thought and analysis was prevalent. In his original thesis, Bruner (1985, 1986) contended that the two modes of thought were completely different and couldn't be compared. The contention is understandable in the context of the time, when the tendency was to grant ascendancy to one or the other, generally the 'paradigmatic' mode. In later work Bruner (1996) referred to the two modes of thought as complementary.

Polkinghorne (1995) further shaped Bruner's framework when he applied it to the discussion of narrative, suggesting that one could do and achieve two different things with analysis – construct illuminating stories through narrative analysis and discover themes and commonalities through analysis of narratives. In operationalising that framework, of interest is that boundaries between the two frames both blur and inform each other.

To illustrate, having decided upon the Polkinghorne (1995) framework as the methodology, the researcher started with a conscious attempt to carry out narrative analysis, the subject of this chapter. The process began with transcription – multiple listenings and writings - and continued with multiple readings to get a sense of the overall story as a (re)presentation of the person. It continued with rough coding of the

transcripts to identify units of meaning. Units were grouped to reduce the data. The notions of motivation, career and identity found in the literature were searched for. Characteristics of one participant were compared to those of the next participant, and so on. Through this process it was almost impossible for themes *not* to emerge, though thematic analysis was not the immediate purpose. Some researchers would suggest that coding and data reduction are not methods of narrative analysis, but they did help to draw out meaning in each transcript.

These paragraphs are, of course, being written retrospectively. From that perspective it is possible to write that thematic analysis – the analysis of narratives which follows next in Chapter 5 - then sent the researcher back to narrative analysis to enrich that discussion. The process of thematic analysis revisited the coded transcripts, reconsidered data reduction, developed matrices for participants and themes, and so on. In doing so, information gleaned particularly through techniques of literary narrative analysis was revisited and discussion refined. Thus operationalising of Polkinghorne's (1995) framework meant that, with due attention to the purposes of each, the two types of analysis informed and enriched each other. Perhaps it is possible then to argue that Bruner's (1985, 1986) response to the 'logico-scientific' school has been 'overtaken by narrative' mapped back across his original notions of paradigmatic and narrative cognition.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

Following this introduction, this chapter discusses the analysis of narratives in four parts. Part 2 reviews the analytic process in the context of this study's research aim. Part 3 illustrates how findings contributing to the discovery of themes were derived in the analytic process, referring to the steps in analysis described in Chapter 3. Part 4 discusses the themes mapped back to the narratives of individual participants. Part 5 concludes the discussion with a suggestion for the application of findings to a teacher selection process. Part 6 closes the chapter with a final review of the relationship between analysis of narratives and narrative analysis.

PART 2: THE ANALYTIC PROCESS IN CONTEXT

Polkinghorne (1995) explains the analysis of narratives as a process in which

...researchers collect stories as data and analyze them with paradigmatic processes. The paradigmatic analysis results in descriptions of themes that hold across the stories...

(1995:10)

The process of analysis of narratives thus responds directly to the aim of this research study, which is restated here: to discover, from the teachers' own accounts, whether there might be commonalities in their paths to teaching, the recognition and understanding of which could inform and enhance the teacher selection process. By commonalities are understood themes emerging from participants' accounts of their paths to teaching. This information is different from that found in curricula vitae (for

example, years of education, qualifications achieved, examination results or years of

service).

This is not an analysis of causal relationships. Analysis of narratives produces themes

common to participants' stories, an examination of which may suggest their 'enabling'

function. Such analysis does not attempt to suggest that the thematic characteristics

'cause' or entirely 'account for' the success of these teachers in this programme. Nor

does it suggest the absence of negative cases, which are discussed as part of the analysis

that follows.

PART 3: FINDINGS FROM ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES

Introduction: four themes

Thematic analysis produced four themes relevant to the research aim, which was to

discover, from the teachers' own accounts, whether there might be commonalities in

their paths to teaching, the recognition and understanding of which could inform and

enhance the teacher selection process. The four themes are:

Perception of fitness for purpose as motivation: teaching 'suits'

Centrality of the student: perception of students as 'whole persons' with whom

relationships were possible

Teaching as an enjoyable and satisfying 'virtuous circle': because of the work

with students providing sense of achievement

English as the medium of communication: comfort level with English in the

classroom as a foundational 'rule of the game' in the programme.

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Two illustrations are included on the following pages to build a clearer understanding of how the themes were derived in the analysis, the steps of which are in Chapter 3.

A schema was developed for each category and was then re-examined for evidence across the participant transcripts. Figure 5.1 on the next page is the schema developed for the category 'view of teaching' and mapped to the notions of motivation, career and identity.

Table 5.1 on page 162 illustrates examples of contributing aspects for each of the categories underpinning the four themes. Space and word constraints do not allow for the display of full schemas for each category.

Figure 5.1 View of teaching

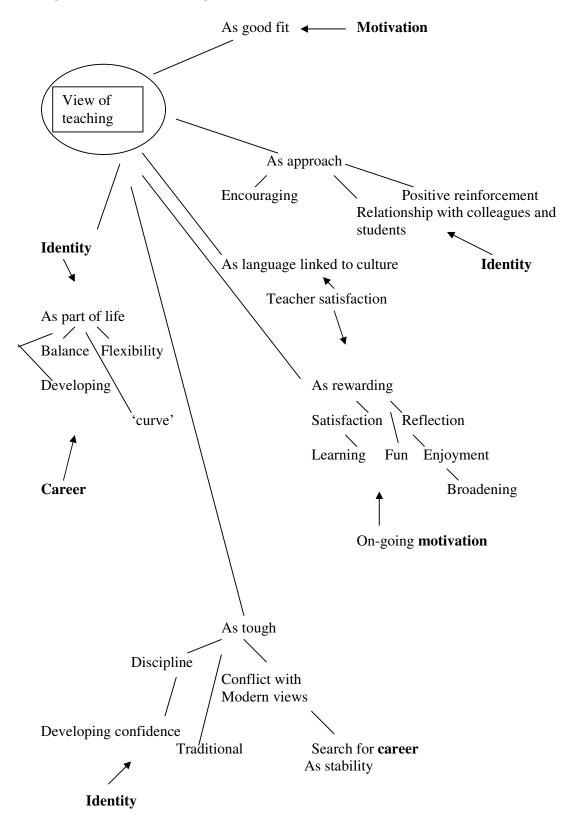


Table 5.1: Examples of contributors to categories underpinning four themes. Bolding indicates some intersecting contributors/categories

Theme	Category	Contributors		
		Major (found in many	Minor (found in some	Negative (one
		participant stories /repeated)	participant stories)	case)
Perception of	Motivation	Personality fit	Positive early experience	One
'fitness for	to teach	Early interest	Using knowledge as language	conflicting
purpose'		Performance	learner	story in
		Sharing love of language	'Destiny'	experience
		Sharing experience	Assumption about family	with initial
			influence	teacher
				education
	Attitude	Liking for English		
	towards	Beyond language to culture	Assumptions of competence	
	English		Educational qualifications	
Positive	Perceptions	As persons	As 'qualified'	As
perception of	of students	As having goals	As creative	'unqualified'
students as		As acting towards the	As empty vessels (not	As
'whole persons'		teacher and each other	negative: viewed through the	hypothetically
with intention			'responsible teacher' lens)	naughty
and agency		As partners in learning	As 'friends'	
	X7. C		As 'interesting'	As responsible
	View of	As natural		for constraints
	student	Liking 'active' students		in teaching
Teaching as	behaviour View of self	As manageable Partner in learning	'Traditional'	approach As traditional
enjoyable,	as teacher	Knowing how to help	'Destined'	As principled
rewarding &	as teacher	Having a good time, fun	'Performer'	743 principied
satisfying		Building relationships	'Friend'	As tough
Satisfying		with students	'Responsible'	(search for
		With Statement	Broadening student horizons	stability,
	View of	As helping students learn		unqualified
	teaching	As helping students achieve	Getting 'what' and 'how' in	students,
		As attending to course	place along the way to 'why'	conflicting
		requirements		stories of
			As tough (preparation work,	administrative
		Reward from student	dealing with learner diversity)	and teaching
		learning & achievement		practice)
English as the	Attitude	As language linked to	As area of competence	
language of	towards	culture		
communication	English	As major impetus to		
	Dala se	choosing ELT	A a comptoning	
	Role of	Acnom	As constraining	
	English in the	As norm As useful	As 'the way'	
		As useful As learning tool		
	programme	As learning tool		
<u>I</u>				

This investigation removed three categories – professional development, career choices and programme evaluation – from the list of possible themes in the participants' paths to teaching that might contribute to their success in the programme. While most

participants had engaged in formal professional development activities, these were diverse, took place at different stages and had participants reporting very different influences from the programmes. It was not possible to identify commonalities beyond the fact that some participants had undertaken some professional development. Some aspects of participants' stories of their professional development were explored in narrative analysis. The stories are of interest and will be examined further outside the scope of this dissertation.

Career choices also varied significantly. The commonality identified here was that three of the seven participants had been approached by the course manager to see if they would like to join the programme. The course manager's knowledge and understanding of the teachers she approached is interesting but not of immediate interest to this study, although it might be suggested that responding to an invitation favourably disposed the three participants to the programme. However, there is no evidence of a stronger favourable disposition in those three participants than in the other four. The influence of networking in career trajectory and the network career metaphor are apposite for the three participants.

Finally, programme evaluation provided by participants is of interest outside the scope of this study but does not directly respond to the research aim. An examination of references to the programme by participants provided data for interpretation of their views of students, of teaching and of themselves as teachers. Evaluation data, such as references to the tight schedule, arrangement of materials or suggestions for activities did not appear to offer insights into how these participants construed their paths to teaching.

PART 4: DISCUSSION OF THEMES

The four themes relevant to the purpose and aim of the research are:

- Perception of fitness for purpose as motivation: teaching 'suits'
- Centrality of the student: perception of students as 'whole persons' with whom relationships were possible
- Teaching as an enjoyable and satisfying 'virtuous circle': because of the work with students providing sense of achievement
- English as the medium of communication: comfort level with English in the classroom as a foundational 'rule of the game' in the programme.

Discussion of some of the detail in evidence for the four themes follows. In deriving these themes through the analytic process it was not the case that evidence for each or all themes was consistently found in every participant's story. There are both 'negative cases' and cases with no evidence. These are treated as part of the discussion.

Perception of fitness for purpose as motivation

The theme of fitness for purpose is woven throughout the participants' stories. Discussion here focuses on evidence provided in participants' stories about their initial motivation. Data on participants' ongoing satisfaction with and in their careers is examined within the theme of teaching as enjoyable and satisfying.

Five participants spoke of teaching as a good fit. Two – AG and Danny – referred to personal attributes that made teaching a good choice for them. AG felt teacher training was the right choice to make, partly to provide family support and principally because

"of course I like teaching...I think I have that sort of personality and I have the patience to teach". Danny recounted how

When I was very small ...I would just put ok, that I want to be a teacher...because I really enjoy working in the school environment ...and I don't want to be a very ambitious person and I don't want to be a businessman and I don't want to have a very, very complex life....

Danny jumps from his views as a student and what he feels motivated those views to the fact that he does like working in schools.

While a question remains about the extent to which AG and Danny rationalised their entry into teaching by searching for possible explanations within their history, further examination of the interview transcripts reveals more along the theme of 'right fit'. AG says that after her move to administrative work and then a ten-year break, her return to teaching is marked by her liking for it – "I taught in the evening – it was enjoyable!" The intonation pattern in the utterance conveys her pleasure. She goes on to reflect

Well, maybe that's my genuine interest. Many people ask me, which do I like, administrative work or teaching? Well in terms of pay and in terms of comfort I think administrative work is more preferable. But in terms of really job satisfaction and the kind of feedback you get from the students, positive feedback, teaching is more enjoyable though it's really hard work. [laughter]

Danny explains where his satisfaction comes from "And I really enjoy working with these students and I have a sense of satisfaction that I get from teaching them". Matt, Pei Lin and Rose offer evidence of the central role of the English language in their motivation to teach and perception of their fitness for teaching. Matt discovered a love of English writing during his tertiary education and

...wanted to be a teacher...and would like to share my joy with my students. I want them to write better and enjoy writing ...so one of the reasons I want to be a teacher is I want more people to like writing.

His is a very specific realm of satisfaction. Later in the interview he explains that he does not enjoy reading. "Reading, reading, for me, I'm not a good reader or I'm not good at reading. I read very slowly, but I like writing. That's why I develop through writing".

Pei Lin, in contrast to Matt who was motivated to teach from his time as a university student but deliberately sought experience elsewhere first, started teaching immediately after graduation in order to earn money. However, she reports vividly that then "I just fell in love with that...I really think I was born to be a teacher".

Rose took a pragmatic view initially, choosing an English teaching qualification as entry to a second career so that she could make use of her language skills and understanding of Western culture.

One of the reasons I applied to become an English teacher is I **think** I can handle the job, I can use my experience and my exposure to, um, to really give benefits to my students and I think actually it would be a waste not to use it.

After what she reports as a shaky start "...they needed, you know, several additional teachers, therefore even a person of **my** age...and I was known to be a first-time teacher...and [the students] were sort of newcomers as well, so – two newcomers met...", she speaks of doing well

I was well-prepared and I could do games and the students took to them well.

...And then they seemed to like me, they liked my qualifications and background, so I started to become a teacher...and I enjoy it.

Reina is in her first few months of teaching and describes the means by which she is finding her way in this first formal teaching job after graduation with a Bachelor degree in bilingual studies. Her professed liking for languages and work as a tutor of English place the language as important in her decision to try the role of English language teacher in an educational institute. She is motivated to enroll in a formal teacher training programme, the diploma of education, which she will undertake on a part-time basis over two years. She comments on her interest "...and I found it interesting to be a teacher, because I love to be able to control the process...and maybe they can learn something and at the same time, so I can learn something...".

Clara's story appears to build a 'negative case' discovered in narrative analysis and conflicting with the theme of 'fit for purpose' derived in analysis of narratives. Her story begins with what is interpreted as her assumption that following in her mother's professional footsteps would make sense. She recounts her thinking process:

Ok, my mother was a teacher....and sometimes I have a chance to know what is behind the teachers, what are the chaos, because in a secondary school there is, not everything is in a great order. Sometimes I see behind the scene and slowly I started to think I might want to be a teacher.

However, Clara's story after that point is interpreted as a composition of conflicting stories – between her principles and what she sees as some common teacher practices,

between her preferred methods in teaching and what she is told about the 'rightness' and 'wrongness' of methods during her teacher education course, between her search for stability in a teaching career and her lack of a teaching qualification. Yet Clara is deemed to have been successful to date in this vocational English programme. She mentions her comfort level with the course and approach "I think this approach [focused on vocational English] is appropriate, I think this one is ok for me...I would say the content is quite different because this one is quite focused." Her diligence in dealing with the content is also evident in what the researcher observes in the classroom.

Clara appears to operate from the principle that a course needs to 'fit *her* purpose' and her view of what is important - "The main focus should be the content, not the presentation". Her perception of fit and her focus on content such that students know what they have to do to perform well in assessments may be major contributors to her success to date.

Centrality of the student

When the participants were asked in unstructured interviews to talk about why and how they became teachers they produced accounts which made significant reference to students. About 35% of the codes generated in initial analysis of the interview transcripts were about students. The presence of a negative case serves to answer a possible objection that surely all teachers view students as central, either purposefully or because without 'students' there are no 'teachers' and that therefore the investigation did no more than come up with a commonsense conclusion.

An examination of the negative case reveals that this participant, in comparison with the others, talked very little about students. When she did, she referred almost exclusively to student discipline concerns and student behavioural constraints on the use of interactive teaching and learning approaches. Unlike in other participant interviews, no mention was made of student interests, differences in student groups (except for those in which discipline was/was not a problem) or students as individuals with personal identities. Five participants included vignettes about students in their accounts; this participant included one vignette about a teacher. Unlike the practice seen in five other class observations, no student was addressed by name during the observed session.

Examples of evidence of the centrality of students in the participants' accounts of their paths to teaching include (but are not limited to) the following:

Well and I think my students, maybe luckily, most of my students are lovely and I love them very much and "I find it very interesting, different personalities. (Reina)

An examination of the interview transcript shows just two long excerpts about the programme; the rest refer to students and their influence on her approach.

The most precious and valuable lesson I have learned [right at the beginning of her teaching experience] is to build rapport with students. If your students trust you, they listen to you. So a big part of my teaching, is actually, I spend a lot of time, building up confidence, almost psychological. Even giving them ideas and teach them how to learn instead of just run the lesson". (Pei Lin)

...and we were also taught how to make lesson plans [in the teacher training programme in the UK] just for special students – for example there was one

Turkish student ...and I had to write down a profile for her and learn about her background, work with her and learn her needs and tailor make a programme just for her. (Rose)

Well, there were at that time a lot of Chinese immigrants, new arrival children in the primary schools...Very often we have to use our break or after school hours to teach them or coach them even to learn the alphabet...Sometimes their homes cannot help with that. (AG)

I wrote something for the kids in Chai Wan and eventually I developed that...and so then they got ownership of the show. Instead of giving you a name card, you are Mr Chan with the axe [laughter]...so it gave them a chance to practice English and at least it was experience because they had to act in role...and they could get there eventually... and it was fun. (Matt)

Teaching as an enjoyable and satisfying 'virtuous circle'

Matt's reference to 'fun' occurs in many variations in the participant interview transcripts. Danny states that he thinks "learning should be fun" and that even in his early experience he "got along very well with his colleagues and students". AG says that when she returned to teaching after a break it was "enjoyable!" Rose appreciates the opportunities her first job opened up, "I was very grateful I was given this opportunity and to become a teacher...when I took up the job a lot of doors opened to me. Like I also taught at the Hong Kong hotels association". Pei Lin declares that "teaching kids is fun" and describes her decision to stay in language teaching "Then I

ask myself again, are you, do you want to do education? To tell you the truth, I am more interested in language, I like teaching ...I will stay in language".

Participants' reports of their interactions with students are interpreted as completing what the researcher has termed their 'virtuous circles' of teaching:

I also told them, this is another learning experience. So I ask them, when do you, can you learn English again, you are 20 years old and you're going to work so when and they say I don't know so I say ok then you'd better learn or I ask them, ok 210 hours divided by 24 how many days you spend with me, 8 to 9 days, fine, you expect me, I point my golden finger here, I gave them that concept – work, work, work, so we had intensive contact hours and I could see the change. (Pei Lin)

I think to shape, to broaden their horizon, then I think this is something really worth doing, most rewarding. I think you have to help them to achieve their goals. (Rose)

But I just take into consideration of student needs. Say, for example, when I was teaching adults, in the evening...I know that they were very tired after work and that they were doing a very tough job...so I played folk songs and we sang folk songs together and learned the vocabulary so I think they were enjoying it.

(AG)

So I told them that you **do** have to pass so if you don't pass you will suffer so we need to do some very tough dictations and I don't want to see you suffer and I don't want to suffer [laughter]. (Danny)

Like tenses, when I was in ...school the teachers usually generalise it by saying you can't have two tenses in one sentence and all that, this is just an overgeneralisation so I need to change their, change their, solve some of the myths [laughter]. (Matt)

Finally, Rose offers what can be interpreted as a summary of the mutuality of the teaching and learning process:

And this [interview] really gives me an opportunity of reflecting on, on something that I've taken for granted. And, um, something taken for granted is a routine, teaching, you know, walking into the classroom and start teaching. About methods and showing different students how to learn a particular subject....It's very interesting, and...and it's also, um, interesting to note that the benefit is mutual, it's not only the students getting the, the benefits of my teaching, from the teacher, but actually I am also getting my own rewards as a teacher to se them grow.

Comfort with English as the language of communication

In Hong Kong there is vexed debate on the matter of English as the medium of instruction in schools and the use of English (second language or L2) and/or Cantonese (first language or L1) in English language teaching. (See for example Luk & Lin, 2006; Tang, 1997). In that context, it was initially somewhat surprising to find all participants

providing evidence of a strong level of comfort in using English for classroom teaching and learning. The presence of such evidence was interpreted as reflecting their own self-perceived competence in the language and some degree of alignment of their beliefs with a programme approach that encouraged the use of 'English only' in class. Examples of supporting evidence in excerpts from interview transcripts and observation data are included below. A more wide-ranging discussion of first and second language use in English language teaching is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Four participants (Danny, Matt, Pei Lin and Rose) had had extensive exposure to English while living in English-speaking countries and had undertaken initial tertiary education, teacher training or professional development courses while overseas. One (AG) had qualified in the Institute of Linguists examination in English to achieve degree equivalence. Two (Reina and Clara) had studied language or linguistics programmes in English/bilingual studies as undergraduates. Control of the language, as revealed in the interview transcripts, varied; only Reina suggested that she needed to enhance her language skills. Interestingly, her students had not recognised her as a Cantonese speaker until she used the language during a class outing.

Some participants also report the use of English outside the classroom in informal communication with students, to enhance student skills. In classroom observations, the researcher saw one participant (AG) focus on her own use of English to strengthen her students' listening comprehension skills, not commenting initially on student use of Cantonese in response. Some participants (Rose, Reina, Danny) helped students to rephrase in the shift from Cantonese to English. Two (Rose and Clara) specifically asked for English language responses in class. Two (Matt and Pei Lin) did not mention

language; they used English throughout and the students in those classes asked questions, responded and commented to classmates in English, with some Cantonese commentary near the end of the sessions. Two participants (Clara and Reina) reported that for the first few sessions their students had not realised that their teachers were Cantonese speaking.

Two participants do mention constraints resulting from the sole use of English. Danny comments that "Sometimes some students do have problems with English, and once again, some strong students are quite helpful and try to help them in Chinese" and then adds "Most of them are improving, because I insist on using English and they know that this is the way".

AG feels that the use of Chinese outside of the classroom enables real friendships to develop, particularly with adult students, stating that "What I was saying about the adults, we were talking in Cantonese after the lessons. Therefore we are friends". When the researcher says "So with your adult learners, if you are outside of the classroom, the language tends to go back to Cantonese – because..." AG explains "They are not talkative in English...they are limited in their competency".

AG then returns to the current students

We can do the same thing with our students but when we go back to the classroom they can't control themselves, so I tend to speak in English with them in the recess and after the lesson because it is something very, very... something we emphasise in this course.

Finally she adds "But I'm pleased to say that, well, um, they don't refuse me, or they don't stay away from me ...they're willing to ask".

PART 5: SUMMARY AND USE OF RESULTS

Summarising the results of analysis of narratives

The four themes derived from an analysis of narratives in this study were discussed in Part 4 as individual topics. In the participants' re-constructions of their paths to teaching these themes appear as positive intersecting sets. Table 5.1 indicated some of the intersecting elements in the themes. Participants' initial feelings of being in the right profession appear to have been buttressed for some by their particular interest in language teaching and for most by the satisfaction they get from working with students, whom they perceive as individuals with whom they have a relationship. The relationship is strengthened by the perception of partnership in achievement.

There is strong evidence of participants' high comfort level with English as the medium of communication in the classroom, derived for some from their initial interest in the language including the culture it is taken to represent. The use of English in the classroom appears to be consistent with these participants' views that exposure to the language is helpful to student learning and achievement.

It is suggested that an understanding of these themes can be used to inform the teacher selection process for the vocational English programme in which the participants are engaged. The matter of fitness for purpose could be explored with questions about how and why an applicant decided to become a teacher. The centrality of students in most participants' stories, with reports of the purpose that these students give to participants'

teaching, show up as anchor themes for most of these teachers and suggest that probing for the place of the 'student' in a teacher's construction of him/herself as 'teacher' could be helpful in the teacher selection process. Finally, questions about applicants' views of the role of English in the programme could reveal levels of comfort with the use of English as a communication, not purely a transactional, tool. These suggestions are discussed further in Chapter 6.

PART 6: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES AND NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

Polkinghorne (1995) pointed out the contribution made by Bruner (1985, 1986) in establishing narrative cognition as a legitimate way of 'knowing'. In suggesting his framework of analysis of narratives and narrative analysis mapped onto Bruner's (1985, 1986) notions of paradigmatic and narrative cognition, Polkinghorne (1995) achieved an even stronger position for narrative. That is, he reminded readers that narrative informs both analytic frames. According to Polkinghorne, narrative analysis builds a story of each narrative, while analysis of narratives searches across them to build a common story – that of themes.

The beginning, then, of both narrative analysis and analysis of narratives lies in the narratives that are collected as the source of data. From these stems rich interpretation achieved through the two different and complementary analytic lenses of narrative analysis and analysis of narratives. Harkening back to Bruner's (1996) contention that the two types of cognition – paradigmatic and narrative – are complementary, not conflicting, there need be no contradiction in the use of both frames of analysis within a research study (Kramp, 2004). On the contrary, it can be argued that interpretive

perspectives gained through the two lenses and buttressed by observation act to assure the credibility and trustworthiness – the validity - of the interpretations and conclusions in the manner of a many-faceted crystal held up to reflect different views of what can be seen (Sandelowski, 1995). And it is well to remember that these will be different again at different times, in different places, and within different socialities (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

Following this brief introduction the chapter comprises five parts. Part 2 reviews the achievements of the study. Part 3 revisits the process through which the results were obtained. Part 4 discusses theoretical and practical implications of the study. Part 5 reflects on limitations and areas for improvement and Part 6 summarises the opportunities for further research.

PART 2: SUMMARY OF RESULTS ACHIEVED

The initial impetus for this study was the need to enhance the teacher selection process in a new vocational English programme for secondary school students in Hong Kong. Three of eight teachers recruited had either resigned or been asked to leave within three months of programme commencement; the operating institute was concerned about the apparent failure of the teacher selection process to predict teacher success in a programme which was to expand significantly.

The study focused on the remaining and replacement teachers who were deemed to be working successfully. It aimed to discover, from the teachers' own accounts, whether there might be commonalities in their paths to teaching, recognition and understanding of which could inform and enhance the teacher selection process.

Analysis of narratives across all participants revealed four themes common to the teachers, reference to which might enhance the teacher selection process. The four themes are:

- Perception of fitness for purpose as motivation: teaching 'suits'
- Centrality of the student: perception of students as 'whole persons' with whom relationships were possible
- Teaching as an enjoyable and satisfying 'virtuous circle': because of the work with students providing sense of achievement
- English as the medium of communication: comfort level with English in the classroom as a foundational 'rule of the game' in the programme.

It is suggested that questions could be crafted to probe for these themes in teacher recruitment interviews. Candidates could be asked, for example, to talk about what they most enjoy about teaching. They could be asked what role they think English can play inside and out of the classroom. The researcher's experience with teacher interviews suggests that questions of that nature are rarely a significant part of an interview.

Narrative analysis enabled the production of teachers' stories and stories of teachers to illuminate the participants' construals of their routes to teaching. Successive views of the participants gained through the interpretive spiral of narrative analysis provided nuanced responses to the research questions asking how and why the participants made the decision to become teachers, how teaching fits into their lives and what views they hold of teaching itself. What emerged were dimensioned portraits of individuals which had intersecting sets within the notions of motivation, career and identity but which were above all unique representations of selves. This chapter is written with an

underlying acknowledgement of the meaning-making value in those portraits. To borrow from Lemberger (1997), "It is difficult to generalise about bilingual education [English language teaching] based on such a small number of teachers, but much can be said about these teachers' stories" (1997:137).

PART 3: REVISITING THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The study was located in the interpretive paradigm, in which knowledge is considered to be socially constructed. In seeking to understand the participants' own construals of their paths to teaching the study was informed by the theory of symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969). An edited topical life history approach (Dimmock and O'Donoghue, 1997) focused the investigation around the questions of how and why participants had decided to become and had become teachers. The researcher was interested in the meaning assigned to those decisions by the participants.

Pilot interviews were conducted in May 2005 with two programme managers who were also non-native English speaking teachers of English. Piloting had three purposes: to test and shape the interview schedule, to alert the researcher to risks of bias arising from her position as an insider and to enhance the researcher's awareness of and sensitivity to the tentative conceptual framework of the study.

Data collection through initial interviews and classroom observations was carried out at intervals from October 2005 to June 2007. Both tape-recorded interviews and handwritten observation notes were transcribed in full by the researcher. Choosing to do transcription herself helped the researcher to ground her interpretations in the data. The use of both interviews and observations strengthened the study's interpretive process by

enabling a multidimensioned view of the participants – in their own words, in interpreted stories about them and in action, 'doing' their identities as teachers.

Adopting a narrative inquiry approach meant exploring new ground for the researcher and the exploration proved fruitful. Polkinghorne's (1995) framework of analysis of narratives and narrative analysis was intriguing to work with and proved to offer an elegant solution to treatment of the data. Use of this framework contributed to thick description enhancing the credibility and trustworthiness of the research and its account. On the one hand, the framework allowed the interpretation of individual narratives crafted against the conceptual template of motivation, career and identity explored in the literature review. These interpretations responded to the specific research questions and provided new knowledge about the participants as members of their profession. On the other hand it provided the analytic basis for the discovery of themes across the narratives which could be explored for use in the teacher selection process and examined by other researchers for relevance to their intended studies.

In summary, narrative analysis and analysis of narratives proved to be complementary processes that enabled deep and detailed investigation of the narratives produced in participant interviews. They enabled the telling of both 'participants' stories', in their own words, and the 'stories of participants', in the researcher's words. It is arguable that all research reporting is in fact the stories of participants, in that the researcher selects and (re)constructs what appears in the report. However, the use of Polkinghorne's (1995) framework enabled the development of deliberately different narrative frames, keeping the constructed stories as close as possible to the context and the tellers. The stories appearing in the research report answer to the purpose of the research, provide

responses to the research questions and illuminate the professional lives of the participants.

PART 4: THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

This study did not intend to generate theory which could be generalized to other populations. It sought to interpret the accounts provided by one group of non-native English speaking teachers of English working in a particular programme. Within those constraints it produced new knowledge - about the participants as members of their profession and about the ways in which paths to teaching are construed. Like Johnston (1997) the researcher aimed for transferability, in which this report will "allow these stories to resonate with other contexts with which readers may be familiar..." (1997:688).

The study also helps to fill a gap in the literature on educational research. With notable exceptions (see for example Lortie, 1975) there is relatively little literature available about teachers' own perceptions of their paths to teaching and until recently (Hayes, 2005, 2008, 2009b) almost none referring to non-native English speaking teachers of English. This study contributes to that literature and its findings can be held up to extant theory on teacher motivation, career and identity, testing and adding nuance to the general through the particular. The study also serves to illuminate the lives of non-native English speaking teachers of English, a population noted as under-represented in the literature.

The adoption of Polkinghorne's (1995) framework of narrative analysis and analysis of narratives is of theoretical interest. According to Polkinghorne (1995), Bruner's (1985,

1986) distinction between paradigmatic and narrative cognition was made to carve out a place for narrative knowing. While Bruner (1985, 1986, 1996) and Polkinghorne (1995) refer to the two modes of knowing as complementary and Kramp (2004) suggests that the use of both analytic modes can enrich research results, the researcher could find no examples of educational studies examining narrative accounts through both lenses.

In practical terms the immediate local implication of the research findings is clear. The institute operating the programme in which the participants teach is interested in the results and has asked for a presentation incorporating both the findings and recommendations on how to apply these to enhance the teacher selection process. The presentation will include the positing of questions which could be asked to elicit prospective teachers' perceptions of students, teaching and themselves as teachers, and the role of English in such a programme. Senior management involved in the selection interviews report that questions seeking such perceptions have not previously been employed.

While it cannot be claimed that the enabling themes discovered in this study would be contributors to teacher success in other programmes, parties involved in the recruitment of teachers might find it useful to reflect on these findings. In particular, operators of English language courses might discover resonance with their own needs, not only in the thematic findings but in the insights into teachers' perceptions related to the notions of motivation, career and identity. The issue of teacher recruitment and retention is significant in an arena such as Hong Kong where demand for the teaching and learning of English is growing.

PART 5: LIMITATIONS - ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

Specific, tangible and perhaps 'expected' limitations of the study were mentioned briefly in Chapter 1 and outlined in detail in Chapter 3. The purpose of including a short discussion of limitations here is to acknowledge the presence of stories unexamined, partly-told and untold in the process of data analysis. This section describes a dilemma of narrative research in the context of the limitations of the study and raises questions — without answers - to illustrate that dilemma. 'Unexamined' stories refer to the transcripts of the two pilot interviews. Reasons for not including them in analysis were described in Chapter 3. What then should become of those stories? Why should they not be re-told? To what extent is not doing so a loss of the prospect of additional 'new knowledge'? To what extent is not doing so a matter of under-privileging the stories and in that respect unethical? If they are less-privileged in the dissertation, should that be corrected perhaps through the publication of an article based on their analysis?

'Stories partly told' refer to tellings in the participant interviews that were deliberately not followed up. The reasons construed by the researcher at the time were either that the information was not central to the research aim and questions or that the participant had the right to reveal as much or little as he or she wished. Many re-readings of the transcripts and reflection at the end of the study alert the researcher to the fact that there is much of interest in these partly-told tales.

Consider two examples. First, AG, moving in her narrative to the matter of professional development in her career, says "and then somehow I didn't get into university". Is the statement an attempt to gloss over failure? Does it suggest other agencies or her own lack of agency? What conditions applied? How would some researchers examine the

'truth' of such a statement? What was lost by not enquiring further about this statement?

Second, Clara launches into what appears to be a digression when responding to the first question about how she decided to become a teacher. She explains her background interest and the fact that her programme was in linguistics and then mentions one of the courses, on language planning and policy:

Yeah, it gave me a broader perspective, on how language is handled. You know language, I always, because of that I always think that language is not the final outcome of policy, something. Because to let the people of a city know a language, the goal of this policy is not to make sure that everybody knows this language, it's a, it's a, how do you say it, you are realizing some kind of ideology inside, so when we are still a British colony we learn English, not because they want you to learn one more thing, just because they want to show you that this, this is their place. This is one, another aspect of seeing things, like seeing the policy, not just teaching but something more than that. It's something political maybe, and, uh, what else did you ask me?

This is interesting, revealing information about what Clara thinks about the place of English. It also raises questions about how Clara sees her position as an English teacher against her version of the political reality of English in Hong Kong. Was it remiss of the researcher to decide not to pursue this subject? Could links have been made between this possible political stance and Clara's identity as a teacher of English? What opportunity might there be to do so now? To what extent might this become a new topic for research?

'Stories untold' refer to the constraints of time and researcher ability in the process of drawing out stories. What more could have been gained with multiple interviews instead of one long interview and follow-up communications? What did the researcher miss? For example, why did the researcher not ask directly for participants' summarizing statements of their identity as teachers? Would it not have been fruitful to ask Danny for his definition of 'luck' in getting jobs to discover how he perceives his own role in securing a teaching position? What does the researcher still need to learn and become better at doing and thinking with respect to narrative research methodology and methods?

In summary, the very nature of narrative inquiry produces the opportunity for layered stories – by and of participants and researcher. Reflection on unexamined, partly told and untold stories is yet another storying – an intriguing and sometimes painful process revealing gaps and flaws in the researcher and the research process. The challenge for a narrative researcher is to remain hopeful about the efficacy of storying and re-storying in the search for better practice, better service to participant story-tellers and better contributions to the field of educational research.

PART 6: OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Opportunities lie in three arenas – further use of the data collected in the study, research to extend the population examined and research in related fields.

Reference was made above to 'gaps' in the use of the data collected in the study. Topics appearing in the interview transcripts and extending beyond the boundaries of the study

include experience and perceptions of professional development programmes and the matter of programme evaluation. Closer examination, interpretation and reporting of participants' experience in professional development programmes could inform the literature on effectiveness in teacher education. Information on programme evaluation could provide insights about teacher perceptions of programme and materials efficacy which might be generalised to or at least tested with other such programmes.

Amongst educational researchers, Hayes (2005) in particular has noted the paucity of information about how and why non-native English speaking teachers of English become teachers within their state systems. It is hoped that the findings in this study will encourage other researchers to investigate other such teachers. More research will build the literature on this under-represented group. More importantly, it has the potential to produce insights which both validate the work of these teachers and highlight possible contributors to success, however defined, in the growing arena of English language teaching and learning.

Finally, findings in this study mapped onto the notions of teacher motivation, career and identity suggest opportunities for further research in those related fields. For example, the researcher looked beyond the boundaries of educational research to discover work on the depiction of career as metaphor. It could be interesting to examine the extent to which such metaphors occur in the career stories of other groups of teachers. While there is a growing body of literature on teacher identity, English language studies of identity development in teachers of English as a foreign language and in particular non-native English speaking teachers are limited. Such studies could enrich the knowledge

we have of these teachers, contribute to the enhancement of professional development initiatives and assist in the recognition of teachers' work.

In all these opportunities, it is suggested that narrative inquiry has a central role to play.

After all,

Stories and narrative, whether personal or fictional, provide meaning and belonging in our lives. They attach us to others and to our own histories by providing a tapestry rich with threads of time, place, character, and even advice on what we might do with our lives. The story fabric offers us images, myths, and metaphors that are morally resonant and contribute both to our knowing and our being known.

(Witherell and Noddings, 1991:1)

Appendix

i. Sample coded transcript page (analysis of narratives)

AG/06/I1

Researcher asks about why and how AG went into teaching	
Oh that's easy. [laughter] Well, um, actually I finished my Form 5 studies in	
1974	
and then I, I should have proceeded with the Form 6 curriculum but I chose to	Choice? Failure?
enter teacher training college, that was called the teacher education college at that	Reason for choice
time	
because I thought that I would help my family	Support for family
and after a couple of years of training I would become a teacher.	Career path
And of course I like teaching, um, I like, because	Liking for teaching
I am the eldest sister in my family	Position in family
And sometimes we role play teacher and students in home, at home,	Childhood influences
therefore, therefore I think I have that sort of personality	Personality
And I have the patience to teach	Personal attribute
and yeah, that's why I chose it	Summary/Evaluation
And of course my family supported me	Family influence
And uh, when I was teaching for the first two years I continued with my	Motivation to
matriculation studies in the evenings	develop further
At the same time that you were teachingWhat was it like to do teaching right after	
I think it's like a Form 5 student coming to – going into a big campus, meeting	Entry to new world
different people, don't have to wear uniforms	Teachers as students
We are more disciplined at that time	Perception of teachers
because, you know, people who choose to become teachers tend to be more obedient, rather submissive	Teacher attributes
so on the whole we had a good circle of friendship,	Teacher auributes
and we worked very hard	Value of friendship
We attended lectures, which was something very new to us, we had to sit in	Hard work
lecture theatres, we have to write a lot of notes, there are no photocopies in those	Change
days.	Example of hard
Anyway, um, It was a very fruitful training,	work
we had teaching practice and theory,	World
we had a good groundwork and then we were well prepared	Value in teacher
In the first year we had primary teaching and in the second year secondary, for	education
three weeks or so	Preparededness
It was a very fruitful experience	Foundations
Personally, at that time I thought that I was quite well-prepared for my job.	Practice teaching
And then I found a job	
	Value in teacher
	education
	Preparedness
	First job
Was it easy to find a job?	T
In that year, no. But I was fortunate enough to get into secondary school and I	Luck
started teaching Form 3. And then I started teaching Form 3, EPA and I taught	First job
EPA, Geography and English The two subjects were my electives and then	
everybody had to take English. I would say that I was not particularly trained to	Position of English
teach English, that was only a compulsory subject but then you know schools	English teacher by
were always short of English teachers so I continued to teach English.	chance
. And then, um, um, somehow I didn't get into university but I, I still wanted to	Position of English
get a degree qualification so I took the MIL, you've heard of that	Failure?
	PD – compensation?

ii. Sample coding memo (analysis of narratives)

Interview AG/06/I1

Position of preparedness in her view of teaching? Seems quite strong. First in initial training – then supported by statements about 'traditional teacher' – systematic preparation, deductive approach

Stories not told – 'should have gone to F6' – rationalizing? – note then 'somehow didn't' get into university' – failure – not strong enough grades in evening matriculation classes?

Responsibility to students – students don't figure in discussion till quite late – except for attention to primary students needing extra help – students as whole persons? Clear interest in student with learning problems. Or is this just my notion? Researcher bias? But interesting – work with adults sounds very comfortable – uses Cantonese – link to English as barrier? – but doesn't discuss with reference to current programme? Check again. Also interesting use of cause and effect – just habit of speech? (eg we spoke Cantonese so we were friends) Is there translating going on from Cantonese in this structure – need to check. If not, then what?

Reference to luck – where is own agency? Cultural? I don't think so necessarily – but need to watch with others. Concept of Chinese humility/modesty?

Question of truth – realist view of account? Truth as she sees it? Remember research question – how do teachers *construe* their paths to teaching – take to an extent as 'true'. But want to go beyond this – one of hallmarks of narrative analysis? Depends – literature varies so much.

So: What are narrative frames in this story? Read more – compare with next interview? Possible frames – lack of own agency, position of luck, rationalising or hiding failure, view of fitness for purpose made up to suit circumstances? But reference to childhood practices, view of personalities of teachers – why should I question?

On-going question – Where's the start and end to 'path to teaching'? Defined by participant? How to bound (verb?) data for analysis?

iii. Observation note extracts

Observation: xxx	
Date: zzz	
Teacher moving from group to group –	What do I mean by 'real communication' –
real communication with each group – no	my own preferences, what I value – need
attempt to keep other groups in line.	to find a better descriptor?
Even the 'messing about' pair ask her for	
help when she gets there.	
Then the students are being asked to	
write down their questions and answers	
and things are calming down a bit. Some	
students say 'we have already done it'.	
Every contact with students appears to be	
genuinely communicative, treating them	Is this a legitimate comment?
as sensible people.	

Observation xxxx	
Date zzzz	
Classroom observation	Notes
Students working quietly. Extensive notes	Teacher adopting relatively traditional
on board. Groups generally interacting	mode, sitting at the front, responding to
within each. Some Cantonese but English	student questions if they come to ask.
to do the tasks.	
NT . 1	Quiet atmosphere, feels as if students want
Not much participation by teacher. Writing	to 'do right' by the teacher while I'm here.
up notes, checking teacher's guide. No particular walking around.	No one is giving much away.
particular walking around.	No one is giving much away.
Teacher explains topic is clear and students	Not a very 'thick description' type of
know what to do. This appears to be the	observation – try again?
case.	<i>y</i> 0
Relatively quiet class. This is preparation	
for writing assessment.	
Some students come to the teacher's desk	
for help, which is given in English. Some	
students asking in Cantonese.	
Teacher explains that listening lab work	
has just been done and this is follow up.	
That students like the lab work but are not	
so keen on the written follow up.	

iv. Sample coding memo (narrative analysis)

Memo Teachers' stories

Pei Lin: language-loving opportunist

Who I am

I like performance and my classroom is my stage.

[Group work] is a strategy I learned from, before I start teaching, I learned from, um, observing the teacher before I started teaching, she grouped the students, she put them in four groups and also, she gave them partners, that inspired me. Partnership is so important, I remember the first day, actually after the first day they started to have partners. Role of influencer in work

So a big part of my teaching is, actually, I spend a lot of time, building up confidence, almost psychological. Even giving them ideas and teach them how to learn instead of just run the lesson.

I was a second-language learner myself so when I went to the States I had firsthand experience, hands on experience so when I went back, when I when came back home I was very confident my language have got better and my teaching skills, I have sorted out my own way of teaching, my own methods. What about others as learners?

But then I realized I had to take them [course teaching materials] out and rearrange the notes because I am an experienced teacher and I rearranged the notes and I chose to teach this part first and this part later...

I think, uh, language ability is one thing. Life experience is another. Teaching language is not just the language itself you are actually presenting another culture in front of the students. Context

Why I became a teacher

So at that time [graduation from university] I wanted to make a little bit pocket money. I looked at my friends and then they all started tutoring at some friends' schools. That's how it started.

I just fell in love with that. ... And I think I, to be honest, I really think I was born to be a teacher, because I like performance and my classroom is my stage.

I tried different kinds of jobs, I always went back to teaching, so eventually I know this is my destiny. Sounds a bit cliché but that's true.

Against the 'story of Pei Lin' – no reference at all to early experience as a child – all influences from university onwards – serendipitous development, initiated by need to earn money as 'pocket money'. Should I have asked about childhood, view of her own education? But this is her story – didn't want to ask leading questions?

What I think about it/my career as a teacher

I think that the first, in early, in first, 1996, first four years, my mother had no idea what I was doing. I was all over the place. I had been an editor, a TV reporter, I had worked in different jobs, and, ah, I, I was always kind of a, confused, didn't know what I

wanted, and eventually it [language teaching] became a career so it took a while but it was worthwhile.

Sometimes I wanted to quit teaching and start another career. Then I ask myself, I always feel alive in the classroom, why do I feel bad? It could be the wrong teaching environment, maybe it's the people don't take you seriously; it could be because of the curriculum it could be the students and parents. Asian parents are very demanding, they want 100 marks, full marks they want to see the results, very result oriented. It could be the environment, so actually things kind of become right again. So I just decide to stay on in this career, in this field

"And then where am I going? Am I going to be a, a supplementary teacher my whole life? It is quite difficult to get a teaching position in a regular public school if you don't have your PGCE in education. Career planning – unique to her story – not elsewhere?

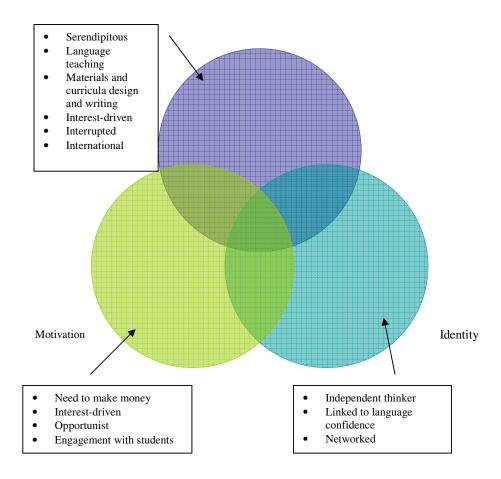
Then I ask myself again, are you, do you want to do education? To tell you the truth, I am more interested in language, I like teaching but I'm not interested in any educational theory, so...I said no, I will stay in language. So I said maybe I will get a Master's. It's easier for the job market and also maybe to clarify, to strengthen some background knowledge, but also I would like to, really to, upgrade myself in many ways, so I say ok, ok, I'll go.

Curriculum developer, training, that's my goal...In the future even if I want to get into training or curriculum developing, I will still teach sometimes, 'cause that's how you can stay in touch and stay up, be current on what's going on. The trends are going very slow. Many years ago we were talking about CBT or task-based learning and now we are still talking about task-based learning. But there are changes so we have to stay current.

Against the 'story of Pei Lin'. There is a lot of overlap here with views about English, motivation to teach language, etc – so what are the implications for the headings of these sections – does each story in this part (teachers' stories) need to be structured in the same way? If so, how to give the reader the overriding sense of this teacher as engaged in language? Put in overlapping quotes? Or change structure – can rationalize by suggesting that no story is the same in any case – but then where do the 'aha's' for the reader come in? Or do I start reporting each story by saying I have imposed a certain structure? Do I want to show the difference between, eg Agnes' very linear story and Pei Lin's 'stream of consciousness', 'dipping and diving' tale? If I do, then HOW?

Can I use the diagram for each – too much space? But elegant representation – so what?

Career



v. Invitation to participate

Xxxxx

Dear Colleague,

I have been given permission by the XXX to conduct a small research project on the YY programme.

To do this, I am asking for your help, to enable me to:

- 1. Observe one of your class sessions for one hour
- 2. Conduct a one-hour discussion with you. The discussion will take the form of an unstructured interview and will be recorded on tape.

The purpose of my research project is to explore tutors' past teaching experience and paths to teaching.

In asking for your help I would like to make the following points very clear:

- Any reference to the YY programme is about the programme as a new experience, not about teaching effectiveness or teaching methods
- The research project will not identify individuals or classes, except as 'tutor A', 'tutor B' etc; 'class A', 'class B' etc.
- Your individual research interview will be transcribed and shown to you to
 ensure that you agree that the transcription captures correctly what you said
 during the discussion.

The research project will support the development of a dissertation leading to the award of Doctor of Education (Ed.D), University of Leicester, UK.

This is an example of interpretive research using a case study approach and qualitative research methods to discover meaning in the data.

I will be grateful for your participation in the project. Would you please let me know if you have questions or concerns, which I will be happy to address.

I will need your written agreement to participate in this project, and would therefore be grateful if you will sign* and return a copy of this document to me to indicate that we may go ahead with the observation and interview schedule. If you agree to participate then I will very much look forward to working with you.

Yours sincerely,

conditions also described above.

BJ (Gran) Tel: xxxxx

Email: xxxxx			
*I agree to participate in the	research project	as described above	e, subject to the

Name: Signature: Date:

vi. Summary evaluations of pilot interviews May-June 2005

Introduction and topic	2. Ease of response	3. Topic switching to a theme not considered in the research question	Lack of depth in response	5. Conversational effectiveness – natural flow, staying on topic- close listening
Interview 1 Dora (began v quotations in italics. Leng			ptured) continued with note	
The introduction of the topic was lost with the failure of the recorder. The little captured through note-taking included 'Always wanted to be in drama – decided teaching would be best option for security. Had done volunteer work and started some English teaching – English was always good	Slightly uncomfortable at first – had noted in email that this was a busy time for her, and early in the interview said 'Frankly, if I have to talk about my teacher education, it is not going to be very positive'	Some emphasis on interest in language 'I want to learn a lot of languages – English, Japanese, Mandarin. Planning to learn Japanese and maybe have a chance to go to Japan for travel – it's important to learn Japanese to communicate well'	The interview lacked information about how and why this respondent became a teacher – the information was lost in the recording failure. The respondent also seemed more comfortable talking about the students than about herself so the interview moved quite quickly to the topic of the programme, where the respondent was forthcoming. 'At the beginning they try to use English all the time – then they get a bit tired and start to switch to CantoneseIn the first few lessons I used English all the time'.	Initially awkward – interesting to note the respondent explaining perhaps one of the reasons – a negative? Memory of part of the journey of becoming a teacher? Said something like 'we went and tried and we told them it doesn't work and they said the tools were ok we just didn't know how to use them.
Interview 2 Ally (recorde	d and transcribed) Resp	ondent quotations in ital	ics. Length of interview: abo	out 90 minutes
The interview began with unrecorded 'small-talk' about the teacher and her role. The recording begins with the interviewer saying 'We have been talking about (respondent name) and her mode of work. So now I'm asking her really about how she got into English language teaching in the first place. How did that all happen?'	The respondent began quite easily 'English teachingI've got into English teaching seven years ago when I've first come back to Hong Kong and at that time I was doing some part-time teaching at night, but I have not got any teaching qualification or teacher training and I have no clue, whatsoever, what English teaching was about.	Some elaboration about the background of students, after which the respondent asked 'so will you cut this out?' to which the interviewer responded 'No, I won't need to cut anything out. I'll transcribe everything and then you can look at it and tell me whether I have captured what you have said correctly'. 'Do you want me to talk about particular students?' 'I'm most interested in you as a teacher'.	Some probing was needed - eg. Early in the interview 'And that was when I went to the US to do teacher training' (Pause) Interviewer 'Where was that?' 'Seattle. I took a course in' Some prompting was used - eg. Talking about teacher influence 'And all those things make a difference in the classroom. Interviewer 'So you think some things about a teacher make a difference?' 'It's all about personality, well, not personality but attitude, yes, attitude'.	Comfort level high The respondent seemed to see herself as an active participant in the formulation of the conversation, sometimes deciding to take the lead. 'Maybe you should ask about the teachers' best lessons, their good lessons. Interviewer 'Best lessons, yes certainly. 'So, I had a lot of good lessons' (laughter)

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