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The Evolving Teacher Identities of 12 South/East Asian Teachers in US Graduate Programs

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THE EVOLVING TEACHER IDENTITIES OF 12 SOUTH/EAST ASIAN TEACHERS IN US GRADUATE PROGRAMS

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ABSTRACT

Title: The Evolving Teacher Identities of 12 South/East Asian Teachers in US Graduate Programs

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This study reports the evolving teacher identities of 12 South/East Asian teachers during their study in the United States. Grounded in poststructuralist views of identities, the study employed narrative analysis to capture the complexities of teacher identity construction. Narrative data were collected through in-depth individual interviews, focus groups, and analysis of relevant documents. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber's (1998) categorical content analysis served as an analytical framework for analyzing the situated meanings of the 12 teachers' identity construction.

The result indicated that teacher identities of the 12 participants were situated and multiple. While the main aim of pursuing degrees (MAs or PhDs) in the United States was to enhance their professional identities, participants negotiated their teacher identities alongside other multiple identities as learners, mothers, and multcompetence English user (MEU) teachers, among others. After participated in the US academic communities, the narrative data illustrate that the participants' teacher identities shifted. The shifting process was in particular as a result of the readings and discussion on critical pedagogies in the graduate programs.

The results also showed that although most participants experienced shifts in their identities, they seemed to negotiate their identities on the basis of core or dominant identities. This is evident in the narratives of Mika, Nesiani, and Sakura when discussing their classroom participation patterns. All of them indicated that their cultural gender identities, which expect women to be silent, as the reason for the difficulty of being active learners. For these 3 participants, identities seemed to be a "sense of self-hood attached to a physical body" (Young, 2008, p. 9). Thus, the attempts to be more active and critical, like US learners, might come across as denying their true senses of self.

As a result of this study, I come to believe that teacher education programs need to be a site for identity reconstruction and reflection. As pointed out by Salvatori (1996), pedagogy is most effective when teachers engage in reflexive activities that involve theorizing, applying ideas to practice, and evaluating results in light of specific institutional contexts and student populations.

DEDICATION

This work is for my mother, Rosiana Zacharias, & my dad, Danny Zacharias, who believe that her daughter can “be somebody.”

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This work could not have been completed without the guidance, support, and encouragement of many people. I cannot begin to adequately describe all of their contributions in these few paragraphs. However, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the following individuals.

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I am grateful to my supervisor, *Dr. Nancy Hayward* who helped me from the beginning to the very end of this journey. Her patience, wisdom, and supports are vital in motivating me over the past three years. She has served as a cheerleader, a mentor, and a guru in helping me to navigate the, sometimes, bumpy road of doctoral pursuit.

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The PhD dissertation committee of Nugrahenny Tourisia Zacharias has decided to award this dissertation entitled "The Evolving Professional Identities of 12 South/East Asian Teachers in US Graduate Programs" the award of "Pass with Distinction" in recognition of the extraordinary quality and scholarship of this research. The award was assigned on the May 7, 2010 by the committee members: Prof. Nancy Hayward (Dissertation Chair), Dr. Jean Nienkamp, and Dr. Sharon Deckert.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

A Rational for Choosing the Topic

> I felt I can't speak English very well … I feel depressed … in English I cannot say my specific feeling … sometimes I cannot express my thought correctly … I hate that
>
> (Kentaro Saeki, 2/23/08)

> I didn't know that I am a bilingual and that a bilingual can live a rich life … when I first came here for several months I didn't think I was bilingual … and then after reading many articles they told us that the person who can use two language is bilingual … and that they have many things to offer for their learners
>
> (Audrey, 5/8/08)

> Once I attended a class … in that class it was all Americans but I was challenged to participate in the class because I need to show them that even though I am not a native speaker I could participate in the class … because many native speakers look us down … they thought of me because he is not native speaker so he couldn't participate in the class … that judgment is wrong
>
> (Ido, 5/6/08)

These narrative excerpts from three South/East Asian participants in the present study represent the variety of self-images and challenges related to being international graduate students in a mid-size university in a small town in Pennsylvania. In all of these narratives, identities are "an issue" (MacLure, 1993), although the specific focus on them varies somewhat. They point to the significance of understanding the ways in which

language, culture, and relationships with others may affect one's multiple identities as a teacher. Although the 3 participants are all English users and English as Foreign Language (EFL) teachers, each statement suggests how the experience in the United States may translate differently to each subject's teacher identities.

In this study, I use terms *multi-competence English user* (hereafter, MEU) specifically to refer to individuals who use English to study and live in a language other than their first in an academic setting. The word multi-competence is used according to Cook's (1999, 1992), acknowledging the dynamic role of the participants' multiple languages and cultures in their identity construction. Different from the traditional nonnative term, Cook perceived bilingual English speakers as *users* of language rather than forever language *learners*. Moreover, the term users recognizes that the participants simultaneously are learning English, ways to teach English (academic content/practices) as well as developing research skills in the field of TESOL. The word *English* in the term points to the fact that English competence and performance are important aspects of the participants' identity construction as illustrated from their narrative data. Although I use the term MEU, I do not imply that these participants are the same with regard to their competence, fluency, and comfort in using the English language. In fact, my findings suggest that they are multi-dimensional and complex social beings. Even participants from the same country of origin may differ from one another. In this study, I use the term MEU as a broader term to include the following:

a. English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers, that is, teachers who teach English in contexts where English is a foreign language, e.g., in locations such as in Indonesia, Thailand, Korea, and Japan;

b. English Language Learners, that is, individuals who study English in contexts where English is a foreign or second language; and
c. English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers, that is, teachers who teach English in a community where English is normally spoken in the society; thus, English becomes the second language for these teachers.

My quest in exploring different alternative terms will be outlined in detail in Chapter 3. The term *monolingual native English speaker* (hereafter, MNES) is used to refer to the traditional *native speakers* who speaks no other language than English and are born and live in the United States.

Through narrative analysis of 12 Asian English teachers, I searched for the meaning of the experience of being graduate TESOL (either MA or PhD) students in the United States through the formation of the 12 participants' teacher identities. My analytical framework is founded on post-structuralist theory, which conceptualizes identities as multiply constructed, contradictory, situated, and fluid. This theory posits a mutually constitutive relationship between language and identities (Hall, 1996; Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This theoretical framework recognizes that teacher identities are constructed along with other identity categories, such as class, race, language, age, socio-political context, and cultural background. Therefore, I employ the term *identities* rather than the more static *identity* because the plural form conveys the multiplicity and dynamic potential for identities to shift according to context (Davies & Harré, 1990, 1999).

Writing this dissertation was more like a "soul-searching" journey for me, a graduate student from Indonesia. I was confused, conflicted, and often troubled in trying

to adapt to US culture and educational experiences. Most of all, I tried to understand my "new" sense of selves. Writing this dissertation shaped who I was because I became aware of my emerging identities. The nature of my research requires my active involvement as the researcher in all stages. Understanding the effect of living in the local US culture on my teacher identities is fundamental because it gives me insight into the journeys of my participants and a way of knowing how to set up the study. Thus, I will start with sharing my own personal narratives of how being in the local US culture affects my identities.

Prior to coming to the United States, I was for approximately 5 years a teacher to EFL students as well as English teachers-in-training in a small town in Indonesia. During that time, I attempted to cultivate my professionalism by involving myself in various academic activities such as presenting scholarly papers in regional, national, and international conferences in Singapore, Hong Kong, and Thailand, serving as a research fellow in Singapore, and pursuing a Master of Arts degree in English Language Teaching (MA-ELT) in Thailand. When I was enacting those roles, my teacher identities were never "an issue" (Delanty, 2003, p. 135). I felt that I was a teacher and that English was the subject I taught and the tool I used in my teaching. I knew who I was and what role I played. There seemed to be no doubt about my identities as an Indonesian English teacher at an Indonesian university.

However, changes occurred once I became an international student pursuing a Ph.D. degree in a small town in the United States. Specifically, my role as a non-native graduate student led me to what felt like having "new" identities. In Indonesia, being a multilingual English teacher never troubled me since I was also known as both a teacher

in my society as well as a tenured faculty member in my department--two identities that gave me pride and joy. For reasons I will explain, the sense of being a MEU took on a different magnitude when I was in the United States.

Scholars argue that learning a second language is not merely acquiring a set of grammatical items, phonology, and lexical choices; it is also a process of a reconstruction of self (Norton, 1997; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Sfard, 1998). Even though I spoke English fluently, I struggled to "reconstruct" myself within the local US culture and academic settings. The "stable" selves I experienced in Indonesia become fragmented and disintegrated once I was in the United States. My stay in the local community was disturbing in the sense that I suddenly found myself lost. My two languages, Indonesian and Javanese, were suddenly insufficient in representing the complexity of my feelings, worries, and joys about living in a country where I need to represent myself in English, my third language. At times, although I appeared fluent in English, I was not sure if my "core" self felt and thought in English. In many respects, I felt much like as Hoffman (1989), who notes the following in her evocative memoir, *Lost in Translation*:

> As I lie down in a strange bed … I wait for that spontaneous flow of inner language which used to be my nighttime talk with myself, my way of informing the ego where the id had been. Nothing comes. Polish, in a short time, has atrophied, shriveled from sheer uselessness. Its words don't apply to my new experiences; they are not coeval with any of the objects, or faces, or the very air I breathe in the daytime. In English, words have not penetrated to those layers of my psyche form which a private conversation could proceed (p.107).

Hoffman (1989) describes a sensation that I am familiar, that of using a language you did not grow up with and does not really belong to you because you did not come from the culture that produced it.

One factor directly resulting in my lost sense of selves was realizing that I spoke "different" English. That is, my accent did not sound like the mainstream US accent. Buruma (2003) notes that language is the "badge of identities" (p.19). It is a kind of "password" (p.10) to entering a new territory. Holding a position where my "badge of identities" was not as shiny as that of native speakers brought a detrimental effect to my sense of selves and my confidence as an English user (Li, 2007). The bundle of empowering identities I enjoyed in Indonesia (e.g. an English teacher, a course coordinator, a tenured faculty member and a teacher-trainer) was subsumed under single visible identity option I knew of: a nonnative English speaker

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) researchers such as Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000), and Sfard (1998) metaphorically describe second-language learning as participation. I realized that, in one way or another, my approach to my non-nativeness hindered my participation as a capable graduate student in the United States. Being in the local US community somehow intensified the way I marginalized myself. Each time there was a communication breakdown, especially when I was conversing with the local people, I was quick to blame it on my non-nativeness. I soon learned that speaking good English and building successful communication entailed much more than using the right grammar and vocabulary.

My lost sense of selves was related not only to my status as a MEU but also to my status as a *learner* in the United States. Growing up in an educational setting where

silently listening to teacher's lectures was the norm influenced the way I participated in the local US classroom. I tended to listen silently and take notes rather than actively participate and voice my opinion. Although behaviors or actions per se are not identities, they are a "frame of reference" (Joseph, 2004, p. 5) from which people draw identities. Specifically, identities are formed and shaped through action (Richards, 2006). They are "situated" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004) or related to what people do in a particular context (Young, 2008). I realized that the way I "situated" myself as a good *Indonesian* learner in a context where learners were supposed to be active marked my presence as a silent and inactive learner.

My silence was also greatly influenced by the presence of US classmates. The more US classmates there were in a class, the quieter I became. In hindsight, I realize that I had placed my fellow US peers as what Pavlenko (2003) calls "the gatekeeper[s]" to my imagined community. Subconsciously I believed that they would judge my English. As a result, before I participated, I needed to make sure that my opinions were grammatically error-free and relevant. Because I spent much time in the thinking process, the topic most often moved in a different direction just as I was about to participate. Although I was a "legitimate new member" (Wenger, 1998) in the classroom, I certainly was not a "competent member" (Toohey, 2000) because I failed to "situate" (McNamara, 1997; Young, 2008) my identities according to the prevailing context. I felt frustrated because I could not just magically transform myself into an active learner like my native-speaker classmates. Again, I blamed my non-nativeness for not being able to participate fully in the discussions.

It was not until I learned about issues related to nativeness (Cook, 1999; Seidlhofer, 1999), multi-competence (Cook, 1992, 2001, 2002), and second-language identities (Block, 2007; Braine, 2006)--hereafter called critical pedagogies--that I was inspired to participate fully as a competent graduate student. The critical pedagogies I encountered in the PhD program made me realize the way I "marginalized myself" (Kumaravadivelu, 2003) and how devastating the native speakerism I had subscribed for years was to my confidence as a MEU. It was then that I realized the power of education in validating and empowering one's various identities (Pavlenko, 2003; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999). I realized that the discussion of critical pedagogies in my graduate program made me an active agent who used the target language, English, as a means to position and reposition myself.

Mathews (2000) claims that identities are not entities into which one is raised. Rather, one assumes an identity option and then works on it. My experience taught me that identities were, in fact, both "raised" and "assumed." My previous education in Indonesia had "raised" me to be a nonnative speaker of English, thus instilling in me a belief that I was less competent than a native speaker in this case my US peers--although in Indonesia, it had no significant bearing on my confidence as an EFL teacher. The critical pedagogies I encountered in my graduate program taught me to "assume" more empowering identities options: a bilingual or a "multi-competent English user" (Cook, 1992, 2002). Since then, I have been trying to "work on" or "construct" my identities around the idea of a multi-competent English user, which has proven to be a complex gradual "struggle" (MacLure, 1993; Norton, 2000).

Theoretically, it is easy to understand that multilingual English teachers have many rich experiences to offer to English learners. My experience, however, has not always been in line with the theory. I often found myself swinging back and forth among many complex and confusing identities. Knowing that most of my classmates and professors were all MNES did not help me build up a very confident self in my communication with them (in terms of language, rather than knowledge), nor did it help me completely get rid of the shadow of native-speakerism. I was aware that the only way I could be able to reposition myself as a competent English user was through an "ideological change at the very root" (Li, 2007, p. 41) or what I labeled an "identity shift," which will be discussed further in Chapter 5. Since that time, I have been "working on" my identity shift, which I now understand as a "never-ending process" (Norton, 2000).

This conscious decision to shift my learner identities inspired me to be more actively involved in the classroom. To challenge the "silent learner identities" I subjected myself to, I trained myself to be more active in the classroom. Prior to coming to class, I prepared at home what I would like to discuss or the kinds of questions I would like to ask. I started observing how other "competent members" in the classrooms engaged in a discussion and gradually modeled my classroom participation on theirs. I began my participation "peripherally" (Wenger, 1998) by speaking up in small-group discussions. Over time, I managed to overcome my fear and started speaking up in whole-class discussions. My increased oral participation in the classroom gradually brought about changes in me. I became less anxious when participating.

My identity shift as a MEU and learner, along with my exposure to critical pedagogies, has brought me to question the kind of teacher I will be once I go back to Indonesia. Teacher-education researchers assert that teacher identities are not merely a "recovery of the past" (Clark, 2007, p. 96) but also a means of predicting who a teacher might become (Clandinin & Connelly, 1995; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clark, 2007; Dewey, 1938; Norton, 2000). For me, the dilemma is particularly caused by my exposure to two different academic communities that position teachers differently. Liu (2001) and Saleh (1982) explain that in Asian schools, the teacher is perceived as the authority who initiates most of the questions followed by students' responses, which would again be evaluated by the teacher. The student's major role is to listen attentively and understand the lecture. Although these characterizations of the Asian education system are now largely debatable and vary from one context to another (Liu, 2001; Morita, 2000, 2004), I was, for most of my life, a learner in an educational context marked by the centralization of teachers' roles that Liu (2001) and Saleh (1982) illustrate. When in local US academic communities, I found that teachers were more of negotiators of knowledge. Teachers rarely corrected students' answers. Some teachers even positioned themselves as moderators.

My current dilemma reflects the conflicting nature of identities as a "core" (Hall, 1996, p. 3) or "situated" (McNamara, 1997; Young, 2008) and the concept of identities as "being and becoming" (Ha, 2008; Ha & Que, 2006). The question I always ask myself is this: "Should I continue to become like an Indonesian teacher or should I be like a US teacher or both?" I am aware that I am an *Indonesian* teacher of English. This is part of my identities. However, after I graduate from my US university, I will not just be an

Indonesian English teacher; I will also be a *Western-trained* English teacher. This is also part of my identities. Norton (1997) states that people (e.g. students, teachers, and workers) who leave their home countries and travel to a new country might have more complex senses of identities because they often struggle to seek identities in new contexts. She brings up the continuity of identities that are "constantly being mediated by … experiences in the new country, across multiple sites in the home, workplace and community" (p.413). Although I would like to resolve my own inner conflicts with regard to teacher identities, I am aware that writing this dissertation is not the end of the journey because, as Norton suggests, my teacher identities will always be mediated by experiences.

Because shuttling between several languages and multiple identities—like the process I felt--can be "a lonely affair" (Wong, 2007, p. 79), I often wonder if other Asian multilingual English teachers face the same struggles, conflicts, and dilemmas as I have. This is the driving force behind my writing this dissertation. When setting up the study, I imagined that my dissertation would be a site of identity talk--a "safe-house" (Canagarajah, 2004) arena for my participants and me to share identity struggles, joys in operating in second languages, and experiences affecting our multiple identities.

Background of the Study

Identity construction of MEU teachers has been of interest in applied linguistics for decades. Early studies often analyzed MEU teachers relative to MNES teachers. As a result, the identities of MEU teachers were often understood dichotomously rather than on a continuum (e.g. Hinkel, 1994; Hoekje & Linnell, 1994; Kobayashi, 1992; Tyler, 1992) to MNES teachers. MEU teacher identities, then, have been constructed on what

they lacked (see, among others, Shuck, 2006). These studies appear to categorize MEU teachers into a single group without demonstrating how variations in culture, gender, prior schooling and educational experiences could have influenced these professionals. The dichotomization of MEU teachers also disregards the notion that MEU teacher identities can be fluid and multiple (Norton, 1997, 2000, 2006; G. Park, 2006; K. Park, 2006; Pavlenko, 2002, 2003), not binary.

However, attempts have been recently made to construct MEU teachers in a more positive light. Recent studies focus on the professional dimensions of teachers' lives—in knowing how they carry out their work and what factors influence MEU teacher-identity construction (Menard-Warwick, 2008; Tsui, 2003, 2007). One significant factor affecting MEU teacher-identity development is participation in a teacher- education program in Western contexts. Investigations of MEU teachers involved in these programs have looked at the process as a form of socialization into a community of practice (Her, 2005; Tsui, 2007;).

To examine how MEU teachers negotiate their participation in US communities, scholars in applied linguistics have taken a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches. A common finding from these studies is that the process of becoming a competent member of L2 communities of practice is challenging and results in either enabling access or limiting opportunities for MEU teachers (see Her, 2005; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). These studies also perceive the process of participation in a community of practice (hereafter, CoP) as a form of constructing identity. As Wenger (1998) states, "We define who we are by the ways we experience ourselves through participation as well as by the ways we and others reify ourselves" (p.149). The processes of identity-

construction described in these studies demonstrate the complexities of developing teacher identities in a context where the linguistic resources and previous experience of participants can be interpreted differently, depending on the positions of members in the community.

Studies also indicate that the identities of MEU teachers change as a result of participation in US academic communities (K. Park, 2006; Pavlenko, 2003; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999). Pavlenko's (2003) study points out the significant role of classroom readings and discussion--in this case, on bilingualism and multi-competence--in providing alternative identity options. Generally, the MEU in-service teacher participants were those who most actively engaged in reconstructing their identities into more empowering multi-competent English speakers. Pavlenko explained that this was because they were the ones whose legitimacy as professionals was most challenged by the native and non-native dichotomy. A slightly different finding is found in Her's (2005) study. She studied three Korean in-service teachers' participation in a Master of Arts program in the United States. The data demonstrate that each of the participants reacted to the critical perspectives in the MA program differently. Two of the participants actively engaged in these discourses and felt empowered by them. Nevertheless, one subject, "Jin", did not seem to be influenced by the new identity option offered by the critical pedagogies.

Among all the studies on teacher identities in the United States, there is a scarcity of research focusing on MEU teachers from diverse countries of origin. Most of these studies focus on one nation (Ban, 2006; Her, 2005; Lu, 2005; K. Park, 2006). Studies exploring MEU teacher identities across nationalities are very rare except for Dirsel-Duffield's (2002). He researched five NNES teachers from five nationalities--Burkina

Faso, Columbia, Korea, Lebanon and China--as they studied in a graduate TESOL program in the United States. The results indicated that the participants experienced identities shifts with regard to their self-perceptions and views of their non-nativeness. They also underwent identities adaptations to cope with the difficulties they experienced in the new cultures. However, Dirsel-Diffield (2002) did not further explore the role of participants' multiple identities in the formation of their teacher identities, which this study aims to address.

Given the lack of studies researching MEU teacher identities from diverse nationalities, this study is needed. By drawing on various socio-cultural theories (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Norton, 2000; Ochs, 1993; Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Wenger, 1998) and a post-structuralist view of identities (Block, 2007; Jenkins, 2007; Norton, 1997; Omoniyi, 2006; Pavlenko, 2002), this study focuses on the teacher-identity construction of 12 South/East Asians who are EFL teachers in their home countries and have come to the United States to further their education and professionalism.

Research Questions

The study is guided by the following research question:

> How does South/East Asian English teachers' participation in US communities of practice inform their teacher identities?

One way to address the above research question is by looking at:

- the ways the 12 South/East Asian teachers identify themselves at the beginning of their stay in the United States;

- the different identities the participants refer to when discussing their teacher identity construction and development;
- If the participants experience any shifts in their teacher identities; and
- Aspects contributing to the formation of teacher identities such as, among others, the concept of imagination, home culture, the role of their education, US peers, and other MEUs.

In this exploration, I do not provide nor set out to develop easy solutions to any of the challenges the participants face; and I do not expect the participants to resolve the numerous dilemmas they encounter. The stories that follow are therefore neither victim nor victory narratives. Rather, I seek to explore from the inside out the ways in which South/East Asian teachers' experiences as graduate students in the United States inform current understandings of MEU teacher identities. In this vein, I seek a deeper insight into participants' experiences as they struggle with and negotiate the complexities nestled at the nexus of teacher, learner, and cultural identities as they participate in a graduate program in the United States.

Purpose of the Study

This study aims to explore how South/East Asian teachers' academic and cultural experiences in a graduate program in a small town in Pennsylvania inform their teacher identities. Following authors such as Clandinin and Connelly (1995), Danielewicz (2001), Tsui (2007a), Alsup (2005), I conceptualize teacher identities as composed of multiple identities. Alsup (2005), Britzman (1994), and Bullough, Knowles and Crow (1992), in fact, assert that teacher identities are a combination of the personal and professional selves. In other words, the teachers' personal selves are made up of multiple attributes.

Thus, this study also explores the participants' multiple identities, such as cultural identities, second-language user identities, learner identities, and the roles of these multiple identities play in participants' teacher-identity constructions. The study begins by examining how 12 participants position themselves at the beginning of their stays in the United States. Then, it continues by exploring the identity development of the participants as a result of their participation in US culture and academic communities.

Significance of the Study

The contributions to the pedagogy and practice of teacher education that I hope to make as a result of this study are four-fold. First, this study may shed light on studies focusing on in-service teachers and may inform the kinds of cultural, personal, and educational factors affecting the construction of non-native teacher identities. Second, the data from the study highlight the diversity of MEU teachers around the world. Third, the insights gleaned from this study can continue and extend the conversations among scholars bridging Western and non-Western TESOL, and further research agendas in the areas of MEU teacher issues. This is particularly important because studies have indicated that teachers (Mawhinney & Xu, 1997) and curriculum (Pavlenko, 2003; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999) in teacher-education programs have a significant impact on student-teacher identity development. Last but not least, I also hope that those readings this study will be encouraged to begin or to continue to think about how teachers' own narratives or "stories to live by" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) are shaped by their unique life experiences as teachers.

Theoretical Framework

This study is situated broadly following a recent trend in SLA that views second-language learning in its social, cultural, and political contexts (Pennycook, 1990), known as "post-structuralist." While the term post-structuralism, post-modernism or critical inquiry serves as an umbrella term for various theoretical approaches that have been adopted by different researchers, for purposes of clarity and simplicity this discussion focuses not on the differences between these various strands but on the similarities they share. Following Pavlenko (2002), I view these approaches as having a common focus on the theme of language as the locus of social organization, power, and individual consciousness.

Language as a Site of Identity Construction

Language in the post-structuralist framework is viewed as a site of identity construction (Pavlenko, 2002). Since language is an act of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Tabouret-Keller, 1997), Pavlenko (2002) asserts that in multi-lingual contexts such a positioning might be more challenging and complex. This is because many individuals tend to associate different language uses with specific identity construction as can be learned from Su Kim's (2003) study in Malaysia, a multi-lingual country with three major ethnic groups of Malay, Chinese, and Indian. The study concludes that language can be a powerful tool for regulating the kinds of identities a person enacts. She studied 14 students enrolled in an English graduate program in a university in Malaysia. Her findings showed that in a context where using a particular language was associated with a negative identity construction (e.g. being smart, arrogant, or Westernized), the participants made a conscious language shift to avoid any negative

identity constructions. For instance, “Fazira”, a Malay participant, was not accepted in certain local groups when she behaved in a direct and assertive way. She was very fluent in English and, thus, was considered Westernized. She therefore tried to be less direct and downplayed her use of English. She felt that negative reaction had happened because using English was often seen as an indicator of not being a good Muslim, although she disagreed with such a view.

Su Kim’s study also highlights the use of English as a tool to resist the negative identity construction associated with the first or second language spoken by a multi-lingual person. If the Malay participants had linguistic resources and were consequently able to draw on such resources to fit in, others did not. For example, “Queenie”, a Chinese participant, did not possess such linguistic benefits. She was also unable to speak Mandarin fluently. Although she could speak two Chinese varieties (Hakka and Cantonese), the majority of Chinese students she engaged with had negative attitudes towards Chinese people speaking Hakka and Cantonese; and thus, she was marginalized. For them, the ideal Chinese person is a speaker of Mandarin. But, instead of withdrawing, Queenie used English as her survival strategy, although she was criticized for doing so. Different from the Malay participants, she had to reaffirm her choice of English. Su Kim concluded that in multi-lingual contexts such as Malaysia, the identities that were foregrounded depended largely on the interpersonal contexts in which individuals found themselves, the purposes of participation, and the individual desire for acceptance and accommodation by the group with which they wanted to be identified.

In other situations, L2 users may perceive their new positioning as unacceptable or incompatible with the identities they want to enact. This often happens in immigrant

contexts (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Norton, 2000), where immigrants' desire to acquire the symbolic capital afforded by the new language may be in conflict with their resistance to the range of identities offered to them by that language. Pavlenko (2002) asserts that such conditions may negatively influence any attempts to learn the target language. Learners may limit their L2 learning to the basic proficiency level and refuse to attend language classes, regardless of the importance and value of the new language. This can be seen from Bashir-Ali's study (2006) of "Maria." As a student, Maria resisted learning Standard American English, despite its usefulness for her future academic success. Instead, she tried hard to be identified as an African-American and concealed her Mexican ethnic identities. She did so by adopting the common linguistic and social traits shared by the dominant African-American social group in the school contexts. She also refused to be labeled an ESL student because of the negative identities often associated with it. ESL students were most often perceived at the bottom of the school's social hierarchy and were considered inferior by most students. Her priority was not to be academically successful but to be socially accepted. In this case, she felt that her identities could not be enacted through English and, as a consequence, she refused to learn English, despite its high symbolic value.

Mendoza-Denton's (1999) study also illustrates the close correlation between language attitudes and identities. This can be seen in the case of "Thalia," one of the participants. Thalia was born in Los Angeles and lived there until she was about five. Then her family moved to Mexico, where she spent the next eight years before moving back to the United States. Because she had spent her early childhood in the United States, and because some of her relatives spoke English, Thalia's pronunciation was near-native.

She could carry on a colloquial conversation in English without any significant problems. But, at school, her reading and writing skills in English were surprisingly poor; she was in danger of failing. Mendoza-Denton found out that although Thalia was US-born, she identified herself as a Sureña (a Mexican identity) rather than as an American. Although she spoke English well and was very much accustomed to life in the United States, she denied being able to speak English because she did not want to be identified as an American.

The studies of Bashir-Ali (2006), Mendoza-Denton (1999), and Su Kim (2003b) illustrate the theory that language is a site of identity construction. Identities are seen as constructed by and in discourses. Individuals may be collaborating as well as resisting their own positioning and are continuously involved in the process of producing and positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990, 1999) their own selves and those of others .

L2 Users as Agents of Learning

The post-structuralist approach to SLA not only reframes a view of language but also provides a revised view of learners. Pavlenko (2002; 2004) explains that in traditional SLA, language learners were viewed reductively as passive recipients of input and producers of output. To illustrate this point a bit further, Atkinson (2002) offers a metaphor to describe the learner's place in traditional SLA research:

> Like the solitary cactus, the learner in mainstream SLA research seems to sit in the middle of a lonely scene, and, like the cactus, the learner seems to wait there for life-giving sustenance (or at least its triggering mechanism)—input—to come pouring in. At that point the real action begins, and we watch the learner miraculously grow and change (p.525).

Sfard (1998) terms this as an "acquisition metaphor" (p.5) that compels people to think of second-language knowledge as a commodity accumulated by learners. It construes the mind of a second-language learner as "the repository where the learner hoards the commodity or second language knowledge" (p.5).

However, through a post-structuralist view, L2 users are regarded as agents who "actively transform their world and do no merely conform to it" (Donato, 2000, p. 46). They are in charge of their own learning. They are seen as having multiple identities that are diverse, contradictory, continuous, and dynamic (Jenkins, 2007; Norton Pierce, 1995; Omoniyi, 2006). Identities, Pavlenko (2002) notes, are viewed as "co-constructed" (p.293). They are shaped by particular socio-cultural environments as well as with those around the individuals. Thus, individuals may project particular identities only if their present environment allows for such a projection. Studies conducted by Bremer et al (1996) and Norton (2000) illustrate the point that no matter how much some immigrants in Western context may want to practice English in conversation, if their attempts are not facilitated and continuously rejected, they will not be able to learn the target language.

Pavlenko (2002) further explains that post-structuralist approaches recognize complex stratification in all communities and acknowledge a range of communities in which MEUs may seek membership. At times, these multiple memberships may co-exist rather than be mutually exclusive. In the process of L2 learning, MEUs may be creating new and distinct identities (e.g. linguistic, cultural or ethnic) or even new communities that had not existed previously.

L2 Learning as Participation in CoPs

Viewing language as a social phenomenon, post-structuralist approaches re-conceptualize L2 learning as a social process in which learners become competent members of a particular CoP (Bizzell, 1992; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Hanks, 1996; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Ochs, 1993; Sfard, 1998; Wenger, 1998), rather than simply internalizing a body of knowledge. Central to this study's theoretical and analytical framework is the concept of CoP (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

Lave and Wenger (1991) view learning as a socially-situated process by which "newcomers" gradually move toward fuller participation in a given CoP by interacting with more experienced members or "old timers." This process is called "legitimate peripheral participation" or LPP. In light of this framework, the present study understands academic and cultural socialization as a process by which newcomers, including L2 learners, become increasingly competent in academic and cultural ways of knowing, speaking and writing as they participate peripherally and legitimately in academic and social practices.

In the CoP framework, three conditions must exist for newcomers' successful participation: 1) newcomers must be *willing* to engage in the practice of a CoP through LPP; 2) newcomers must be *granted enough legitimacy*, presumably by the old member, to be treated as potential members; and 3) the community must have *an effective mechanism* for initiating the new members into a "wider range of ongoing activity, old timers, and other members of the community, and to information, resources, and opportunity for participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 101). Research in SLA, however, illustrates that these three conditions are most often absent for MEUs and, thus,

inhibit the participation that enables them gain the status of old timers (see, among others, Her, 2005; Norton, 2000; G. Park, 2006; Pavlenko, 2003).

Lave and Wenger (1991) emphasize that LPP is not always a peaceful assimilation but, rather, a conflictual process of negotiation and transformation because legitimate peripherality is always implicated in social structures involving power relations. Although having access to a wide range of resources is crucial for newcomers, power relations in CoPs can organize access in a way either to promote or prevent newcomers' LPP (Her, 2005; Pavlenko, 2003a). Lave and Wenger (1991; 1998) also stress the transformative nature of CoPs. An individual can become a different person in the process of engagement in a CoP. For this reason, the present study is also interested in examining whether participants' participation in a US graduate program results in identities shifts.

Seen in the CoP framework, newcomers' socialization into academic discourse is far more complex than simply acquiring the grammar, lexicon and phonology of the target language. It is likely to involve struggles over access to resources, conflicts and negotiations between differing viewpoints arising from different degrees of experiences and expertise of a given CoP as well as of the participants' identities.

Using Riesmann's (1993; 2008) and Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber's (1998) models of narrative analysis, I study the ways in which 12 South/East teachers negotiate their teacher identities in the United States. Narrative data were collected through in-depth individual interviews, focus group, and documents over the span of nine months. The participants in the present study are socialized into many overlapping CoPs simultaneously (e.g. the larger speech community, academic community, ethnic

community, and institutional community), but this study primarily focuses on the academic communities to which the 12 participants belong locally because those who are new to United States graduate schools are primarily concerned with their course work and everyday classroom experiences.

Organization of the Dissertation

In Chapter 1, I have introduced the purpose of my study and have suggested the importance of the concept of teacher identities in teacher development and education. I have argued that, since MEU teacher identities are important in second-language learning and teaching, teacher educators need to understand how MEU teacher identities are formed as well as factors contributing to such constructions. Furthermore, it is important for theorists and teacher educators to understand how MEU teachers respond to their shifting identities and invest in their second language teaching and learning. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant literature in which this study is grounded. This chapter covers the characteristics of teacher identities, particularly MEU teacher identities. It will also review MEU teacher identities informed by CoP framework. Specifically, this chapter focuses on MEUs' struggles to gain legitimacy in academic communities, the idea of the old member and new member in second-language-user research, the importance of student validation, and imagination in the construction of MEU teachers' identities. Chapter 3 describes the research methods and procedures of data collection for this study, along with a rationale for choosing narrative research as the primary method in the study. Chapter 4 and 5 analyze and discuss the findings and analysis of the narrative data. Last, Chapter 6 summarizes the findings, discusses the limitations of the study, and proposes suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Identities have been studied in fields as diverse as philosophy, anthropology, education, linguistics, psychology, sociology, history, literature, gender studies and social theory. In the field of TESOL (Teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages), research on teacher identities has undergone unprecedented growth, especially in the last 10 years, and has been gaining momentum ever since (Mantero, 2007; De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg, 2006; Hinkel, 2005). The studies have been conducted in such diverse contexts as Japan (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Johnston, Pawan, & Mahan-Taylor, 2005), Vietnam (Ha & Que, 2006a), Taiwan (Chang, 2004; Lo, 2003), Hong Kong (Tang, 1997b; Tsui, 2003, 2007), China (Cui, 2006), the United States (Clandinin et al., 2006; Cunningham, 2006; Dirsel-Duffield, 2002; Lo, 2005; Lowell, 2000; Lu, 2005), Indonesia (Soekirno, 2004; Widianto, 2005), Canada (Desrochers, 2006; Mawhinney & Xu, 1997; Nelson, 2003), and the United Kingdom (Block, 2007; Rich & Troudi, 2006). Generally, these studies have now firmly established the complex nature of teacher identities, the interrelatedness between teacher identities and contexts, and the importance of understanding teacher-identities construction in teacher professional development and empowerment.

It is impossible to give a comprehensive view of the theoretical work in all of these studies and the ways in which they have shaped teacher-identities studies. My aim in this literature review is more modest: I will focus my discussion on the literature that has had the greatest impact on current visions of MEU teacher identities, that is, those of MEU teachers who are working and/or studying in socio-cultural contexts different from their own socio-cultural contexts.

What are MEU Teacher Identities?

Studies on teacher cognition, teacher knowledge, teacher learning and teacher development have been extensive in the last few decades. But, only recently have studies focused on teacher identities, particularly of MEU teachers. These studies agree that teacher identities are a critical component in the socio-cultural and socio-political contexts of the classroom and as a professional development tool (Alsup, 2005; Danielewicz, 2001; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Johnston et al., 2005; Morgan, 2004; Pavlenko, 2003, 2003b; Tsui, 2007). Despite the significance of teacher identities, few have actually defined MEU teacher identities (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Ha & Que, 2006; Morgan, 2004; Tang, 1997; Tsui, 2007). Since many studies focusing on teacher identities are conducted with MNES teachers working in L1 contexts (see, among others, Alsup, 2005; Danielewicz, 2001) or an ESL context (Johnston et al., 2005; Morgan, 2004b; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005), teacher identities are theorized mostly with regard to nativeness. According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), the term *identities* has two opposing meanings (i.e. to single out a particular person, and to see a person as part of a group, a cause, or a tradition). However, one is generally left to wonder if MEU teacher identities are about similarities to or differences from MNES teacher identities.

The reluctance toward seeing MEU teacher identities beyond the issue of nativeness has resulted in an under-theorization of other identities options that MEU teachers might have, such as their cultural, intercultural, national, and gender identities. Menard-Warwick (2008) claims that even studies on MEU teacher cultural identities have focused on the drawbacks of these teachers, from the limitations of their

backgrounds to their difficulties in addressing culture in the L2 classroom. This, she explains, can be seen from studies conducted by Duff and Uchida (1997), Harklau (1999), and Lazaraton (2003). Studying the identities of MEU teachers in Japan, Duff and Uchida (1997) profile four English teachers, whose socio-cultural perceptions and identities, along with institutional constraints, leading them to make classroom choices about addressing cultural issues that were often at odds with the beliefs they stated in interviews. In a US context, Harklau (1999) observes ESL instructors who were experienced in working with international students but unequipped to handle the more intense cultural identity issues faced by Generation 1.5 immigrant students. Finally, Lazaraton (2003) emphasizes a lack of cultural knowledge in chronicling MEU teachers' attempts to answer ESL student questions.

Danielewicz (2001), whose study focuses on MNES teachers in an L1 context, argues that being a teacher is not a matter of simply adopting a role but rather constructing identities as a teacher. This means, as she explains, that individuals define themselves and are viewed by others as teachers. Thus, she asserts that "becoming a teacher" is in fact "an identity forming process" (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 3) co-constructed by the individual and others.

However, the co-construction of teacher identities by teachers themselves and others are not always in accordance with one another. This can be illustrated by Varghese's study (2001) . Varghese investigated three bilingual teachers participating in a professional development program in an L1 context. The teachers-in-training seemed to show resistance when they were positioned as complete novices. The teachers in the study seemed to be seeking expertise from an instructor whom they saw as having, on

one hand, bilingual-specific knowledge and, on the other, a discourse that did not position them as complete novices but allowed them to admit their fears and doubts. Varghese (2001) concludes that in cases where professional identities are under construction, such as in teacher-educational programs, her participants sought experts with whom they could construct their professional identities. At the same time, these mentors acknowledge the teachers' expertise and refrain from treating them like complete novices. Thus, she suggests that teacher education programs should be aware of the complicated process of forming teacher identities when conceptualizing and addressing professional identities for student-teachers.

Other educationalists attempting to define teacher identities are Connelly and Clandinin (1999). Different from Danielewicz (2001), who did not give prominent focus on the role of narratives in teacher identities, Connelly and Clandinin (1999) recognize a direct relationship between the two. They define teacher identities as related to "the stories to live by" (Connelly and Clandinin, 1999, p.4). According to them, teachers' stories-to-live-by are informed by the ways in which teachers make sense of contexts. Thus, teacher identities are fluid and shifting according to the "the landscapes on which they live" (Clandinin et al., 2006, p. 9), which include teachers' moment-to-moment experiences, both inside and outside the classroom.

Because of this lack of theorization of MEU teacher identities, this literature review aims to conceptualize MEU teacher identities. In particular, it seeks to explore the identity construction of MEU teachers working and/or studying in socio-cultural contexts other than their home countries. Informed by the theoretical framework discussed in Chapter 1, I conducted a critical examination on MEU teacher identities within the CoPs

they engage in. In this critical examination, my goal was three-fold: first, to explore the experiences of MEUs as they try to gain access to different CoPs; second, to explore issues related to the positioning of old and new members of the profession; and, finally, to explore the inter-connectedness of imagination and identities construction in MEUs.

MEUs' Struggles to Gain Legitimacy in Academic Communities

Earlier research in second-language acquisition has positioned the traditional MNES as "old members" whereas MEUs are forever seen as "new members." Many studies have illustrated the never-ending struggle of MEUs to gain the status of old-timers in ESL contexts (e.g. the United States).

One such study is Eng's (2008). Using an autobiographical approach, Eng investigated his own journey as a MEU faculty to establish a place in an academic community in the United States. His personal narratives showed that even after having seventeen years experience of teaching composition in higher education in the United States, he failed to gain the status of old-timer within the communities of composition teachers and continued to feel marginalized. As discussed in Chapter 1, Wenger (1998) maintains that a CoP is a site of identity construction for new members. New members craft their identities, either by participation in the practice of the CoP or through LPP (legitimate peripheral participation). Through LPP, new members can move toward fuller participation so as to achieve old-timer status. However, new members can also choose not to participate and maintain their participation in a marginal position, such as in Eng's (2008) case. In response to his failure at being a full member in the CoP of composition teachers, Eng (2008) chose instead to develop unique identities, which he claimed "as alternative ways of imagining and re-imagining favorable identities for non-native

nonwhite English professors" (p.7). He started to develop a transforming pedagogy that would help minorities, like himself, to "develop their marginal voices and further engage their learning interest" (p.7). Thus, he gave both moral and positive social values to his new re-imagined position.

Another study related to MEUs attempting to be full members of a CoP is Lam (2000). Using a case study, she observed a Chinese high school student, "Almon," who participated in two CoPs: the classroom and the Internet. In the classroom, Almon was positioned on the periphery because of his "broken English." By contrast, on the Internet, he was able to establish himself as a full member, engaging in a variety of discourse in English--pop culture, religion, therapy, and cyberculture—with both MEUs and MNESs. In the classroom, he was mainly identified by his negative identities as a student who had poor command of English; but on the internet, he enjoyed a range of positive identities-options as a knowledgeable fan of Japanese pop music, a founder of the fan group for pop singer, Ryoko, and an owner of an internally popular homepage. Lam (2000) concludes her study with the following remarks:

> Whereas classroom English appeared to contribute to Almon's sense of exclusion or marginalization (his inability to speak like a native) which paradoxically contradicts the school's mandate to prepare students for the workplace and civic involvement, the English he controlled on the internet enabled him to develop a sense of belonging and connectedness to a global English-speaking community (p.476).

Lam's (2000) study highlights the importance of being granted legitimacy to be treated as a potential member in a CoP (Wenger, 1998). In the classroom, his broken English

inhibited him from being deemed a legitimate potential member. However, the computer-mediated communication enabled him to take a more empowering subjective positioning since he was not asked to display standardized English as in the classroom. Thus, he was able to be more expressive in biographical and narrative writing on his homepage, which resulted in more positive identities options.

Perhaps one study that can sum up the significance of marginalized position to develop more empowering identities is Canagrajah's (2004). Following Pratt (1991), Canagarajah (2004) refers to the marginal space in which individuals can negotiate their favorable and hybrid identities as "safe houses" (p.120). He characterizes safe houses as spaces that are "relatively free from surveillance, especially by authority figures" (p.121). Some examples of safe house spaces include small-group interactions, times before classes begin, peer activities, and marginalia in textbooks. Canagrajah's study addresses the intriguing question of how multi-competence English learners were able to creatively construct a safe space to exercise favorable identities not welcomed in the classroom. This includes the use of code-switching when privately speaking to peers. Code-switching allowed learners to express their bi-lingual and bi-cultural identities outside the classroom, which were suppressed in the classroom because of the English-only norm in interactions. In the classroom, these students were able to adopt a critical orientation toward the assignment given to them and to fulfill the identities of good students and were able to be considered potential members in the classroom. They were aware that any direct criticism of the course and/or teacher would be received by the teacher negatively and, thus, could jeopardize their chances of scoring good grades in the course.

Different from Eng, who chose to develop his agency through his marginal position, or "Almon" in Lam's (2000) study, who developed his agency by participating in a web-based CoP, the participants in Canagrajah's (2004) study seemed to be able to position themselves skillfully according to the CoPs they wanted to gain recognition from. They displayed conforming identities in the classroom by producing English codes that were expected by their teachers. However, they resorted to the safe house to fulfill the need to display their hybrid identities by using of vernacular English. Canagarajah (2004) concluded that the practice of the safe house enabled "certain complex forms of legitimate peripheral participation" (p.123). Minority students' participation in a classroom community often involved conflicts and inequalities. As a result, they often adopted a certain detached form of participation. By contrast, the safe house allowed minority students to relate to pedagogical matters in different terms. Therefore, Canagarajah (2004) argued that safe houses were complementary to the concerns of the school and classroom. The identities students developed in the safe house enriched their critical and creative contribution to academic literacies and discourses.

Eng's (2008), Lam's (2000), and Canagarajah's (2004) studies highlight what is missing from Wenger's (1998) CoP framework. Wenger's work has been criticized for providing a fairly static model of communities (Contu & Willmott, 2003; Engestrom, Miettinen, & Punamaki, 1999). While a CoP is understood as being centrally about ongoing processes of negotiation of meaning, Wenger (1998) does not explain further how members in a marginal or periphery position in a CoP negotiate their participation in either similar or other CoPs. Eng's study (2008) illustrates how his conscious decision to remain on the "margin," as opposed to his attempting to be a full member, has helped him

find a more empowering identity option as a composition teacher who is oriented toward transforming pedagogies. Lam's study (2000) shows how a failure to gain legitimacy in one CoP does not necessarily mean an inability to develop agency in other CoPs. Finally, Canagarajah's (2004) study underlines the significance of skillful navigation between CoPs including suppressing unfavorable identities to gain an acceptance in a dominant CoP.

Role of Old and New Members in a CoP

In Wenger's (1998) COP framework, full members hold significant but somewhat static roles. They provide models of practice based on past experiences and model a possible future for participations that are acceptable in a given CoP (e.g. Samimy, 2006). Although somewhat limited, full members are those who are considered to have experience or expertise needed in a particular CoP. Although Wenger (1998) argues that the model does not position new members simply as passive followers of old members, he does not provide examples of how new members can be actively engaged in a given CoP. Nevertheless, he does state that after newcomers have gained legitimacy in the practice of a particular CoP, they might develop their own unique participation patterns and provide new models for different ways of engagement, as can be seen from the following studies.

Using a personal narrative approach, Samimy (2006) documented her relationship and the roles of three old-timers that provided her guidance and role models as she attempted to become a tenure-track faculty member at a large Midwestern university. Her study illustrates the role of imagined identities of old-timers in providing models of participation and the complexities of "appropriating" one's identities to those of old-

timers. Professor Curran, her husband, and a senior female faculty show the ways of being a legitimate faculty member. Samimy's mother demonstrates what she thought it took to be a good wife and mother. However, the way she positioned these four people as old-timers also caused frustration when Samimy realized that she could not be like them and needed to craft her own model of participation. Wenger (1998) points out:

> Because learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identities. It is not just an accumulation of skills and information, but a process of becoming—to become a certain person or, conversely, to avoid becoming a certain person (Wenger, 1998, p. 215).

Samimy's (2006) narrative illustrates how she has become "a certain person" and "avoid[s] becoming a certain person" and crafts her own multiple identities as an L2 faculty and a mother.

Additionally, Samimy's (2006) narrative underlines the complexities of coordinating her multi-membership in different CoPs. Kanno (2003) explains that even if we are focusing on one particular membership, the quality and the extent of our participation in that community is likely to affect our memberships elsewhere. Thus, Kramsch and Lam (1999) point out, "It is not where people belong that is important, but how people belong—the various ways people are attached and attach themselves affectively into the world" (Kramsch & Lam, 1999, p. 70). Samimy (2006) realized that her chosen mentors boxed her into a certain set of imagined identities. When she came to this realization, she knew that she needed to negotiate her multi-membership as a wife, a mother, and a full-time university faculty and reconstructed her own model of participation. After living in the United States longer than in Japan, her cultural, and

linguistic identities became much more complex and multidimensional than they used to be. Thus, she could not longer fit into the stereotypical image of a Japanese mother and wife.

Another study illustrating the dynamic nature of old-timer status is Verity's (2000). Using an autobiographical analysis, Verity (2000) illustrates how living in a new CoP can challenge one's old member status. Before teaching in Japan, she proclaimed herself to be an expert teacher and a trained professional. She also described herself as flexible, skilled, and well-versed in a traditional practice but creative in adapting innovative teaching techniques. She had extensive contact with Japanese students elsewhere and taught in large, mono-lingual classes in EFL settings before. However, when she taught in Japan, where most students responded to her teaching with impassive silence, the personal pedagogy she had developed was challenged. She found that her approach was irrelevant and ineffective in the local context. To this end, she felt that her previous "expert" identities had been fragmented. She felt like a novice, although she knew she was an expert. Teaching, previously automatic and fun, was suddenly obscure, laborious, and worrisome. The subsequent shift of identities made her feel fragmented and inadequate.

However, by the end of the semester, she managed to construct and develop a new goal and, thus, develop a new kind of expertise that allowed her to enjoy her teaching. She stopped focusing on why Japanese students seemed unresponsive and started to orient her attention to what they actually did in response to what she said and did. Thus, she learned to appreciate what the students were doing, instead of simply being frustrated by what they were not doing. She concluded that "the fall from expert to novice and the

climb back again to newly authored expertise was a lesson much more about myself and my professional identities than about Japan or the dangers of culture-shock" (Verity, 2000, p. 197).

Johnson's (2001) study offers important insights to the notion of new members and old members. Her study illustrates how the identities of a new member and an old member are a matter of positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990; Hall, 1996; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). It demonstrates the conflicting nature of how one positions oneself and how one is positioned by others. In the United States, "Marc" voluntarily positioned himself as a new member and a learner; trying to gain entry into a CoP in a US graduate program. As a TESOL graduate student, he viewed himself as more of a learner of language--perhaps due to his non-nativeness--than a teacher and, thus, expected a language feedback from his mentor. Nevertheless, his mentor did not see Marc as a new member but rather as a fellow teacher and gave more feedback on teaching rather than on language. The different positioning might contribute to the tensions and struggles Marc experienced in locating himself as a graduate learner in the program.

The debilitating effect of positioning MNESs as old members to one's self-esteem can be seen from G. Park's (2006) study. She explored the experiences of five East-Asian women to examine how their educational experiences shaped their identities as they navigated in TESOL programs in the United States. She found that her participants marginalized themselves with regard to MNESs. This led G. Park's participants to see themselves as inferior to MNESs and other European English speakers who they positioned as the old members. They viewed themselves as perpetual learners as opposed to identifying themselves with more empowering identity options such as being

bilinguals and multi-competent individuals. The women, to varying degrees, came to realize that only MNESs could be ideal English language teachers. G. Park (2006) concluded that their linguistic identities were the primary reasons in how they positioned themselves. An example of this was Yu Ri, who stated that she felt out of place in the classroom context as she interacted with her US friends in the TESOL courses and, as a consequence, losing her voice in the classroom discussions. She further stated that in comparing themselves to their MNES classmates with regard to their lack of oral participation in ESL classroom, TESOL graduate courses could be perceived as self-debilitating and/or self-marginalizing. This was due to the fact that in the United States academic community, MEUs need to produce oral English communications outside the comfort of their native learning contexts.

Samimy's (2006) and Verity's (2000) narratives and Johnson's (2001) and G. Park's (2006) studies demonstrate that the identities of a new member and an old member are a matter of positioning. They are situated. In other words, a person who is considered an old member in one community is not automatically considered to be an old-timer in another CoP. Johnson's (2001) study also underlines that the co-construction of either an old member or a new member is not always in agreement with one another. In Johnson's (2001) study, Marc positioned himself as a new member and, thus, expected his mentor to give language feedback. His expectation was not met by his mentor, who positioned him as a fellow teacher.

The struggle to gain access into a CoP of English teachers is found in Western contexts such as the United States--as the above examples show--as well as in EFL contexts. Tsui's (2007) study illustrates the complexity of the identity construction of an

EFL teacher "Minfang." Through analyzing Minfang's identities, Tsui (2007) contended that there were two important aspects of identities formation. First, the individual recognized that he or she possessed competence that his or her community valued. Second, the individual was given legitimacy of access into a CoP. In his first two years of teaching, Minfang developed identities of marginality since the academic community did not fully recognize his teaching competence. He was assigned to teach only listening skills, the least valued of all skill areas. This marginalization had a profound effect on Minfang's sense of self-worth and identities, which kept surfacing throughout his teaching career. It was not until he was given the responsibility of teaching *Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)*, which was a recognition of his core competence. He began to identify himself and felt that he was identified by others as a competent member of the department.

However, the identification Minfang received from the institution as a model CLT teacher led him to resist the CLT approach. He continued to believe that traditional methods were pedagogically more effective for his learners. Here, Minfang experienced identities conflicts. On the one hand, teaching CLT helped him to establish an empowering positioning because he was considered a model CLT teacher. On the other hand, he did not believe that CLT was an effective teaching method for his students. To negotiate these conflicts, Minfang integrated traditional methods into CLT when he was not under external pressure but used CLT when he was under supervision. He was cautious about disclosing his views on the institution's version of CLT. Tsui's (2007) study shows that the interplay of identification and the negotiability of meanings could generate identities conflicts. These conflicts could lead to new forms of engagement in

practice, new relations with members of the community, and new ownership of meanings. They might also lead to identities of marginality, disengagement, and non-participation, as Minfang's stories illustrate. Based on these findings, Tsui (1997) suggests that identification involves not just being given legitimate access to a CoP but also legitimating one's access to that CoP. It also legitimizes validation, no matter whether this validation is given by oneself or by others.

Students' Validation and MEU Teacher Identities

Perhaps one factor that is different in constructing MEU teacher identities from that of MNES teachers is the significance of the role of students in the identity construction of MEU teachers. In addition to validation from old members, studies show that perceptions from students are one important factor for the construction of MEU teacher identities and professionalism (Cheung, 2002; Liang, 2002; Mahboob, 2003; Moussu, 2002).

In Thomas's (1999) personal narratives as an MEU writing teacher in Canada, she was often discouraged by her ESL students who often expected to be taught by MNES teachers. Students questioned her credibility and validity as an English writing teacher. Walking through the experiences of being an MEU teacher myself, I understand how the experience of feeling shame, hurt, and misunderstanding can influence the identities of MEU teachers.

Interested in exploring the experiences of developing competent participation as English instructors, Liang (2006) conducted a narrative study on "Nina", "Terry" and "Sue." The study found that in the first few years, Nina, Terry, and Sue experienced students' resistance in face-to-face oral encounters. Since they did not speak like white

American professors, they felt that students questioned their credibility as course instructors and challenged their authority to teach in their fields of specialization. These negative experiences seemed to affect Nina's, Terry's, and Sue's perceptions of their own language capacity. When asked about the source of students' resistance and negative attitudes, they looked to their own perceived incompetence in English for an explanation. Although they were well qualified to teach and had high confidence in their content and research knowledge, they did not seem to have the same level of confidence in their English. This conflicting sense of alternating confidence and functioning levels appeared to make Nina, Terry, and Sue feel fragmented most of the time. Liang (2006) explained that this feeling of fragmentation was in fact not metaphorical since "there were indeed two 'selves' who needed to communicate" (p.191) in these women's selves: the confident Chinese-speaking self at home and the not-so-confident English-speaking self in the classroom. Even though Nina, Terry, and Sue had a level of high consciousness of being MEU faculty, they did not see their linguistic disadvantage as the major reasons for their negative teaching experiences. They pointed to institutionalized racial and gender inequalities as a crucial source of their professional peripheralization.

But, instead of being disempowered by their peripheral status, Nina, Terry, and Sue developed coping strategies in which they turned their linguistic disadvantage into a resource for their own teaching and for their students' learning. They were determined to make use of their unique background and multicultural experience to make contributions to their students, their colleagues, their institutions and their profession. By developing coping strategies, Nina, Terry, and Sue seemed to have gained confidence in their reconstructed professional identities.

Liang's (2006) narrative analysis of Nina's, Terry's, and Sue's journeys to gain legitimacy in an L2 context shows that their experiences underwent, using Pavlenko and Lantolf's term (2000), stages of loss to stages of recovery. The stages of loss are characterized by their negative experiences when the student challenged their linguistic capacity for content delivery and the interactive exchange of thoughts. The stages of recovery constitute their positive experiences of professional satisfaction and, along with it, new sense of professional identities.

By using their linguistic disadvantage as a resource for teaching and learning, the participants were able to negotiate their participation. This strategy echoes the concept of teacher identities as a source of pedagogy put forward by Morgan (2004). When he was teaching at the Chinese Community Services Association of Toronto (CSSAT), Morgan used his personal lives as "material" in the classroom. Morgan shared the fact that in his household he did most of the cooking, house chores, and child-rearing while his wife took a more major role in financial matters. He felt that his revelation of his personal identities, which were significantly different from what many Chinese students' imagined as the identities of husbands, allowed him to initiate a valuable discussion in the classroom, despite the students' initial shock at knowing Morgan's domestic identities. His approach opened up possibilities for other identity options and challenged his students' collective assumption about the role of gender in their society.

Imagination and MEU Identities

For a long time, early research framed MEUs as new members trying to gain access to English-speaking CoPs with MNESs positioned as full members because they were imagined as being legitimate speakers. While there are some MEU teachers who are

able to gain the status of full members in a given CoP, fellow colleges and students remain skeptical of the values of these MEU teachers (Chiang, 1993; Johnson, 1994; Prendergast, 1998; Sciachitano, 1993) and thus, do not consider them as "a competent member" (Toohey, 2000) in that CoP .

One reason for such marginalization of MEUs, as indicated by Pavlenko's (2003a) study, is due to the unimagined MEU teacher identities. Studying the linguistic autobiographies of forty-four students, Pavlenko (2003) investigated the role of critical pedagogies, that is exposure to contemporary theories of bi-lingualism and multi-competence, in students' imagined communities. The analysis of students' narratives showed that initially students drew on two imagined communities in which they claimed membership: (a) native speaker community and (b) non-native speaker/L2 community. The preliminary content analysis of students' narratives demonstrated that most participants viewed Standard English as the only legitimate form of the language and MNESs--who were also implicitly white and middle class—as the only legitimate speakers and "owners" of English. Those who believed in the discourse of native-speakerness felt the need to enter into this imagined community. The failure to do so made some participants adopt other identities options, that is, non-native speaker or L2 learners.

Pavlenko (2003) further explains that the self-positioning as non-native speaker, as illustrated by some participants in her study, is "an unavoidable corollary of internalization of dominant SLA discourse, which portrays L2 learning as a never-ending elusive quest for NS [native speaker] competence" (p.259). In her study, some participants stated that, even though they had already been teaching in their home

countries, moving to the United States forced them to shift their identities from teachers to students; and these shifting identities led them to see themselves as less competent than they thought they were. The self-positioning as non-native speakers made some participants feel like second-class and even, "less-than-human" beings (p.259).

Pavlenko's (2003) study also found that previously disempowering imagined communities could be challenged by classroom discourse oriented toward empowering the MEU teachers. Her data illustrated the idea that exposing students to contemporary theories of bilingualism and multi-competence, issues of native speakerness and linguistic diversity, and the research on the relationship between language and identities, created a "fertile space" (p.261) for the re-imagination of professional identities for MEU teachers. Twenty-four out of thirty narratives exhibited evidence of repositioning that took place in response to classroom readings. Students could start to imagine themselves in a more positive identity option in multi-lingual communities because the discourse of bi-lingualism conferred the status of bilinguals not only on individuals who had grown up with two languages from birth. Additionally, the theories of multi-competence also helped the students to view their own competence differently. Several participants stated that prior to these readings, they had never considered a possibility of seeing themselves as multi-competent users of English, bilinguals or even as multi-linguals. Generally, the data from Pavlenko's study indicated that classroom readings and discussion greatly influenced student' ability to re-imagine themselves in a new and much more positive light and to position themselves differently with regard to their languages.

However, it needs to be noted that not all MEUs imagined MNESs as legitimate speakers of English. Ibrahim (1999) found that African students in a high school in

Toronto were learning to re-imagine themselves as black and by speaking what he called Black Stylized English (BSE) position themselves with regard to the racial divide constructed by the North American society around them. Similar arguments are brought up by Bailey (2000) with regard to Dominican American students in the United States who adopted African American English vernacular as a language of solidarity with their African American peers while simultaneously using Spanish to differentiate themselves from the same peers.

Closing Remarks

In short, the review of the literature demonstrates that much can be learned from the identity constructions of MEUs. Yet, there are many more issues needing to be explored when MEUs participate in a different social setting. The literature review in this chapter illustrates the struggle that these MEUs experience as they position themselves within CoPs they want to gain membership in. Some MEUs choose to have a non-participating role in a dominant CoP, such as in the studies of Eng (2008) and Lam (2000); but they develop other active roles in other CoPs. Other MEUs, such as those participating in Canagarajah's study (2004), are able to position themselves skillfully, shuttle smoothly between CoPs, and establish favorable identities according to the practice preferable in the community they are in. The literature review in this chapter further shows that the positioning of MEUs is very much influenced by those the MEUs imagine as the old members or the role models. Although many MEUs imagined MNESs as the legitimate English speakers, not all MEUs want to be like MNESs as demonstrated by Ibrahim's (1999) and Bailey's (2000) studies. Other than old members, studies on

MEU teachers demonstrate that their teacher identities were very much dependent on students' validation of their own competence.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

This chapter aims to conceptualize the methodological framework employed in this study. Using narrative research, I attempt to explore the effects of living in the United States on the identities of 12 teachers from four South/East Asian countries namely Indonesia, Japan, Korea, and Thailand. Narrative data are collected through individual interviews, focus groups as well as relevant documents such as teaching philosophy statements, class assignments/journals, and participants' blogs. The chapter starts with the theoretical reasons of choosing narrative research as a methodology followed by a brief discussion of the research site and the procedures for selecting the participants of the research. Finally, the chapter ends with a description of the data analysis process.

Methodological Approach

The main focus of this study is to explore the identity development of 12 South/East Asia teachers as they navigate through a graduate program in the United States. This is achieved through exploring the participants' narratives of their pasts, presents, and futures because, as Dewey (1938) and Clandinin and Connelly (2000) noted, teacher identities are made up of experiences in the past, present, and imagined future.

Identities have so far been considered theoretically, but uncovering something as complex and dynamic as identities require a detailed and careful consideration of methods. A number of authors have argued that a major shortcoming of quantitative

approaches is that they do not pay sufficient attention to individual cases. In particular these type of studies failed to view the participants as a unique, complex, and active agent (Elliot, 2005). Hansen and Liu (1997) note that "because social identities is a dynamic phenomenon, it should be studied with a methodology that is dynamic both in philosophy and in practice" (p.573). It was particularly because of its dynamic nature, a qualitative method was chosen for this study.

Within the epistemology of a qualitative framework, inquirers use different approaches, theories and methodologies to explore and understand human action and experience. These approaches, theories, and methodologies include grounded theory (Glaser, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), ethnographic methods (Wolcott, 1999), phenomenology (Moran, 1999), case study (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003), and narrative research (Elliot, 2005; Lieblich et al., 1998; Pagnucci & Mauriello, 2008; Riessman, 2008). Although they can overlap in significant ways, different approaches or methodologies provide inquirers with different lenses to explore human action and experiences. For example, the aim of a grounded theory is to generate a theory that explains a process, an action or interaction about a substantive topic (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Ethnographic methods focus on the patterns of behavior, beliefs, and language of a shared-cultural or social group (Wolcott, 1999). A phenomenological study is a methodology for describing the meaning of the lived experiences of several individuals about a concept or phenomenon (Moran, 1999). A case study uses in-depth data collection and multiple sources of information in context to explore a bounded system or a case (Stake, 1995).

While considering these different methodologies, I found that narrative research would best enable me to explore my research interest. Elliot (2005) and Riessman (2008) assert that at present there is yet no single acceptable and satisfactory definition of narrative research. However, I would use the term narrative research as suggested by Liberlich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) and Benson (2004) in a broad sense to mean any research in which there is an explicit attempt to collect narrative materials to analyze the participants' stories.

In the field of second language learning, the use of narrative studies has only flourished since the last decade. Evans' (1988) book-length study, perhaps, was the earliest example of the use of narrative data. He studied the experiences of university-level foreign language students and teachers in the UK. The objective of his study, which was somewhat similar to my study, was to take into account both the commonalities of the settings and the specificities of individual experiences of living and studying in the UK.

The absence of narrative-based studies in earlier research on MEU identities can be explained by tracing back the ways in which second language learning positioned language learners. Benson (2004) stated that in the twentieth century second language learning was exclusively seen as the acquisition of linguistic theories that viewed language from the perspective of forms and structures. This led to the universal assumption of second language learners as those who "must have something in common" (p.8).

With the rise in the number of learners studying a second/foreign language in their home countries as well as by migrating or traveling overseas and the development of

communication technologies, the nature for second language education has naturally become much more diverse. It is very likely that the aspects of learners' diversity have always existed but somehow this diversity is simply suppressed by the focus of research attempting to find universal characteristics and traits of second language learners (Benson, 2004).

Several researchers criticized the mainstream SLA research, which viewed second language learners as universal. One of them was Ellis (1994) who noted:

> Learners differ enormously in how quickly they learn an L2, in the type of proficiency they acquire (for example, conversational ability as opposed to literacy in the L2) and the ultimate level of proficiency they reach. In part these differences can be explained by reference to psychological factors such as language aptitude, learning style and personality … but in part they are socially determined (p.197).

The above quote shows psychological factors and social factors such as gender, ethnicity, religion, and cultural backgrounds greatly affect second language learning. Benson (2004) argued that the use of quantitative methods such as experimental and survey methods isolate contextual and psychological factors and thus, contributed to the invisibility of learners in second language research.

In the light of the absence of studies focusing on the learners, there were calls for a more naturalistic or holistic approach to study second language learners. These studies focus a great deal on factors that make up learners' diversity (Benson, 2004) and how learners react to L2 input and produce L2 output (Norton & Toohey, 2001). Little attention is paid to the ways in which these factors develop over time or as a consequence

of individual participation in an L2 socio-cultural context. In the context of these critiques, Norton and Toohey (2001) pointed out the need to investigate how learners are situated in specific social, historical, and cultural contexts and how they resist or accept positions those contexts offer to them.

For this reason, attention shifted to narrative research, a methodological approach that can capture the experiences and development of language learners in more authentic settings. Particular attention has been shown to the study of immigrants in the United States (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001; Morrow, 1997; Pavlenko, 1998; Pavlenko & J. Lantolf, 2000). According to Cameron (2000; 2001), language learner narratives are worth studying. In his words, the significance of studying learner narratives are:

> They make clear, for instance, that the acquisition of a new language raises questions of subjectivity and desire: the problems confronted by the learner are not just technical or mechanical ('how do I say X in this language?'), but involve complex issues of identities ('who am I when I speak this language?', or alternatively 'can I be "me" when I speak this language?') (Cameron, 2000, p. 91).

Cameron (2000) explains that using memoirs as a research method enables researchers to tap into affective factors and learners' own perceptions, which are not really captured by previous research methods. In particular, Cameron quote highlights the importance of learners' identities to their language learning trajectories, a nonlinguistic aspect that might be missing in previous SLA research. Additionally, Elliot (2005, p. 6) suggested narrative methods are particularly important for researchers interested in the following topics:

- people's lived experiences and an appreciation of the temporal nature of that experience;
- process and change over time;
- representation of identities; and
- an awareness that the researcher him- or herself is also a narrator.

Given the main purpose of this study is to explore the identities development of the 12 Asian teachers in natural contexts, this study chooses to employ narrative research. In this study, a group of 12 South/East Asian teachers who are studying in a graduate TESOL program (MA or PhD) in the United States are investigated. The participants in this study are not traditional language learners, which means they are not only learners of the language (English) but also learners of teaching the language. The research explores and interprets the nature of the development of each subject's multiple identities while they were learning in a graduate program. The study aims to bring to the fore participants' personal, cultural and professional experiences in the United States in order to understand their MEU teacher identity development in a greater detail.

The Nature of Narrative Analysis in the Study

I choose a poststructuralist approach to data analysis. The particular feature of the poststructuralist referenced is the notion that rather than searching for singular and coherent understandings, I attempted to find and acknowledge multiple, perhaps contradictory and conflicting discursive accounts of, for example, life choices or features of teacher identities within any given interviews. I anticipated incoherence or even conflicting narratives particularly because the natures of identities in themselves were dynamic and conflicting.

In my analysis I chose to focus on the participants' present narratives in the transcript and use their past and future narratives to understand the present narratives. By this I focused on both conflicting and opposing values and beliefs as well as participants' evaluation or change of understandings on issues that constitute the participants' identity development. This included issues related to, among others,:

- how participants position themselves in the United States;
- cultural adjustments both in the classroom and society;
- shifts of identities as a result of being educated and living in the United States; and
- other identities options that the participants drew upon when they navigated in the United States academic and cultural communities.

I believed this approach would yield particularly rich understandings of the participants' MEU identity constructions in the United States.

The Type (s) of Narrative Analysis Employed in the Study

Lieblich,Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998) explain that there are four modes of analyzing narratives:

- Holistic-content
- Holistic-form
- Categorical-content
- Categorical form

The *holistic content* mode of reading narratives uses the complete story of an individual and focuses on the content presented by it. The *holistic form* of analysis explores the plots or structure to complete life stories. It answers questions such as, among others,

does the narrative develop as a comedy or tragedy? and what is the climax of the story that shed light on the entire development? The *categorical content* is more familiar as content analysis. It began by assigning categories to the participants' narratives. Then, separate utterances of the narratives are extracted, classified, and gathered into these categories. Finally, *categorical-form* mode of analysis focuses on discrete stylistic or linguistic characteristics of defined units of narratives. It studies aspects such as what kinds of metaphors is the narrator using or how frequent are his passive versus active utterance. Lieblich,Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998) assert that when conducting narrative research and interpretation, these distinction are not always clear-cut.

Lieblich,Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998) further state that each of the four mode of analysis is related to certain types of research questions, requires different kinds of texts, and is more appropriate for certain sample sizes. They mention that categorical content analysis is most useful when "the researcher is primarily interested in a problem or a phenomena shared by a group of people" (p.12). This study aimed to investigate two phenomena, namely, positionings and identities negotiation experienced by 12 EFL teachers in the United States. Given the large number of participants in the study, my chosen method for reading and interpreting the participants' narratives was primarily categorical-content analysis.

The main criticism of categorical-content analysis is that it disregards contextual factors because it extracts parts of life stories out of the whole. In an attempt to address this criticism I employed the holistic-content analysis at the initial phase of the data analysis process. Prior to assigning themes, I made a complete profile for each

participants to explore the potential themes emerge from each participant's narratives. This process enabled me to interpret the participants' narratives as wholes. Therefore, the themes presented in the data analysis chapter were a result of holistic-content analysis of each participant's life story. In conclusion, the method of analysis in this study represented a compromise between the holistic and categorical in the wish to obtain rich interpretation of the participants' narratives.

Study Site

This study takes place at a mid-size public university in Pennsylvania, in particular in two graduate TESOL programs where MEUs from various parts of the world were enrolled as MA and PhD students. From the cultural adaptation standpoint, the different nationalities of the participants contributed in understanding the diversity and richness in the participants' storied experiences. The university is located in a small town where the population is predominantly White. The Asian population in the town is mostly students in the university.

Participants

The Quest to Name the Participants

Finding a suitable term to refer to my participants is a challenging endeavor. I understand that the choice of label is critical here. I need to be careful of the political nature of whatever terms I do use and does not perpetuate and legitimate "the idea that monolingualism is the norm" (Jenkins, 2000, p.8-9). Understanding the political nature of the terminology and how the dichotomy of *native* and *nonnative* speaker has caused "negative perceptions of and among 'non-native' speakers in general and teachers and

researchers in particular" (Jenkins, 2003, p. 81), I embarked on a critical journey exploring the different alternative terms of referring to multilingual English users, such as myself and my participants.

Initially, I opted for the term *nonnative English speakers* (NNES) to refer to multilingual English speakers and *native English speakers* (NES) to refer to mono-lingual English speakers. This was particularly because four of my participants self-identified themselves as non-native speakers. Even though Audrey, Mika, Sakura, and Soongoory did not seem to mind the use of the term, I am aware that my continued use of the term is ""backgrounding" and hence, providing acceptance and legitimacy" (Braine, 1999, p. 8) to the "native speaker fallacy" (Phillipson, 1992). This fallacy has been heavily challenged and deconstructed because "the perpetuation of the native-non-native dichotomy causes negative perceptions and self-perceptions of 'non-native' teachers and a lack of confidence in and of 'non-native' theory builders" (Jenkins, 2000, p.9). Additionally, my critical exploration was, in part, a reaction to two of my participants', Fatur's and Al's, strong resistance of the terms as well as their disapproval to refer to themselves as non-native speakers of English.

One person strongly combating the use of nonnative speaker is Jenkins (1996; 2000; 2003). She proposes the following terminology to substitute the native and non-native dichotomy (Jenkins, 1996, p. 83):

(1) *Monolingual English Speaker* (MES) for those L1 speakers who speak no other language fluently;

(2) *Bilingual English Speaker* (BES) for proficient speakers of English and at least

one other language, regardless of the order in which they learnt the languages; and

(3) *Non-Bilingual English Speaker* (NBES) for those who are not bilingual in English but are nevertheless able to speak it at a level of reasonable competence.

Jenkins claims that the above terms do not perpetuate the view of mono-lingualism as the world's norm for English speakers as the labels native and nonnative did. By dividing multi-lingual English speakers into BES and NBES, to a certain extent, she addresses the variety of competence inherent in multilinguals, which is not sufficiently captured in the term non-native speaker. Although the proposed terms do not signify a deficit as the term non-native does, identifying which participants in the present study who have bilingual and non-bilingual competence according to Jenkins' definition of terms is difficult if not impossible.

For that reason, I turned to another alternative term put forward by Rampton (1997; 1990). He proposes the use of the term *expert* to describe all accomplished users of English. According to Rampton (1997), the term expert is more appropriate because of the following advantages over non-native (pp.98-99):

(1) Expertise is learned, not fixed or innate;

(2) Expertise is relative. One person's expert is another person's fool.

(3) Expertise is partial. People can be expert in several fields, but they are never omniscient; and

(4) To achieve expertise, one goes through processes of certification, in which one is judge by other people. Their standards of assessment can be reviewed and disputed.

Although the term expert might somewhat overcome some of the problems of the term

non-native speaker, in the focus group 3 participants in the present study were reluctant to be identified as experts. They felt the term was "too mighty" and "prestigious." For Ido, the term expert focused more on "a more static notion of knowledge" rather than the underlying idea of "continuous learning" which he preferred.

In an attempt to come up with a more politically correct label to "empower NNS" (Pavlenko, 2003, p.252), Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999) proposed the label *international English professional*. At first, I was tempted to use the term because it partly described the participants' use of English. Kentaro Saeki, Audrey, and Al, for instance, described how their use of English in the United States and in their home countries were mainly to relate to other people (e.g. teachers or students) from different nationalities. However, I later realized that not all participants used English for *international* purpose only but also *intra-nationally*, that is within a nation. During the focus group, Dark Vader shared that when he was a student in an international university in Thailand, he was required to use English among Thais in the classroom. Nesiani always used English, not *Bahasa Indonesia*, whenever she wrote poems. Realizing the complexities in the way participants' use of English, I decided the term international English professionals did not adequately describe them.

Perhaps, the most widely use term to substitute the term non-native speaker is proposed by Cook (2002). Cook proposes the term *L2 users* to refer to "a person who knows and uses a second language at any level" (p.4). In her definition L2 users are not the same with *L2 learners*. L2 users employ linguistic resources for "real-life purposes" (p.2) whereas L2 learners acquire the second language system for later use. She asserts

that some of these L2 learners become L2 users as soon as they step outside the classroom and use the second language for communicative purposes outside the classroom. Cook asserts that an L2 user is different from a mono-lingual user and he/she is not "a monolingual with added extras" (p.4). She perceives an L2 user as an individual who is skillful in manipulating both linguistic resources. He or she can perform specific activities in the way that a mono-lingual cannot such as code switching from one language to another when he or she is aware if their conversation partners know both languages. Their uses of language are also different from mono-linguals because they stand "between two languages" (p.5). This means their language performance are affected by the languages in their linguistic repertoires. Even when using one language, their language uses are still affected by their knowledge of other language –its rules, concepts, and cultural patterns. Although a few of my participants expressed their preferences to be referred to as L2 users following Cook (2002), I found the term does not foreground their *English* competence, which is a central aspect of their teacher identity construction as indicated by the majority of the participants in the present study.

For the purpose of the study, I have chosen to use the term *multi-competence English users* (MEUs), acknowledging the dynamic role of multiple languages and cultures, primarily English, to the participants' teacher identity construction. The term multi-competence is used following Cook (1999) to refer to the totality of a person' language competence, both first and second languages. Compared to non-native, the term multi-competence "does not involve a judgment about whether such competence is good or bad according to some outside criterion" (p.190). I will use the term *mono-lingual*

native English speaker (MNES) to refer to the so-called native speaker. I deliberately use the word mono-lingual to highlight that in my use of the term I am excluding the so-called native speakers of English who speak other languages. I do so because the domains of English for most native speakers tend to be quite different from those of MEUs.

Criteria for Selecting Research Participants

While there were many international students in the graduate program at the time period when the study was conducted, I purposefully focused my study on the 12 international students from South/East Asia for two reasons. One is that the shared linguistic and/or cultural backgrounds of the participants would give me a better basis for comparison and cultural interpretation. The other is my own status as an insider in this cultural group. I believe that my shared linguistic and cultural backgrounds with the participants would not only enhance rapport and trust between me as the researcher and the participants, but also facilitate my data collection.

Additionally, participants were selected according to the purpose of my study. This study focuses on the negotiation of MEU teacher identities across national borders. Thus, it was important to choose participants who have been English teachers prior to coming to the United States. The reason for such criteria was to explore the extent to which the teacher identities that they have developed in their own countries were, if any, changed, challenged or simply, maintained in the United States. Unlike pre-service teachers, in-service teachers have constructed knowledge, beliefs, and ideals based on previous teaching experiences. They come with a sense of personal and professional identities derived from the socio-cultural contexts in their home countries. They have

developed a set of narratives and personal pedagogies that define what teaching is and most importantly, what a teacher is. When they participate in the US teacher education program, several studies indicate that these in-service teachers underwent shifting identities since they needed to appropriate the education they received with present education system they participate in.

Selection Process

For selecting the participants, convenience and snowballing sampling were employed. A total of 12 participants were selected for the study. All the participants in the present study were enrolled in MA or PhD programs in TESOL at a mid-size university in the United States. Eight of them (Nesiani, Ido, Fatur, Al, Dark Vader, Pen, Seyeon and Sakura, all pseudonyms) were my classmates. The other 4 participants (Kentaro Saeki, Soongoory, Audrey, and Mika, all pseudonyms) were referred to me by friends. Soongoory and Audrey were from Korea and Mika was from Japan. I had informal conversations and emailed potential participants in early Fall 2007 to find out about their biographical backgrounds and willingness to participate in the study (see Appendix A for e-mail invitation).

From the initial conversations, I found that each participant represented a different *time zone* in terms of his or her length of stay in the United States. For example, two Asian teachers, Ido and Mika, were "new" in the United States. They have recently arrived, and were not yet very familiar with the US culture. Their length of stays in the United States were less than 6 months when the study started. The remaining 10 teachers represented a time line between 2 years to 5 years. These participants to some degree

were more familiar and more experienced sojourners compared to the new students. Participants also differed greatly in teaching experience. For example, Sakura and Pen only taught English for less than a year whereas Kentaro Saeki, Seeyeon, Soongoory, and Audrey had taught for more than 10 years. Participants also varied in the teaching level. Kentaro Saeki was an English tutor teaching English one-to-one in a private English course whereas Audrey and Mika taught English in high-school levels. The majority of participants (Nesiani, Fatur, Ido, Soongoory, Seeyeon, Al, and Dark Vader) were tenure-track university professors in their home countries (For a complete profile of each participant see Table 1 in this chapter).

During the initial conversations, I explained the study and the research process to the participants and let them know about my role as a researcher in the study. After the initial contact with the participants, I was able to identify the 12 Asian teachers. Following Patton (2002), the participants were selected according to criteria which allow the researcher "to learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research" (Patton, 2002, p. 169). Thus, the sampling approaches serve the purpose well in the sense that they allow the researcher to make use of the variety of types of participants for the designed study and better explore the issues under study.

Ethical Concerns

The process of sharing a story and retelling a story may create potential risks to the participants' lives. To protect the privacy and confidentiality of individuals who participated in this study, I obtained the Institutional Review Board's (IRB) approval and informed consent from each participant before collecting data. In the informed

consent form (see Appendix B), I clearly addressed the purpose of the study, guaranteed the participants' certain rights, advised potential risks, and promised to minimize and protected the participants from the risk. To protect participants' privacy from the start, I emphasized that the data would be treated anonymously and confidentially. I made special efforts to guarantee that no school, university, and individual were identified by name in any research reports or publications.

Background of the Participants

The demographics of the participants in the study are summarized and displayed in Table 1. These data were mainly collected through the participants' documents (CVs and personal blogs) as well as the first individual interview. In order to maintain confidentiality, the names of the participants were changed. Each participant selected a preferred pseudonym. In addition, any identifying characteristics of the participants were either changed or eliminated from the study. The following is brief information about each participant:

Nesiani was a university professor from Indonesia. She believed she was "raised to be a teacher." Her mother wanted her to be a teacher and often said "If you become a teacher you will not be rich but you will be rich of something else. You will be rich of friends and you will be respected in the community." Her mother some times took her to the school where she taught and left her in the office to play while she was teaching. As a result, she was familiar with school environment since early age. Nesiani described herself as an outgoing person. She had 5 years of experience teaching English at various institutions before she was accepted as a tenured-track faculty at University of Islamic Indonesia. Awarded with a Fulbright scholarship, she went to the US to pursue an MA

degree. She wanted to go to the United States to learn the latest teaching methodologies and resources to teach English. At the time of the study, she was living in the United States for 1.5 years.

Table 1

Background Information of the Participants

Name	Country of Origin	Teaching Experience (years)	Gender	Sojourn time	Degree of current study
Nesiani	Indonesia	5	F	1.5 years	MA
Ido	Indonesia	8	M	6 months	MA
Fatur	Indonesia	4	M	2 years	MA
Kentaro Saeki	Japan	17	M	1.5 years	MA
Sakura	Japan	1	F	2 years	MA
Mika	Japan	7.5	F	6 months	MA
Soongoory	Korea	10	M	6 months	PhD
Seeyeon	Korea	10	F	2 years	PhD
Audrey	Korea	12	F	2 years	MA
Dark Vader	Thailand	4	M	2 years	M.A
Al	Thailand	5	M	3.5 years	PhD
Pen	Thailand	1	F	5 years	PhD

Note. F: female; M: Male

Ido was the only participants in my study who believed he was born to be a teacher. His name means "a person who supports education." When he was born he asked an *imam* (a Muslim priest) to predict the kinds of profession suitable for Ido and the

imam said that he would be a teacher. At the time of the study, he was a university professor from Indonesia who came to pursue an MA degree through a Fulbright scholarship. He described himself as "an English teacher who was thirst for knowledge." He was a university professor at a State University of Jember where he had taught English for eight years. He wanted to obtain an MA degree from the United States to improve his publication skills to be a qualified English teacher. He perceived the United States as a symbol of educational advancement in teaching methodology, technology, and educational resources. He was living in the United States for 6 months at the time of the study.

Fatur went to the United States because he was granted with a Fulbright scholarship. He was an English teacher from Indonesia who had taught English for 4 years at high school and university level. Even though he did not want to be an English teacher at first, he always loved learning English. His love of teaching grew when his professor appointed him to be a teaching assistant. He admitted that studying in the United States was his "dream comes true." He believed obtaining an MA degree from the United States, rather than from his own country, would increase his credibility as an MEU teacher. He was living in the United States for 1.5 years when the study started.

Among all of the participants in this study, *Kentaro Saeki* had the longest teaching experience and most cross-cultural encounters. He was an English teacher at a private (cram) school in Japan. After obtaining a bachelor degree in German literature and philosophy, he went to study in a non-degree program in German Philosophy in Germany for 1.5 year. He then continued to study Zen Budhism in Vienna for a year. When he returned to Japan, he realized that it was hard to find a job with his expertise and decided

to teach English instead. He continued to teach at a private school for 17 years until he come to the United States. He wanted to obtain an MA in the United States because he wanted to open a private English course. When the study started, he had been living in the United States for approximately 2 years.

Sakura was an English teacher from Japan who had taught English for about 6 months. After obtaining a bachelor degree in Spanish, she worked in an international shipping company for 6 years in which she needed to use English on daily basis. She, then, decided to become an English teacher at an elementary school. She loved teaching there because she could express her creativity with the use of music and puppets for teaching. She chose the United States to pursue her MA because American English was more popular in Japan. When this study began, she had been staying in the United States for about 2 years.

Mika was an English teacher from Japan. She had taught English at a high school for about 8 years. She already obtained an MA in English Literature in Japan. She felt MA in English Literature did not equip her to teach English because she only learned theories to analyze literary work; rather than using literature for teaching English. She wanted to pursue an MA in TESOL because the graduate program she presently enrolled in was famous in her home country and she knew some good teachers graduated from the program. She had been living in the United States for only 6 months when the study started.

Among all the participants, perhaps, it was fair to say that *Soongoory*, a university professor from Korea, was the most persistent subject to study in the United States. After completing his MA in English Language and Literature, he worked as a university

professor for seven years. Then, he continued to pursue a PhD in Linguistics in Korea. He wanted to obtain another PhD degree from the United States because Korean universities only granted a tenure-track to faculty graduated from English-speaking countries, preferably the United States. Soongoory enrolled in a PhD program twice before studying at the present university. The first time he only stayed for a few months because he had a medical procedures that drained up all of his savings. His second attempt was also halted. His father had a terminal illness and as the oldest son he had a cultural obligation to take care of him. When the study started, he had been living in the United States for approximately 6 months.

Seeyeon, a university professor from Korea, came to the United States to improve her qualification as an English teacher. She completed her MA and PhD degrees in English Linguistics in Korea. To be granted a tenure-track position in Korea, she went to the United States to pursue her second PhD. She hoped by obtaining a PhD from the United States, she could get a secure teaching job as a tenure university professor in Korea. At the time of the interview, she was living in the United States for 1.5 years.

Audrey was an English teacher from Korea. She taught English at a high school level for 12 years prior to coming to the United States to pursue her MA. When I asked why she wanted to become a teacher, she admitted candidly because of her sister's encouragement. Additionally, she said shyly a teacher had more holidays than her previous job as a secretary. Even though she made more money as a secretary, she did not have enough time to actually enjoy the hard-earned money. Another reason was because a teacher in Korea was a secure job. She chose to go to the United States for her MA

degree simply because US English was so popular in Korea. At the time of the study, she was living in the United States for 2 years.

Dark Vader was an English teacher from Thailand who had 4 years teaching experience. Prior to coming to the United States, he obtained an MA in Advertising from a university in Bangkok. He started teaching English by becoming a part-time university teacher. Dark Vader always wanted to go to the United States to study. One of his favorite teachers happened to graduate from the same university. He admired her because unlike other teachers, she employed many different activities when teaching writing. Although he had traveled abroad, this was the first time he lived in a foreign country. At the time of the study, he was living in the United States for 2 years.

Al described himself as a teacher traveler. Before coming to the United States, he had been to several countries in Asia for traveling and work purposes. He felt traveling enriched his teaching. It gave him opportunities to experience different cultures. Al completed his bachelor degree and MA in English in Thailand and taught at the same university. He was assigned to obtain a PhD degree from the United States because his university wanted to open a TESOL program in the department. At the time of the study, Al was living in the United States for 3 years.

Finally we come to *Pen* who had stayed in the United States for 5 years when the study started. Before becoming an English teacher, Pen was a flight attendant for several years. Because a flight attendant did not have a secure future, Pen then decided to be an English teacher in a private course. She had taught English for a year when her aunt offered financial supports to go to the United States to obtain an MA in TESOL. After

graduating, she continued to pursue her PhD at the present university because she heard that it had a good TESOL PhD program.

My Role as a Researcher

I shared similar characteristics as the participants in my study. I was also a MEU teacher and taught in an EFL context before coming to the United States. I have been living in the US context for almost 2 years and continued to believe that my teacher identity construction was continuously "under construction" (Norton, 1997). I was aware that the process of identity construction involves the negotiation of "new" identities with the old one, and it took time. Like the participants in this study, I carried multiple identities: as a learner of language and teaching, an "old timer" (Wenger, 1998) English teacher in Indonesia, a MEU teacher, and a "newcomer" (Wenger, 1998) in the US academic community and society. Through the study, I developed an emic or insider's perspective of being an Eastern teacher in a Western context. Through writing this dissertation, I came to understand the process of MEU teacher identities construction in ways that I did not know before.

As an inquirer of this study, my role was to narratively inquire into the moments, the relationship, the memories, the concerns, and the worries about which the participants choose to tell me. Therefore, I approached this study from a social constructivist perspective. Within this constructivist framework, the researcher must interact with the participants to help them co-construct their identities through life story (Mills, 2001). Kvale (1996, p. 6) describes the researcher as a "traveler" who engages the participants in dialog to provide insight into the participants' worlds without a preconceived agenda. In

this perspective, my role was to disclose the participants' words so that their identities—at least the identities that I came to know because of my relationship with them, became visible.

In this perspective, the researcher seeks to elicit stories from the participants without looking for a "truth" or data to support a previous hypothesis. Therefore, the researcher must be an active listener who looks for opportunities for elaboration in order to get a fuller picture of the identities that the participants is trying to reveal without being disrespectful to the participants (Lucius-Hoene & Depperman, 2000). The narrative analysis that I wrote about each of them are the narratives that were known because of the participants unique relationship with me as all of us are living in the United States at this particular time.

Data Collection Instruments

The study uses narrative research to explore the experiences of 12 South/East Asian teachers. What makes each of these teachers unique individuals are the stories they live by. To develop a meaningful perspective of an individual's experience, narrative researchers use different forms and methods of data collection to represent aspects of experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). In this study, I select three data collection techniques, in-depth individual interviews, focus groups, and documents to obtain participants' narratives about their experiences living and studying in the United States.

In-depth Individual Interviews

To collect stories of 12 South/East Asian participants' cultural and professional experiences and their effects on their teacher identities, in-depth individual interviews

were used as a major technique for gathering participants' narratives. They attempted to seek specific and elaborated information on the effect of the changing socio-cultural context to teacher identity construction and reconstruction. As with any qualitative data collection, the interviews were conducted not to test hypothesis nor to get answers to questions but rather, as pointed by Seidman (1998), to understand "the experience of other people and the meaning they made of that experience" (p.3). By selecting in-depth individual interviews, I wanted to explore what the participants have to say in their own voices. In other words, the focus of the present study was on the participants narrating their own stories in their own way (Anderson & Jack, 1991).

The interviews were semi-structured. I divided the interview into three stages. First interview, conducted in December 2007-January 2008, aimed to elicit story about participants' past narratives. This includes, among others, the teachers' past language learning, teaching experiences, teachers' role model, and family values. Then, the questions focused on the different roles that they had in their home countries (e.g. as a mother/father, a wife/husband, a community leader, a Church activist) and how these different roles contributed to their identities as English teachers (See Appendix C for the complete interview questions). The second interview (Febuary 2008-March 2008) focused on the participants' present narratives which explored questions focusing on how the 12 South/East Asian English teachers navigated as a graduate student in the United States and what identity options they drew upon (See Appendix D for the complete interview questions). Finally, questions in the third interview (May 2008-June 2008) focused on participants' future narratives. It encouraged the participants to envision their imagined identities and communities that they saw themselves in after completing the

programs (See Appendix E for the complete interview questions). Each stage in the interview process lasted for at least forty-five minutes for each participant.

Focus Groups

This study is grounded in a belief that identity construction is a relational process and involves higher mental functioning evolving through interaction (Zimmerman, 1998). Following Vygotsky (1978), to understand how identities are enacted, I felt the need to study the individual in the social context since internal mental functions are the result on some levels of social interaction. In order to explore how teacher identities are at play in interaction as the present study aims for, it is necessary to make use of a focus group interview where the participants could consider their own opinions in the context of the opinions of others. I used focus group to tap the intersubjective meaning with depth and diversity (Fontana & Frey, 2000).

There are distinct advantages in using focus groups that are particularly well suited to this inquiry into 12 South/East Asian teachers' identities synthesized from several sources (Brenner, 1994; Garson, 2008; Merton, Fiske, & Kendall, 1990). First, the small group setting creates a natural and relaxed communicative atmosphere for telling stories. Second, focus groups provide a rich basis for active listening when more than one listener is trying to understand the story. Third, the meanings of the stories can be enriched by stories triggered to counter, contrast, support or elaborate by other peers. As the participants in the focus groups interact in dialog, the exchanges may reveal aspects of the story not capture through individual interviews. Merton et al. (1990) asserts that the focused interview with a group of people "will yield a more diversified array of responses and afford a more extended basis both for designing systematic research on the

situation in hand" (p.135). Overall, focus groups bring out differing perspectives and create relaxed atmosphere creating the spirit of group discussion where each person sparks ideas in others and one person may fill in a gap left by others.

Bogdan and Biklen (1998) and Garson (2008) explain that different from individual interviews where the researcher can focus on different topics, focus groups usually center on specific topics or guided by general questions, and they always have well-defined goals. Garson (2008) further maintains that focus groups are not similar to group interviews. In standard group interviews, there are standard questions administered to each member. By contrast, in focus groups, there are no standard questions, only a topic to be explored through the exchange of group member interactions.

In this study, I engaged each participant in a focus group. They were grouped according to nationalities as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2

Focus Group Based on Nationalities

Nationalities	Number of Participants
1. Indonesia	3
2. Thailand	3
3. Korea	3
4. Japan	3

In the focus groups, I centered discussion on the role of cultural and/or national identities in participants' conceptualizations of being an EFL teacher. Some examples of questions in the focus group interview are "What does it mean to be a Japanese teacher?," "Do you see Japanese teachers as different from other teachers, say from Indonesia, Thailand, or Korea?," and "Do you feel you become a different Japanese teacher after

you have lived and studied in the United States?" (see Appendix F for the complete prompts for the focus group interview). The focus group interview lasted approximately 45 to 60 minutes. It was conducted at the end of individual interviews.

Document Analysis

A content analysis was conducted using the participants' reflective journals from class assignments and their writings, blogs, and other relevant documents (e.g. previous publications teaching philosophies, and CVs). The use of multiple sources of narratives is in line with the view that identities are dynamic. Thus, I selected narrative research that allowed for such as a dynamism to emerge (Hansen & Liu, 1997). Table 3 provides a summary of the data collection methods.

Table 3

Data Collection Methods

Methods	Data collection period (December 2007-August 2008)	Data
Individual Interviews with the participants	Interview 1: Past Narratives (December 2007-January 2008) Interview 2: Present Narratives (Febuary- March 2008) Interview 3: Future Narratives (May-June 2008)	The narrative data were drawn from 36 audiotaped and transcribed interviews of approximately 1 hour each.
Focus group (based on nationalities)	Once with each group toward the end of the data collection period (April-August 2008)	The narrative data were drawn from four audiotaped and transcribed interviews of approximately 1 hour each.
Documents	Ongoing	Documents include curriculum vitaes (CVs) and classroom assignments, which focused on personal narratives, cross-cultural and academic adjustments, and issued on second language identities.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection process continued for approximately 9 months. I started the data collection process by conducting the first stage of the individual interviews in December 2007. Before interviewing, I had informal conversations with the participants either by phone or face-to-face. I first briefly introduced the purpose and focus of my dissertation, and explained the procedures of the research. I let each participant choose where the interview was to take place. The first stage of the interview started with basic background questions. For example, the first interview began with each participant briefly introducing him or herself, informal and formal educational backgrounds. I would not follow the question in the order I have prepared but used them as prompts as it seemed appropriate. The first interview was crucial to capture their professional experiences chronologically.

Shortly after each interview, I transcribed the interview, numbering each line so that passages were easy to refer to. I carefully read each transcript at least three times to identify information gaps (Woods, 1996). As pointed out by Woods (1996), when individuals tell stories, the sequence or meanings of the stories are often missed such as gaps in chronology or unclear passages (for example, too few details, descriptions too vague). When I identified information gaps in the transcripts, I emailed participants to ask for clarification or schedule another interview. While looking for information gaps, I also looked for further questions behind the stories I might have from the interview transcripts, and revised the next interview protocol.

After each participant confirmed and clarified information gaps in the transcripts, I printed them. They became the master copy for data analysis. I created one folder for

each participant for individual interviews and supporting documents (teaching philosophy, reflective journals from class assignments, and CVs). Similar procedures were used for the second (about the participants' present narratives) and third (about the participants' future narratives) stages of interviews.

After conducting the three stages of the interviews, the focus group was conducted. As mentioned earlier, each participant was engaged in focus groups according to nationalities. The focus groups were conducted from April 2008 to August 2008 according to the time availability of the participants. A similar procedure as the individual interviews was used for the focus groups.

Member Checking

In my study, member checking did not wait until the end of the data collection or until the writing up stage. I believe true member check lies in mutual understanding driven from constant interpretation of meanings. After transcribing each subject's interview, I emailed transcripts to the participants asking them to examine the draft for "accuracy and palatability" (Stake, 1995, p. 115). I encouraged them to provide feedback or alternative interpretations and noting that involvement in reviewing the draft was voluntary. Out of the 12 participants, five teachers responded and the remaining seven teachers thought the transcript was already accurate. Two teachers added more information that they did not mention in the interviews to make the interview clearer. Another teacher added contextual information so that his interview would be better understood. The remaining two teachers requested word changes in several places in their interview transcripts so that the interview transcripts better reflected the participants' intended meaning.

Data Analysis Procedures

The first stage of the data analysis procedures involved reading the transcripts collected from the first, second, and third interview as well as information obtained from the participants' documents. Then, I constructed a "life story" (Lieblich et al., 1998) for each subject. In constructing the life story for each subject, I employed a holistic-content analysis and did not have any preliminary categories. As a result, the categories in some participants' narratives could be different from one another. For example, under the category of "Future Concerns," Fatur's and Nesiani's life stories illustrated how they expressed their concerns of going back to their home countries to teach English, but this category was not found in Kentaro Saeki's and Soongoory's narratives because they did not indicate any future concerns of going home.

After constructing each subject's life story, I analyzed the narratives using a categorical-content analysis. The categorical-content analysis resulted from an ongoing interpretative dialogue with the subject's narratives, a process I employed in this section. When I began my work, I formulated three major categories:

- Subject's construction of EFL teacher identities prior to studying in the United States (past narratives);
- Their construction of their teacher identities when they were living and studying in the United States (present narratives); and
- The imagined teacher identities they envisioned upon the completion of their studies (future narratives).

While the three major categories were indeed useful for my analysis, reading the participants' life stories, documents, and interview transcripts led to changes and

refinements in the preconceived major categories. Some of the categories that I had hoped to find were not referenced in the transcripts, whereas others' unexpectedly emerged. For example, I did not include cultural and learner identities as possible indexes related to teacher identities, but they emerged from participants' narratives. Table 4 presents the content categories that were finally chosen for exploring the research questions.

Table 4

Categories for Analyzing the Narrative Data

Themes	Sub-theme
Self-positioning at the beginning of the stay in the US	As EFL teachers As NNESs As learners of a US academic community
Shifts in identities	NNES identities Learner identities Teacher identities Cultural identities

For each theme, I assigned a different color and each time I identified narratives utterances referencing the themes I highlighted them accordingly. Examples from participants' narratives were placed into these identified themes for further analysis. It needed to be noted that only qualitative results of the analysis was presented, as quantitative information about the number of references to particular issues would be meaningless in this type of narrative analysis.

Data analysis was an ongoing process that could go on forever. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest researchers use four specific criteria to decide when to stop gathering

data. One criterion is the exhaustion of resources. A second criterion is saturation of categories, which is reached at the point that continuing data collection only produces insignificant amounts of new information. A third criterion is the emergence of regularities, data continually generating similar results. The final criterion is over-extension, which new information no longer applies to the categories that have emerged, nor does the new information contribute to any viable new categories. In this study, I used saturation of categories and emergence of regularities as signals to end the data analysis process.

Closing Remarks

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1 this study focused on the lived experiences of 12 South/East Asian teachers as they navigated through the different CoPs in the United States and how these experiences contributed to their teacher identity development. I found three advantages of employing narrative analysis for this study. First, narrative study allowed me to understand the participants' experiences and the impact of these experiences to their teacher identity construction. When I sought out and collected the stories of the teachers' cultural and professional experiences in the United States, the narrative forms of the interviews established a close bond with the participants. Second, narrative inquiry helped me to gather information that participants did not consciously know themselves. Analysis of people's stories allowed deeply hidden assumptions to surface. Third, in this narrative analysis process, the participants were given the opportunity to tell their own stories. By telling stories, the participants were given a chance to understand and reflect on the experiences that happened to them. The next

chapter will provide an analysis of the data collected through the instruments just described.

CHAPTER 4 THE PARTICIPANTS' SELF-POSITIONING

Chapters 4 and 5 present the result of the study through a categorical-content analysis (Lieblich et al., 1998) of the narrative data. The purpose of the analysis is to explore the 12 participants' teacher identities while participating in a graduate program in the United States. I analyze the 12 participants' narratives according to the following emerging themes:

a. The participants' self-positioning at the beginning of their stays in the United States.

b. The participants' negotiation of identity shifts.

Chapter 4 presents the first emerging theme, that is, the participants' self-positioning at the beginnings of their stays in the United States. I use the term *positioning* in a similar way to Davies and Harré (1990; 1999), acknowledging that *positioning* should not be conceived in static terms. It changes according to "the patterns of interaction" (Block, 2007, p. 47) and is inherently conflictive in nature (Weedon, 1997). The analysis of the narrative data found that the 12 participants positioned themselves in three identity- options:

(1) as EFL teachers,

(2) as non-native English speakers (NNESs), and

(3) as learners in a US academic community.

While separating the identity positioning into these three subcategories for clarity and better focus, I acknowledge that most of the time these multiple facets of participants' identities were not necessarily inseparable.

Prior to the discussion of the findings, it is important to reiterate that the identities portrayed here and in the next chapter are not meant to be indicative of any sort of permanent, static state. Identities, by nature, are constantly in flux (Norton, 1997, 2000), and it is necessary to keep in mind the fluidity inherent in the constructions of identities. As mentioned in the theoretical framework in Chapter 1, this study takes the position that identity is more of a positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990, 1999; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), and the ways that these 12 participants positioned themselves are constantly changing in many ways. The pictures painted here are an attempt to document the 12 participants' identity development while they were pursuing higher degrees (MA or PhD) in graduate programs in the United States.

Participants' Self-positioning as EFL Teachers

I specifically use the term *EFL teachers* to refer to teachers who teach English in a context where English is not the typical language of communication outside the classroom (Block, 2007). I am aware that these EFL contexts vary considerably with related to, among others, the teacher-student ratios, the age of the students, the qualifications of teachers, the availability of teaching materials, the use of technologies, and the intensity of learning English (hours per week). However, what they all have in common is the predominance of the classroom as a site of exposure to English.

The narratives of the 12 participants demonstrate various stances toward being EFL teachers. All of the participants believe that MNES teachers were better in using the language, although they did not necessarily have better methods for teaching English. When addressing the role of MNES teachers in their home countries, the 12 participants' narratives do not indicate any tensions or worries of being EFL teachers. Their narratives

appear to express tolerance of the different roles EFL teachers and MNES teachers can play in their home countries.

Participants' Perceptions of MNES Teachers

Most of the participants agreed that MNES teachers have a better grasp in the use of English. Many participants often perceived of the role of MNES teachers in EFL contexts as language correctors. Fatur and Nesiani often sought help from their fellow MNES teachers each time they wrote handouts for their classes. Without such help, they felt that their handouts were not adequate.

One subject viewed MNES teachers as resources for research in English. Ido often consulted a NES teacher for problems in doing research in English:

Excerpt 4.1

(125) Henny: What are the roles of native speaker teacher in your department?

(126) Ido: I remember I ask Jefry he is an American teaching at my university

(127) [I asked] "Jefry can you explain research in English teaching?"

(128) because I value native speakers I thought he knows everything

(129) [and he said] "*Sorry Pak Ido saya tidak tahu mengerti a research in English teaching sorry sorry*" [Sorry but I don't know about research in English teaching sorry sorry]

(130) then [he said] "If you need to ask me like idiomatic expression *saya akan siap membantu Pak* [I will be more than willing to help you, Sir]"

(131) I was so surprised by his answers

(132) I thought native speakers know everything about English language teaching

(Ido, Focus Group Interview, 5/10/08)

The above excerpt, in particular, was a response to a question about the role of MNES teachers in his department in Indonesia. By specifically turning to a MNES teacher, "Jefry," for help (line 2), it is obvious that Ido positioned MNES teachers as the best teacher-scholars. What is interesting in Ido's narrative is his reaction when he found out that "Jefry" did not know anything about research in English. Ido admitted that this critical incident was the beginning of his doubt about the native-speaker myth, even though he remained ignorant. It seems he did not have any platforms to resist such domination.

Local Teachers as Models for EFL Teachers

Although all participants believed that MNESs were the legitimate English users, the majority of the participants (9 out of 12 participants) admitted to having local teachers as models of competent teachers. Mika and Dark Vader admired their high school teachers because of their creativity in teaching. They not only used textbooks but also complemented lessons with music, games, and movies. Al admired his teacher from college. She pointed out the purpose of speaking English was to promote Thai culture. Al emphasized this was quite a breakthrough because the purpose of learning English at that time was to promote MNES English. Similarly, Nesiani loved her teacher in college for his depth of knowledge about sociolinguistics. Ido wanted to be like "Mr. Nono," his high school teacher, for his dedication, and commitment in teaching him English.

The Benefits of EFL Teachers

Interestingly having MNES as models of English use did not affect the way the participants perceived themselves as English teachers. Many participants believed that

EFL speakers had benefits not shared by their MNES teacher counterparts. Fatur felt that Indonesian English teachers could be more accommodating to students' needs:

Excerpt 4.2

(2125) Henny: What do you think is the benefit of Indonesian English teacher?

(2126) Fatur: When I teach English to my own people

(2127) and then I use my own language sometimes to support my teaching

(2128) Henny: Why?

(2129) Fatur: Because I believe actually that L1 uses are important in teaching English

(2130) but we have to be careful we have to be judicious about that

(2131) because the aim [of] English teaching is actually to learn and use the language

(2132) do not block that opportunities by overly used the local languages

(Fatur, Second Interview, 2/4/08)

The work of Sterling (2006) provides some insight into the way Fatur perceived his role as an EFL teacher. Sterling explains that a speaker's use of language is not only to express but also to create a representation of him/herself in relation to others with whom he or she is interacting. Although the use of the student's mother tongue in teaching a foreign language is a controversial issue (Cook, 1999, 2001; Seidlhofer, 1999), Fatur's narrative projects the identity of an EFL teacher as a skilled bilingual who knows how and when to use both languages--local language and English--as a resource to teach English.

For Kentaro Saeki and Soongoory, Japanese/Korean English teachers were mediators between local learners and MNES teachers. In fact, Soongoory believed that students preferred him to MNES teachers:

Excerpt 4.3

(135) Henny: Have people ever treated you differently because you were a non-native speaker of English?

(136) Songoory: In my country?

(137) Henny: Yes

(138) Soongoory: No why would they?

(139) the students prefer me they feel more comfortable with me

(140) Henny: Why?

(141) Songoory: Because they couldn't speak English

(142) they were not good at English

(143) so they prefer me compared to the American teachers

(144) the students couldn't understand what's going on there

(145) so usually I was the interpreter for the students

(Soongoory, Third Interview, 5/20/08)

It is interesting to note that when I asked Soongoory if he had been treated differently because of his non-nativeness, he seemed bewildered (line 2). In fact, he emphasized that the students preferred him to MNES teachers. That was the reason he shared an office with a United States teacher, "Jim." Soongoory related that a student wanted to explain to Jim why he had missed class. Because of his limited English, the student just handed Jim the doctor's certificate. Confused, Jim turned to Soongoory for an explanation.

Soongoory then explained that he had been absent because he was sick. Soongory's narrative illustrated the role of an EFL teacher as a mediator between MNES teachers and Korean students.

A few participants were even convinced that EFL teachers were, in fact, better English teachers. Nesiani, who also taught *TOEFL Preparation* classes, indicated that MNES teachers could not train students in TOEFL better than local teachers because they had never experienced taking the tests. Another reason was because they provided better models of successful English learners. The following excerpts from Mika and Al reflect the comments of many participants:

Excerpt 4.4

(155) Henny: What do you think is benefits of local teachers?

(156) Mika: Because I can understand how my students feel about a certain point or certain grammatical items

(157) I can understand which part is difficult for them

(158) Henny: Why?

(159) Mika: Because I am the same as them

(160) I have also studied the same language

(161) I am the person who you know my first language is not English

(Mika, Third Interview, 5/2/08)

Excerpt 4.5

(188) Henny: What are the benefits of local teachers?

(189) Al: I really see that I really fill the gap between the L1 teachers and students

(190) because they [L1 users] never feel the struggle of learning L2

(191) I think I can fill this gap I can be more understanding

(192) I can see why they write this way

(193) why they have this unclear message in terms of native-speaker point of view

(194) how come they come across with this grammatical errors

(195) I can see it more clearly and be more understanding toward my own Thai students

(196) Henny: Why?

(197) Al: Because I'm like them, a Thai who learns English

(Al, Third Interview, 6/20/08)

Participants like Mika and Al identify EFL teachers as those who have traveled the same learning paths as their students. Thus, they can be more empathetic or understanding of students' difficulties in learning English.

In general, the participants' narratives support the idea that teacher identities are complex. Although they were EFL teachers, they see themselves as competent teachers of English. In other words, as speakers of English, English is not their first language; but as teachers, they feel equal to MNES teachers. They see themselves as different from, not lower than, MNES teachers. Among some of the benefits of EFL teachers stated by the participants are the following: (1) they shared the same mother tongue as the local students; (2) they were the mediators between MNES teachers and local students; and (3) they provided models of successful English learners. These points reflect the benefits of MEU teachers put forward by Britten (1985), Philipson (1992), Seidlhofer (1999), Cook

(1999; 2001; 2002), and Mani (2009). These researchers suggest that MEU teachers may, in fact, be better qualified than MNES teachers, especially if they have gone through the laborious process of acquiring English as a second/foreign language and if they offer insights into the linguistic and cultural needs of their learners. Britten (1985) believes that success in learning a foreign language may correlate highly with success in teaching.

Even though the participants are confident of their competence as English teachers, all the participants continue to imagine MNES teachers to be the sources of language correctness and teaching methodologies although they are not necessarily the best EFL teachers in EFL contexts (see also Zacharias, 2003, 2006). This can be seen from Ido's narrative. He mentioned consulting a MNES teacher when he had problems in teaching and research. However, he idolized an Indonesian teacher, "Mr. Nono," and wished to be like him. In this respect, the finding of the present study differs somewhat from Pavlenko's (2003) study. She examined imagined professional and linguistic communities available to pre-service and in-service ESL and EFL teachers enrolled in one TESOL program. She found that those students who had MNESs as the imagined community they wanted to gain membership in, developed low levels of self-worth and confidence. Although the majority of the participants in this study imagined MNESs as the best users of English, they were confident EFL teachers.

The participants' confidence in being EFL teachers must be understood by paying attention to the status of English in their respective communities. In their home countries, English has a high symbolic value (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991); and a teacher of English, in particular, is viewed as having control over this valued symbolic resource (English). Thus, being an English teacher brings a certain prestige to an individual. Their society

views them with regard to what they have (English mastery and knowledge) rather than what they do not have (e.g. Western accent, English fluency, and a wide range of vocabulary, among others). I believe the way the societies position EFL teachers has a significant impact on the way the participants view themselves and their non-nativeness.

Participants' Self-Positioning as Non-native Speakers

If all the participants were certain of their identities as EFL teachers in their home countries, most of them perceived their teacher identities as "an issue" (MacLure, 1993) once they were in the United States. The majority of the participants suddenly viewed their teacher identities mainly in terms of their non-native status.

MEUs in the Land of the Natives

Many participants indicated that the feeling of non-nativeness was heightened and magnified when they were in the United States and when interacting with the US locals. Take for example, Kentaro Saeki, an EFL teacher from Japan. In the following narrative, he developed a feeling of inadequacy when communicating with US locals:

Excerpt 4.6

(411) Henny: How did you feel when you first here [local community]?

(412) Kentaro Saeki: Confused.

(413) Henny: Can you give me an example? An experience perhaps?

(414) Kentaro Saeki: For example in supermarket sometimes I can't understand what the clerk said

(415) so I ask her "Pardon?"

(416) and she said again but I still couldn't understand her pronunciation

(417) so I said "Oh I am very sorry my English isn't good so I couldn't understand could you please say again?"

(418) but her face she made a face like disliking me or something

(419) and she said nothing more

(420) I know that my English is not good but she doesn't need to do that to me

(Kentaro Saeki, Third Interview, 5/7/08)

Kentaro Saeki's narrative exemplifies the post-structuralist paradigm of identities (Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). It acknowledges that while certain aspects of identities may be negotiable in given contexts, others may be less so since individuals may be positioned (Davies & Harré, 1990, 1999) by dominant groups in ways they do not choose (Doran, 2004). Kentaro Saeki showed a strong desire to communicate with the servers at a fast food restaurant and even apologized for his English; but his attempt was not accommodated by the dominant group, the MNESs he met in the store. Doran (2004) further notes that individuals may seek to challenge or resist the identity categories to allow for greater identity options. At the end of the excerpts, Kentaro Saeki silently resisted the identities of an incompetent English speaker handed down to him by the server.

Being in the United States made some participants describe their pronunciation negatively, using such labels as "problematic," "inadequate," and "strange." One example is Nesiani, a teacher from Indonesia who taught English for five years. She repeatedly used the word "problematic" when referring to her English. When I asked why she described her English as problematic, Nesiani said that her English was not comprehensible to the local US people:

Excerpt 4.7

(879) Henny: Why do you always refer to your English as problematic?

(880) Nesiani: Because when I was speaking they [US locals] get really impatient

(881) because they cannot understand what we are talking about

(882) the way we pronounce words sometimes is not understandable

(883) sometimes I have problem with that and I got frustrated

(884) and they say "What?" "What is it?"

(885) [and then I said to them] "Sorry pardon of my bad pronunciation"

(886) [I wonder] is it because of my tongue or is it because of their ears

(Nesiani, Second Interview, 2/25/08)

The above narrative illustrates the way Nesiani was positioned (Davies & Harré, 1990) as a non-native speaker by the locals and simultaneously positioned herself as a non-native speaker. She described local people as "impatient" (line2) when she spoke English. Thus, she referred to her pronunciation as "not understandable" (line 4) and "bad" (line 7) and felt the need to apologize for it (line 7). Similar to Kentaro Saeki's (see Excerpt 4.6), Nesiani attempted to resist the way she was positioned as a non-native speaker by the local (line 8).

It is important to note, however, that Nesiani's attitude toward her pronunciation was different when she was in Indonesia:

Excerpt 4.8

(1004) Henny: Is this [her attitudes toward her English pronunciation] different from when you were in Indonesia?

(1005) Nesiani: [in Indonesia] I do I have [pronunciation problems]

(1006) but nobody cares about it

(1007) Henny: Why do you think that way?

(1008) Nesiani: Because they think I am an English teacher

(1009) so they won't correct me anyway or maybe they don't know it

(1010) or they know but they don't want to embarrassed me because I am a teacher

(1011) I don't know

(1012) but nobody has ever corrected me or make me feel my pronunciation is not acceptable

(Nesiani, Second Interview, 2/25/08)

Nesiani's narrative highlights the point that identities are, in fact, situated (McNamara, 1997; Young, 2008). In Indonesia, she was not positioned by her non-nativeness but her profession. Her identities as an EFL teacher projected more empowering identities as someone who was knowledgeable and, thus, people respected her and did not correct her pronunciation. This, to some extent, contributed to her confidence as an EFL teacher when she was in Indonesia.

A few participants view their first languages as inhibiting the way they negotiated desirable identities as MEUs. One of them was Soongoory. Among all the participants I interviewed, he was perhaps the only subject who always worried about his English. After each interview, he often asked if his English was comprehensible. He admitted wanting so much to sound like MNESs. Beaming in pride, he shared one incident that occurred when one of his American friends mistook him for an Asian-American. She

soon found out that he was not because, as he spoke more English, she could detect his non-US accent. Although some scholars have warned about using MNESs as a model of competence (Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 1999, 2001, 2002; Davies, 1991, 2003), Soongoory's attempts to acquire native-speaker English are in themselves an attempt to negotiate his competence and identities. He imagined that he would have a higher symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991) if he could sound like a MNES; and, thus, he would be more appealing and marketable to the job market.

Likewise, Pen, a teacher from Thailand, holds her first language accountable for her failure to have intelligible pronunciation:

Excerpt 4.9

(856) Henny: How did you feel when you first came here?

(857) Pen: I felt my English contains a lot of mistakes

(858) Henny: Why you think that way? Can you give me an example?

(859) Pen: Sometimes when I go to McDonald and want to order something

(860) they don't understand me

(861) one time I use the drive through at McDonald

(862) and I ordered through the speaker phone

(863) they don't understand I say "Chicken nuggets"

(864) they don't understand me

(865) stupid guy stupid people they don't understand me

(866) I said "OK six chicken nuggets"

(867) they say "What?"

(868) I repeat "Chicken nugget" they still did not understand

(869) I was so upset to them to myself

(870) they don't understand what I said

(871) I don't know what's wrong with them or what's wrong with my pronunciation

(872) I know I have problems with my pronunciation for sure

(873) some words I cannot pronounce correctly

(874) because of the different stresses between English and Thai

(Pen, Third Interview, 5/08/08)

The narrative depicts Pen's frustration and her struggle to make herself understood by the servers at a drive-through counter. However, it is interesting to note that by saying "stupid guy stupid people they don't understand" and "I don't know what's wrong with them," Pen partly resisted the identities of a less able non-native speaker handed down to her. She refused to be blamed entirely for the communication breakdown. Both Soongoory's and Pen's narratives suggest the view that being bilinguals more often than not reduces their credibility as legitimate members of an English-speaking community rather than enhances it (Kondo-Brown, 2000).

Among all the participants, Ido appears to be least affected by his non-native status. Different from the majority of participants who felt inferior when interacting with US nationals, Ido admitted not feeling inferior as a MEU, although he continued to believe MNESs to be models of English competence. The sense of confidence Ido felt might stem from his strong academic background. Prior to coming to the United States, he attended several teacher education programs, such as a Postgraduate Diploma in Applied Linguistics and a Short Course on Language Curriculum and Materials

Development, both at the SEAMEO-Regional Language Centre, Singapore on a Jack. C. Richards Scholarship.

If many participants turned to their non-nativeness when they encountered problems in speaking English, Ido seemed to be assertive in deflecting the identities of a less-abled nonnative speaker imposed by the locals. In the following narrative account, Ido described his feelings when his MNES friend questioned his grammatical competence:

Excerpt 4.10

(633) Henny: Can you share one incident when you felt being marginalized?

(634) Ido: Once I design my teaching materials

(635) and then she said ah I forgot in terms of grammar

(636) she [said] "Hey this is wrong" "What is wrong?" [I asked]

(637) because she said that everyone can be plural right?

(638) but for me it's incorrect because everyone can be he or she right?

(639) It's the way I grew up with English so OK

(640) but before I came up with like good understanding I quarrel with her

(Ido, Third Interview, 5/6/08)

In another narrative account, he narrated how he felt looked down upon when his MNES friend asked his grade:

Excerpt 4.11

(647) Henny: Is there any other incidents?

(648) Ido: When I attended 'Introduction to TESOL

(649) one of my American classmates like feel proud [he said] "Hey Ido I got A"

(650) [he is a] native speaker [he asked] "How about you?"

(651) "A plus" [Ido answered]

(652) "How did you get more than I?" [he asked]

(653) so [Ido wondered] "Who do you think you are?" and I walked away

(Ido, Third Interview, 5/6/08)

In both narrative accounts, the way Ido negotiates his identities appears to be geared to the idea of wanting to show off or prove his worth through academic or professional achievement. Ido seems to negotiate not only his competence but also his identities. He did not want to be constructed as a less competent English user and attempted to project more empowered identities. In the first narrative (Excerpt 4.10), rather than accepting the suggestion offered by a MNES friend, he "quarrel with her" to show his resistance. In the second narrative (Excerpt 4.11), he resisted the undesirable nonnative identities by saying he got "A plus"; a grade higher than his MNES friend. When his friend asked further why his grade was higher, rather than answering the question, Ido chose to keep silent and walked away. I understand his action as a way to avoid confrontation, a cultural value upheld in Javanese society.

To sum up, the majority of the participants' narratives concurs with the perspective that identities change as one transitions from one socio-cultural context to another (Cote & Levine, 2002; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000).When they were in their home countries, participants did not seem to feel the need to justify and make sense of their teacher identities to themselves and others. For most participants, being in the United

States foregrounded their non-native identities and thus, affected other identity options. It seems that their multiple identities as bilinguals and EFL teachers, among others, were subsumed into one single identity option: the nonnative speakers. In the case of Ido, his solid professional background enables him to resist the identity of being less-abled.

Norton (1997) states that the natural language-learning context is sometimes "marked by inequitable relations of power in which language learners struggle …[for] opportunities to practice their English in safe and supportive environments" (Norton, 1997, p. 113). The narratives of Kentaro Saeki (Excerpt 4.6), Nesiani (Excerpt 4.7), and Pen (Excerpt 4.9) showed that the local US society was frequently unsupportive of their non-native status. MNESs in the local community were depicted as impatient with their English and their attempts at communicating. Rather than attempting to negotiate meaning with them, MNESs preferred to avoid them, as in the case of Kentaro Saeki. Although they were positioned as non-native speakers, Nesiani's, Kentaro Saeki's and Pen's narratives illustrate subtle resistance of the identities of less-abled non-native speaker cast on them by MNESs. Nevertheless, these attempts do not seem to change the way participants viewed themselves as well as their sense of low English competence.

English Performance and Personal Identities

Another significant finding from analyzing participants' narratives indicates the close relationship between English performance, in particular accent and fluency, and personal identities. Participants who felt that their English performance was not satisfactory admitted feeling "depressed," "lower status," and even blamed themselves for being incompetent in speaking English. Sakura, an EFL teacher from Japan, shared how her limited English proficiency significantly affected the way she perceived herself:

Excerpt 4.12

(212) Henny: How did you feel at the beginning of your stay in the US?

(213) Sakura: When I started living in the US

(214) I feel I have difficulty in expressing myself in English I felt lower status

(215) I feel less confident because I'm not good in speaking English

(216) I might not be understood by others

(217) I always worried about my heavy accent not like native speaker

(218) especially when I am not understood by native speaker

(219) they tend to ask me questions like "what are you talking about?"

(220) I hate it you know I felt ignored I felt so sorry of myself

(221) you know I try hard but I'm sorry because my English is a problem

(222) I feel if I if I don't have such kind of problem

(223) I can speak without an accent people will understand me better

(224) so I feel so sorry of myself so sorry

(Sakura, Second Interview, 2/25/08)

Sakura's narrative exemplifies how her sense of her English competence directly affected the way she perceived herself. She used words such as "lower status," "less confident," and "ignored" to describe herself. This might be because she often compared her "heavy accent" pronunciation with what she believed to be the accent-free pronunciation of MNESs. Norton (2001) and Li (2007) state that at times, MEUs are most uncomfortable when speaking to people they see as gatekeepers to the imagined communities they try to enter. It is possible that because Sakura perceives MNESs as the gatekeepers to the

English-speaking imagined community, she develops a negative opinion of herself whenever her English is not comprehensible to MNESs.

The devastating effect of wanting to be understood by MNESs is particularly evident in the story of a Korean English teacher, Audrey. In the first few months of her stay, she often encountered difficulties when communicating with the local people. This experience affected her self-perception:

Excerpt 4.13

(143) Henny: How did you feel at the beginning of your stay here?

(144) Audrey: I felt there are difference in self value

(145) I have never felt that there is something wrong with me [in Korea]

(146) but here [in the United States] usually I felt maybe something wrong with me

(147) I feel like retard

(148) I don't know but sometimes I speak horribly

(149) sometimes I cannot understand other people talking

(150) I also felt that I behave strangely

(151) I hate myself for being like that

(152) I've never behaved that way in Korea

(Audrey, Second Interview, 3/6/08)

In this excerpt, Audrey discusses the effect of lack of fluency in English on her personal identities. Due to her English, she negatively constructed herself; using words such as "retard," "speak horribly," and "behave strangely." When I asked her to share a situation in which she felt like "a retard," Audrey offered the following narrative account:

Excerpt 4.14

(188) Henny: Can you think of a situation where you feel like a retard?

(189) Audrey: Sometimes when I order something

(190) I couldn't get the waitress

(191) and when they come I could not understand what they are saying

(192) so sometimes I said strange things to them

(193) I know they could not understand my English

(194) and later when I was home I understand what she was asking

(195) and I realized I answered strange things

(196) not relevant

(197) I hate myself for being so stupid

(Audrey, Second Interview, 3/6/08)

Here, once again Audrey developed self-hatred due to her failure to get her message across as well as her failure to understand the waitress at the restaurant.

The narratives of Sakura, Kentaro Saeki, and Audrey, among others, generally highlight the idea that a language is a "badge of identity" (Buruma, 2003, p. 19). In a way, language is a kind of password to enter a CoP. Li (2007) contends that holding a position in a community where a person's "badge of identity" is not as shiny as that of MNESs may bring negative effects on one's personal identities as seen from the narratives of some participants in the present study. Although having access to MNES communities is crucial for MEUs' English competence, the narratives of Sakura, Kentaro Saeki, and Audrey show that the process of gaining access into these communities was

fraught with complexities. Their narratives depicted the interaction with US people were frustrating and caused lots of tension to their personal identities.

Another useful concept for thinking about the relationship between English performance and self-identities is the idea of shame. Authors such as Benedic (1946), Haring (1956), and Lee (1999) indicate that individuals from Asian cultures are more prone to experience shame. Although these authors maintain that shame is not a characteristic of Asian culture *per se*, Asians are more aware of shame than others (Ha, 1995; Tangney, 1990). A study conducted by Yu (2007) of six Koreans' shame experience in speaking English reveals that one emotional result of shame is for participants to blame themselves for their incompetence in speaking English. This explains why Nesiani, Kentaro Saeki, and Audrey felt guilty when they could not get their message across when speaking English. Yu's study (2007) also highlights the concept that self-blame occurs particularly when communicating with those the participants view as having a higher status. Instead of viewing communication as a two-way process in which both interlocutors equally shared responsibility to make meaning clear to both parties (Giles & Coupland, 1991), Nesiani and Kentaro Saeki felt that they were responsible for making the meaning clear, and failing to do so resulted in self-blame.

Hierarchy of Identities

Wenger (1998) puts forward the idea that identities are grounded in different CoPs. Consequently, each person has multiple identities. No matter how distinct these identities, they are related to and influenced by one another. One subject, Seeyeon, admitted that being in the United States had detrimental effects on her other identities.

Prior to coming to the United States, Seeyeon had earned a PhD from a Korean university. During the first three months in the United States, she started to question her validity as a PhD graduate and an English teacher:

Excerpt 4.15

> *I was an English teacher? Is it right?* I could not acknowledge that I taught English. In spite of many years of learning and teaching English, I couldn't say or understand it. It was a dead language. But I was living and should live with English. I had to survive in academic matters as well as in language problem. Having a doctoral degree, which idea made me depressed more, but above all the fact that I do not understand English was frustration in itself and I felt I was like a child who has just learned how to speak.
>
> (Seeyeon, Class Assignment 1, *Being a teacher through learning names*, 2007)

Due to her lack of English competence, Seeyeon doubted her competence as an English teacher despite years of learning English. To her, English appeared to be "a dead language." The feeling of powerlessness was exacerbated by her identities as a PhD graduate. In her imagined community, an English teacher and a PhD graduate were expected to be excellent in English, an ability that she did not possess. Thus, she metaphorically described herself as "a child who has just learned how to speak."

The pressure to perform well in the classroom affected Seeyeon's maternal identities as well. The following narrative accounts illustrate Seeyeon's interaction with her 10-year old son as well as her inner conflicts when she was unable to attend to her son's needs:

Excerpt 4.16

"Mom, should I have this sandwich again!?"

"Yes. Tomorrow if mom finishes the class, I will cook some foods you like"

On Tuesday I said to my son before I leave home for evening class.

"I really hate to eat this today!" [My son said]

"But you should" [I said]

I can't prepare for much food during the classes of the week. He should wait for a few days. But even on weekend I can't make any foods that take long time to cook.

(Seeyeon, Class Assignment 1, *Being a teacher through learning names*, 2007)

Excerpt 4.17

"Mom, I can't find any socks to wear"

"Oh! Really?"

"Mom, [I will] go to the laundry"

This happens from time to time. He would pick up socks that he put on yesterday.

(Seeyeon, Class Assignment 1, *Being a teacher through learning names*, 2007)

Excerpt 4.18

Papers are due just around the corner. But I am now cooking him salmon for half an hour as an answer for bothering me. *Crazy! If it were not for you, I could study late at night in the library. Were it not for you, I could read more articles and write better papers*.

(Seeyeon, Class Assignment 1, *Being a teacher through learning names*, 2007)

The above narratives illustrate Seeyeon's inner conflicts with attempting to fulfill her imagined identities of a good mother and a good learner. In her imagined identities, a

good mother spends a significant time preparing meals (Excerpt 4.16 and Excerpt 4.18) and provides clean clothes everyday for her children (Excerpt 4.17). Because she was studying hard to be a good learner, she failed to fulfill her imagined "rules" of a good mother and, consequently, constructed her identities as a bad mother.

Likewise, Audrey, who also took her two children, failed to enact her imagined maternal identities due to her limited English proficiency as explained in the following narrative:

Excerpt 4.19

(728) Henny: Why you feel like a bad mother here?

(729) Audrey: I felt worried of my kids

(730) In Korea I could always protect them help them

(731) Here, I felt I could not do that because I do not know the language

(732) Henny: Has there been a situation in which your kids were threatened?

(733) Audrey: No not that I know of they never told me that

(734) it was just my feeling

(735) I just feel I can be a better mother if I know the language well

(Audrey, Second Interview, 3/6/08)

The above excerpt illustrates the relationship between linguistic proficiency and the capacity to be a good mother. In Audrey's imagination, the role of a good mother is to protect her children. Due to her limited English, she felt she did not have the linguistic competence to keep her children away from danger.

Omoniyi (2006) maintains that an individual's various identity options are co-present at all times. Each of those options is allocated a position on a hierarchy based on

the degree of salience it claims in a moment of identification. Although Omoniyi's (2006) hierarchy of identities refers specifically for face-to-face interactions, it can also be applied to how an individual prioritizes multiple identity options available to them like in Seeyeon's case. When she enrolled in a doctoral program in the United States, the identities that were most salient were the identities of an English learner. This means that her learner identities were foregrounded and made most prominent at that particular moment when other identities, such as her maternal identities, fall beneath it.

The ways in which Seeyeon and Audrey positioned their maternal identities differed somewhat from the way "Martina," one of the participants in Norton's study (2000), positioned herself. Martina, a 37-year old mother of three teenagers, felt uncomfortable using English with people whose mother tongue was English because she felt "inferior" and "shameful" (p.21) of her non-fluent English. However, her identities as a mother and a primary caregiver in the family led her to refuse being silenced when she argued with the landlord on the phone for more than one hour to make the point that her family had not broken their lease agreement. Norton (2000) concludes that by resisting immigrant- woman identities and taking the position of a mother, she claimed the right to speak, requiring reception on the part of the listener. Different from Martina's self-positioning, Audrey's and Seeyeon's self-positioning as non-native speakers seemed to dominate their other identities. Seeyeon's and Audrey's narratives indicate that they made a strong connection between linguistic and maternal competencies. Unlike Martina, who resisted her immigrant-woman identities, Seeyeon and Audrey seemed to be submissive to their non-native identities and allowed them to control other identity options, such as their identities as mothers.

In considering the participants' identity development, we should, however, be cautious not to fall into the trap of making the non-native status of the participants the only focal point in defining the identity construction of MEU teachers. We should be more open to other variables, beliefs, and assumptions intricately related to MEU teachers and their understanding of who they are as English teachers. Thus, in the paragraphs below I also address the way in which the participants view themselves as learners in a US academic community.

Participants' Self-Positioning as Learners in US Academic Communities

Moving to the United States forced the participants to change their status from teachers to students. The narrative data demonstrate that the 12 participants approached the change of status in different ways. Similar to Pavlenko's participants (2003), who experienced frustration and loss of confidence due to this changed identity, three participants admitted that the change of status made them feel as if they were loosing some sense of power. In the following excerpt, Seeyeon shared the kinds of power she lost because of her status as a student:

Excerpt 4.20

(1415) Henny: Do you feel any different being a student in the US?

(1416) Seeyeon: I was professor in Korea in college and university for almost 10 years right now I am a student in the US

(1417) sometimes in the class discussion I wanted to be involved in the discussion as a professor not just only as a student

(1418) another example when I met a professor in his or her office

(1419) we were talking about our academic issue and

(1420) sometimes I felt she or he is professor I know that but

(1421) if I were in Korea I could talk about that issue as a college professor not as a student

(1422) so I could argue against his/her idea as an equal conversation partner

(1423) but sometimes here I feel I should not argue against them

(1424) just listen to the professor and sometimes I need to be silent

(1425) because I need to be respectful to my teacher

(Seeyeon, Forth Interview, 5/21/08)

As a whole, Excerpt 4.20 illustrates the relationship between imagination and identities. The narrative describes the ways Seeyeon positions herself in relation to her imagined identities of a good Korean student. She described a "set of rules" (Kanno & Norton, 2003) of her imagined good Korean student identities as (1) "should not argue against them [professors]" ; (2) "just listen to the professors" ; and (3) "need to be silent." These imagined "rules" seems to regulate the way she positioned herself as a student in the United States. Thus, she felt she could not argue against teachers and be silent as an expression of her respect.

Other participants appear not to be bothered by the change of status. One example was Fatur. As he made a statement on this issue:

Excerpt 4.21

(852) Henny: Do you feel any different being a learner in the US knowing that you were a teacher in Indonesia?

(853) Fatur: I don't see there are conflict

(854) just somehow like shifting my identities and I shift

(855) OK now I am a student so I have to behave like a student

(856) my idea of teaching and learning is actually the same things

(857) I wanna learn so even I am a student now actually I'm learning as well

(858) like when I was teaching back there in Indonesia I actually learn

(859) so even when I was there [in Indonesia]

(860) I didn't see being a teacher as someone who should give the knowledge

(Fatur, Third Interview, 5/5/08)

Faturr's narrative points to the fluidity and continuity of identities put forward by Alsup (2005), Charmaz (1991), Duff and Uchida (1997), and Galindo (1996). For Fatur, being a teacher was somewhat similar to being a student because both identities involved learning. Thus, he easily shifted and "unfastened" (Reed, 2001) his identities as a teacher in Indonesia and positioned himself according to the identities of the student (line 2).

Ido and Nesiani shared relatively similar ideas:

Excerpt 4.22

(954) Henny: Do you feel different being a student in the US?

(955) Ido: I like being a student

(956) Henny: Why?

(957) Ido: As a student I could voice my ideas

(958) I think as students I have to be considerate 'Oh OK now I am student'

(959) so I have to put myself as a student like explorers in the jungle

(960) it means I don't have to know everything like when I am a teacher

(Ido, Second Interview, 2/1/08)

Excerpt 4.23

(1112) I almost forget that I am a teacher when I am a student

(1113) I like being a student more

(1114) I don't like being a teacher

(1115) when I was a teacher I have to prepare everything everyday

(1116) that I have to have behave in certain way like polite

(1117) but becoming a student is more relaxing enjoy

(Nesiani, Second Interview, 2/25/08)

Fatur's, Ido's, and Nesiani's narratives illustrate that teacher identities are indeed situated (McNamara, 1997; Young, 2008). They "unfastened" (Reed, 2001) their identities as teachers in their home countries and "fastened" (Reed, 2001) their behaviors according to the identities of good learners in the United States, although their understanding of what it means to be a teacher and a student might be somewhat varied. For Fatur, "teacher" and "student" had overlapping roles. Both roles involved learning. Ido understood learners as explorers in the jungle. Nesiani preferred to be a learner rather than a teacher, whose identities she constructed as needing to "prepare everything everyday" (Excerpt 4.23) and "behave in a certain way" (Excerpt 4.23). What is interesting from Ido's and Nesiani's narratives, in particular, are the ways in which they viewed teacher identities. Implied in Ido's and Nesiani's narratives are the identities of a teacher as someone who needs to know everything (Excerpt 4.22) and behave in a certain way (Excerpt 4.23).

To sum up, the narrative data of participants' self-positioning as learners in the United States illustrate a multi-faceted picture. A few participants expressed concerns by their change of status from EFL teachers to L2 learners because being learners cost them

certain privileges. However, the majority of the participants did not seem to be affected by it. One subject even enjoyed being a learner more than a teacher because the learner's roles were viewed as more liberating.

Conclusion

Generally, the narratives show that most of the participants' teacher identities are situated (McNamara, 1997; Young, 2008). In their home countries, all of them self-positioned as confident English teachers, although at times they continued to seek help from MNESs in areas of language and pedagogy. However, once they were in the United States most participants positioned themselves primarily with regard to their sense of their English performance (fluency, pronunciation, and accent) and the way local US people responded to their non-nativeness.

Although they could easily embrace the benefits of being MEU teachers in their home countries as mentioned by several applied linguistics (Braine, 1999; Braine, 2006; Britten, 1985; Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 1999, 2002; Davies, 1991, 2003; Ha, 2008; Holliday, 2005; Jenkins, 2007; Menard-Warwick, 2008; Seidlhofer, 1999), most participants' confidence as English teachers was shattered when the participants were in the United States. It seems that their identities as non-native speakers were far more salient to them when they were in the United States than other identities (e.g. maternal identities, bilingual identities, and cultural identities, among others). A few participants, however, attempted to resist being positioned as non-native speakers by the local people, even though these acts of resistance did not change the ways the participants viewed both themselves as well as their English competence.

The narratives of some participants also indicate a relationship between English performance and personal identities. Participants who perceived their English competence as not satisfactory admitted feelings of being "depressed, or "lower status;" they even developed self-blame. Take for example Audrey. Her narrative illustrated how her sense of lower English competence made her describe herself as a "retard" and, consequently, developed a self-hatred. These destructive self-perceptions can also be interpreted by understanding the idea of shame in Asian cultures. Studying the experience of six Koreans when speaking English, Yu (2007) found that self-blame and self-hatred became common when communicating with people the participants viewed as having a higher status.

The narratives of the participants depict the role of imagination to identity construction (Pavlenko, 2003; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). By wanting to emulate MNES pronunciation, Soongoory imagined more powerful identities and more lucrative job offers. Kanno and Norton (2003) point out that imagined communities, like all communities, have defining sets of rules. Vygotsky (1978) maintains "the notion that a child can behave in an imaginary situation without rules is simply inaccurate. If the child is playing the role of a mother, then she has rules of maternal behaviour" (p.95). Some participants' narratives also revealed sets of rules like the one Vygtosky describes. These "rules" seem to regulate their participation patterns in a given CoP as well as the way they enacted these identities.

CHAPTER 5 PARTICIPANTS' SHIFTING IDENTITIES

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the participants' identity shifts after participating and living in the local community and interacted with local US people. I begin the chapter by narrating my own struggle with defining the term shift*s* and how this term is different from the terms change and transformation.

My Struggle to Define the Term Shift

When I began this study, I was thinking more about the word *change*, about the way in which our experiences change us, change our identities, and change who we are. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, I had been living with two of my participants, Nesiani and Fatur, during the first year in the United States. All of us came from the same country, Indonesia. As housemates, we had many opportunities to share and "observe" how each of us encountered the US culture. I, who in Indonesia used to cherish my social relations, chose to "sacrifice" socializing for studying. By contrast, Nesiani loved to go out. Almost every night she hung out with friends, went to bars, and social events. She admitted to me that she wanted to use her time in the United States to "experience" the culture. Back in her home country, she spent most of her time working and taking care of her children. In addition, she dyed her hair blonde, something she had wanted to do in Indonesia but did not dare to because of her profession. Fatur loved both studying and socializing. He often ate out with other international students and studied with them. He also grew to love cooking, which he had never done in Indonesia. As we sat around the dinner table, we often shared reflections on the ways in which the education we received in the United States had transformed us and, perhaps, changed us so that we would be different teachers when we went back to Indonesia.

Noticing the different ways living in the United States had affected us, I was still not convinced that the word changed or transformed was relevant to representing my experience in the United States. During the focus group interview, Nesiani told me that she was not sure if changed was the appropriate word because there were parts of her that still felt the same. Although acknowledging that the US educational experience had somewhat changed him, Fatur was not sure he would not go back to his "old" selves when he was in Indonesia. Nesiani chose to describe her "different ways of thinking and behaving" as a slight movement in different directions. I decided to refer to "a slight movement in different direction" as a shift, but not a change in or transformation of identities. The word shifts is also in accordance with the view of identities as positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990, 1999). It captures the fluidity of identities.

To make the process of shifting identities visible, I focused on the participants' struggles when certain identity options were contested, imposed or devalued in the United States. This focus stemmed from my interest in instances where participants resisted or negotiated certain identities to better adjust themselves in the United States. This process of cultural and academic adjustment might result in shifts of certain identities. From the data analysis collected through individual interviews, focus groups, and the participants' documents, I found the participants primarily experienced shifts in four identity options:

1. Shifts in MEU Identities;
2. Shifts in Learners' Identities;
3. Shifts in Teacher Identities; and
4. Shifts in Cultural Identities.

It is important to note that although each shift is discussed separately in this section, it should not be taken to suggest they are mutually exclusive of one another. In fact, they seem to be inexorably linked.

Prior to discussing the shifting process of the participants, I must note that all the participants indicated that the more time they spent in the United States, the easier it was to adapt. The participants commented that as time passed, they learned more and more about the United States culture. Mika stated that her perception toward her US friends changed overtime. In the beginning of her stay, she characterized them as individualistic and ignorant towards foreign students such as herself. However, after spending time with them, she realized they had different ways of relating to new members in the culture. Over time, Pen and Soongoory were able to observe the way US classmates engaged in classroom discussions. These participants positioned US classmates as models of competent participants (Toohey, 2000) in the classroom. Generally, "time" seemed to allow the participants to observe the US people to find out about their participation patterns and in the process, develop their own practices.

Shifts in MEU Identities

The narrative data indicate that, for most participants, studying in the United States made them reframe their prior non-native identities in a new and positive light. Pen positioned herself differently with regard to the English language. In the following narrative, she stated that the frequency of using English in the United States increased her confidence as an English user:

Excerpt 5.1

(42) Henny: Do you feel any difference after living in the US for a while?

(43) Pen: For me because before I came here I just speak English in the classroom

(44) I didn't speak very well I know it

(45) I make a lot of mistakes but I came here I felt more confidence

(46) because the more you use the more you practice the more you learn

(47) I think my English is not very good

(48) but if I compare myself in the past and now I think it's better

(49) it's not a lot of better but it's better

(Pen, Third Interview, 4/2/08)

Pen's narrative echoes Kellman's (2003) idea. He insightfully points out that "If Homo sapiens is a species defined by language, then switching the language entails transforming the self … it means constructing a new identities syllable by syllable" (p.xiv). Implied in the quote is the significance of linguistic proficiency to the development of a new and empowering identity option. Pen's narrative shows the positive correlation between frequency of English use, confidence level, and positive identity option. Living in the United States gave her opportunities to use English (inside as well as outside the classroom) and over time, she grew to be a more confident MEU. Pen's narrative also points to Fairclough's (1989) perception of language as a social practice. The more she uses English, the more familiar it becomes; and the more familiar it becomes, the more likely it turns into a social habit.

Although Pen admitted that she became a more confident MEU, she continued to feel the need to improve her pronunciation. One of her strategies was to "polish" her

English with a speech pathologist in the present university. When I asked why Pen went to a speech pathologist, she responded:

Excerpt 5.2

227) Henny: Why do you feel the need to go to a speech pathologist?

228) Pen: When starting the session I talk to the speech pathologist

229) I told him I don't want to be native speaker

230) but you know I just want to speak intelligible English

231) I mean when you learn something you have to make it correct

232) I don't want to change my accent because first it's part of my Thai identities

233) I just want to pronounce words correctly

234) some non-native speakers already pronounce the words correctly

235) but for me I don't pronounce the words correctly

236) I don't want to say something wrong

237) for example Chinese people they come to Thailand

238) and they speak Thai with a Chinese accent

239) for me I don't mind them speaking Thai with Chinese accent

240) but if they want to make it correct what's wrong with that?

241) it's not about right or wrong

242) but it's just something easy to fix you know

243) what I mean they can pronounce this word correctly if they practice

244) they don't have this sound in their language

245) but they can practice it

246) but it doesn't mean they change who they are by making it right

247) that's why I go to speech pathologist

248) I am an English teacher so I should pronounce English correctly

(Pen, Third Interview, 4/2/08)

Pen's narrative exemplifies the complexities of identities. They are "fraught with ambivalence and contradictions" (Golombek & Jordan, 2005, p. 527). Pen negotiates her identities by "fixing" her pronunciation to those o f the MNES' although initially she articulated that she "don't want to be native speaker" (line 229) because it would not represent her Thai identities. However, later in the interview, she indirectly described her "Thai English" as incorrect and needing to be fixed. Although we might misunderstand her attempts to "fix" her pronunciation as some kind of self-marginalization, I understand her attempt to change her pronunciation as a way of negotiating her EFL teacher identities. The work of Norton (2000; 1995) on the interplay between identity construction, investment, and language learning might provide insight into Pen's eagerness to "fix" her pronunciation. For Norton (1995), learners who invest in learning a second language do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic (e.g. language, education, and friendship) and material resources (e.g. money, job, and goods), which will enhance their access into a given CoP. After graduating from the PhD program, Pen planned to go back to her home country, Thailand, and applied for a teaching job. She mentioned that in Thailand, English teachers with American accents are highly desirable and marketable. Thus, Pen felt the need to "fix" her Thai-accented pronunciation to be more American; she believed that this was the "correct" and "intelligible" accent and thus, more marketable. In Bourdieu's (1977) terms, Pen's

attempt to improve her pronunciation is an attempt to increase her "cultural capital" as an English teacher so that she could land a better job.

Additionally, Pen's attempt to "fix" her pronunciation might relate to the ways many Asian educational settings position teachers. As pointed out elsewhere, a teacher in Asian settings is believed to be the embodiment and source of knowledge (Fu, 1995; Liu, 2001; Soefijanto, 2003). Because a teacher has such a powerful image in most Asian societies, Pen felt responsible for assuring that her pronunciation was correct, which she understood as American, so that she could provide a good model of English use for her students.

Nesiani's profound shift was also related to her attitude towards her different accent. During the beginning of her stay, she continuously referred to her English pronunciation as "problematic." After learning a great deal about critical pedagogies especially issues in second language identities, she expressed different attitudes towards her pronunciation:

Excerpt 5.3

943) Henny: Does your attitude toward your pronunciation change?

944) Nesiani: Yea after I read about issues in second language identities and stuff

945) Henny: How does it change?

946) Nesiani: The most important thing for me is they can understand what I am talking about

947) accent actually doesn't really matter for me

948) non-native speaker will always have accent

949) they cannot leave their accent so I don't feel really intimidated as well

950) I think my accent is cute it's different

(Nesiani, Third Interview, 5/6/08)

The above excerpt illustrates Nesiani's different positioning in relation to her pronunciation. She seemed to grow more tolerant of her accented pronunciation. In fact, she referred to her pronunciation positively as "cute" (line 5). Her focus shifted from trying to emulate MNES pronunciation to the intelligibility and tolerance of her different pronunciation.

The majority of the participants stated that participating in classes focusing on issues of nativeness and MEU identities gave them positive identity options to draw upon. Audrey explained that in the first few months in the United States, she described herself as "a retard" due to her inability to express herself in English. In fact, during those times, the only identity option she identified herself with was that of a non-native speaker of English. After studying in the graduate program, particularly because of the readings she had done for her graduate classes, she was aware that she was a bilingual, which she defined as operating in two languages, Korean and English. As she noted during the third interview:

Excerpt 5.4

(75) Henny: Do you feel any difference after studying in the program?

(76) Audrey: I didn't know that I am a bilingual

(77) and that a bilingual can live a rich life

(78) when I first came here for several months I didn't think I was bilingual

(79) and then after reading many articles they told us that the person who can use two language is bilingual

(80) and that they have many things to offer for their learners

(Audrey, Third Interview, 5/8/08)

The above excerpt shows the significant role of education in making an identity shift. Although Audrey was a bilingual, she was not aware of it until she read articles about bilingualism. She thus viewed the identities of a bilingual as more empowering. This could be seen from the word choice she selected to describe a bilingual person: "a bilingual can live a rich life" and "they have many things to offer for their learners." A similar idea was expressed by Fatur:

Excerpt 5.5

(65) Henny: Do you feel any difference after living or studying here?

(66) Fatur: I just realized I never knew that [I am a bilingual]

(67) I remember one article that I read about bilingual and then I realized I am a bilingual or multilingual

(68) I knew [that] when I was here so I never knew that before

(69) Now I know I am multilingual

(70) and then all of these languages are mine you know

(71) all of these languages are mine so it's really changes when I am here

(72) so it's more like I become more aware of who I am

(Fatur, Third Interview, 5/5/08)

Likewise, Fatur felt that the readings on bilingual issues positively changed him. It empowered and allowed him to claim ownership of all the languages he spoke including English (line 70).

Even though the critical pedagogies Sakura encountered in the graduate program heightened her confidence as an English speaker, she was not convinced of the equal status of MNES teachers and MEU teachers promoted in some graduate courses. Sakura continued to feel lower than her MNES teacher counterparts:

Excerpt 5.6

57) Henny: Do you feel any difference after living or staying here?
58) Sakura: I learn in my TESOL program that non-native speaker
59) and native speaker are like equal but I still
60) I don't think so especially non-native speakers who want to be English teachers in the US
61) although non-native know their students better
62) it might be more difficult for them
63) and also students want to learn from native speakers
64) so I would say in terms of being teachers
65) I still felt lower than those native speaker teachers
66) Henny: Do you plan to work in the US after you graduate?
67) Sakura: Yes that's why I felt worried of my future

(Sakura, Third Interview, 5/23/08)

The above narrative suggests that Sakura's inferiority of her identities as non-native speaker appear to be mediated by her future trajectory. She continued to feel lower than

MNES teachers because of her future plan to work in the United States. The way she negotiated her identities is, therefore, complex. These identities were influenced by such factors as her own belief of MNES teachers as "better" and by her perception that students might think the same.

Al further shared his belief that the critical pedagogies he learned in the graduate program also made him realize that emulating MNESs was, in fact, disadvantageous to his cultural identities:

Excerpt 5.7

(317) Henny: What do you learn from the program?

(318) Al: It shock me that someone gain a lot of benefit

(319) at first I thought if we can talk like native speaker we would gain a lot of benefit

(320) actually we loose a lot of benefits

(321) Right?

(322) And native speakers gain a lot of benefit

(323) Henny: What do you mean by loosing a lot of benefits?

(324) Al: Like feeling ashamed of my pronunciation and want to pronounce like native speaker

(325) We try to deny that we come from other culture

(326) try to hide our accent to speak like American people

(327) I realize here asking someone to speak like native speaker like asking them to deny their culture

(Al, Second Interview, 2/21/08)

In Excerpt 5.7, Al articulated his new-found awareness of an alternative imagined community; one that did not position a MNES as a model. He realized that having the imagined identities of a MNES brought negative effects on his self-perception (line 324) and cultural origin.

The shifting process occurs not only because of the critical pedagogies, but also because of the interaction some participants have with other MEUs in the program. Al's admitted that having friends from all over the world enabled him to re-imagine other Englishes as equally legitimate:

Excerpt 5.8

(493) Henny: What other things that affect your identity shifts?

(494) Al: Because I use to be in the opposite way than the belief of World Englishes because I really stick to the native speaker

(495) Henny: Can you give an example?

(496) Al: I mean when was a student I always join the classroom in which first language was not allowed in the classroom

(497) and you only use English and you have to pronounce like native speaker

(498) at that time I believed the purpose of learning was to be like native speaker

(499) and I felt when you wanted to speak to native speakers you have to make your English be understood by the native speakers

(500) actually when I was here we are exposed to different students with different kinds of Englishes

(501) so you have to pay more attention to make the communication successful across people around the globe not just to native speakers

(502) it makes me realize that there are more than one way of speaking English

(Al, Third Interview, 6/20/08)

The above excerpt demonstrates that when Al shifted his identities, he also shifted the rules of participation in his imagined community. Prior to studying in the United States, Al believed that to gain access into the imagined communities of English speakers he needed to (1) "pronounce [English] like native speaker" (line 497); (2) abondon his first language in the classroom (line 496); and (3) be understood by NESs (line 499). However, being in the United States gave him opportunities for interacting with MEUs with different Englishes. The exposure to different Englishes allowed him to revise his rules for participation, that is, speaking English for people around the globe and not only for MNESs (line 8).

Embracing the identity option of a bilingual causes some participants to be critical of or even dislike the terms "native" and "non-native speaker" altogether. Ido admitted that he would prefer to be called an "English user". He thought labeling a person as a "non-native speaker" would position him or her as lower than a "native speaker." For Nesiani, the word "non-native" meant "othering other speakers" and indexed a low English competence. Rather, she preferred terms like "L1 users" and "L2 users." In a similar vein, Fatur had a strong feeling about categorizing people as native and non-native speakers. He expressed his frustration because many students used the terms "natives" and "non-natives" loosely, without knowing what the terms really meant. Despite his dislike of the terms, Fatur realized that the terms were so pervasive that they

were hard to be eliminated. For that reason, he attempted to redefine the term "native speaker":

Excerpt 5.9

(1352) Henny: So how do you define a native speaker?

(1353) Fatur: I think we can call somebody a native speaker of English

(1354) when they can speak English fluently and can communicate what they want in English and we understand

(1355) they are native speakers an their own

(1356) I don't know I don't think they have to be born in this country or raise in this country at certain age

(1357) I think if you speak the language you become native of the language

(1358) Henny: So, what do you consider yourself then?

(1359) Fatur: I am a native speaker of my own variety of English

(1360) Henny: Why?

(1361) Fatur: I think because of the sense of belonging

(1362) I feel now English and other languages that I spoke belong to me

(1363) that's why I think native speakers of English is not a right of a certain group

(1364) other bilinguals speak English too it doesn't have to be like the mono-lingual of English but these bilinguals speak English in their best capacity

(Fatur, Third Interview, 5/5/08)

I found Fatur's attempt to redefine the term "native speaker" to include himself is interesting. At the beginning of the interview excerpt, Fatur stated that he was so

empowered after learning about World Englishes and felt the need to redefine the concept "native speaker" to include himself (line 1353-1357) and other bilinguals (line 1364). When I asked why, he said he did so because he had felt a sense of belonging towards English (line 1361). Additionally, he pointed out that the term "native speaker" should not be the prerogative of a certain group of people (line 1363). Hall (1997) suggests that the language one speaks or uses to communicate with the world gives one a sense of identities. Fatur's attempts to redefine native speaker can be seen as indicative of a process of claiming "an insider status" (Reed, 2001) for himself.

The process of shifting identities also allows a few participants to become more aware of the way MNESs position them. Fatur and Al became more critical when people complimenting their English. In the following interviews, Al and Fatur shared narrative accounts about such a phenomenon:

Excerpt 5.10

(763) Henny: Have you ever felt marginalized when living here?

(764) Al: People here they keep on reminding me that I am a non-native

(765) for example they often said to me "Oh Your English is good"

(766) it may seem to be a compliment

(767) but that make you feel that you are a non-native, right?

(768) sometimes they say to me "Oh your English is like a native"

(769) "Oh how do you got to speak such a good English?"

(770) so they keep on reminding me that I am not the same as them

(771) it's a praise in a way but at the same way saying you are not native right?

(772) but I don't feel those comments are offensive

(773) sometimes I just said to myself "OK thanks for reminding me that I am a good learner and that I'm non-native speaker"

(Al, Third Interview, 6/20/08)

Excerpt 5.11

(1544) Henny: Have you ever felt marginalized when you were here?

(1545) Fatur: Well here American people often complimenting "Your English is good"

(1546) maybe at that time I didn't see that as a way of discriminating

(1547) for me it is a compliment

(1548) because we didn't know I just say "Wow"

(1549) because I was proud to be speaking American English

(1550) but I don't feel that way anymore

(1551) I mean in the past when people said "Wow your English is excellent"

(1552) I feel proud of that because not everybody can do that

(1553) but actually it is not a complement

(1554) it means you are different from us

(1555) now I just don't care well whatever I just speak English like I want to

(Fatur, Third Interview, 5/5/08)

For Al, compliments were a reminder that he was not a MNES, although he did not perceive of them as offensive. Earlier, Fatur had been proud of the praise people gave for his English. But now, he took compliments to mean positioning him as a non-native speaker. To borrow the words of Li (1999), as a MEU educator, people expected her

English “to be a little off” (p.50). Nonetheless, Al and Fatur admitted that English had become part of them. They felt that without English, they would not be who they were: bilinguals at home in both English and their L1s, as Al and Fatur would like to refer themselves.

When analyzing the 12 participants’ narratives, I found that the narrative data illustrate the point that most participants reframe their MEU identities in more positive ways. At the beginning of their stay in the United States, they mainly saw their MEU identities only in terms of their status as a non-native speaker. Later, they started to see themselves as bilingual and multi-competent English users. The finding of the present study somewhat supports findings of Pavlenko’s (2003) and Samimy-Brutt-Griffler’s (1999) studies highlighting the significant role of classroom discourse in identity construction. Most participants indicated that they viewed themselves positively after engaging in a discussion or reading about issues in critical pedagogies. Other than classroom discourse, the frequency of English use and the opportunities to interact with other MEUs with different Englishes are mentioned as the contributing factors to some participants’ heightened confidence. Participants react to an identity-shift in different ways. For some participants, the shift of MEU identities included re-imagining different communities of Englishes, those produced by MEUs. Others avoided the use of the terms *native* and *non-native* speaker of English completely. One subject even attempted to redefine the term *native speaker* to include MEUs. A few participants became more aware of how they were positioned by MNESs.

Shifts in Learner's Identities

In participating in a US academic community, the participants in this study also needed to negotiate their learner identities. The participants' narratives describe various stances when discussing their adaptation in the US classroom in the present university. Their shifting identities were mostly mediated by the participants' imagination, their L1 culture, and their willingness to skillfully navigate their participation patterns to gain legitimacy in a US academic community.

A few participants, such as Dark Vader, Fatur, and Ido, did not see the need to consciously shift their identities because they considered themselves active learners, regardless the socio-cultural contexts. In fact, Fatur strongly voiced a disagreement of the Western stereotype of Asian learners as passive and uncritical. This meant that for Dark Vader, Fatur, and Ido, their learner identities were somewhat stable rather than context-dependent.

For Al, the shifts toward being a competent learner in the United States came easily and relatively quickly. Through years of experience of teaching English in Thailand, he knew the kinds of participation patterns expected in the US classroom and adjusted his participation patterns accordingly:

Excerpt 5.12

(1851) Henny: Do you think you become different learner when you are here?

(1852) Al: In the classroom you [students] have to initiate some talks [in the United States]

(1853) in Thailand I don't really need to say too much in the classroom

(1854) you can just be calmed and listen to the teacher just listen

(1855) but here I think it's not the requirement

(1856) it's suggested that you should show some of your participation in classroom

(1857) by sharing your opinion talk about something

(1858) so [in the United States] I just raise my hand and then say something

(1859) anything as long as they can hear my voice in the classroom

(1860) so I talk more here

(1861) in Thailand to survive in the classroom and gain the teacher approval

(1862) I just need to sit still and listen to the teacher

(1863) so I learn to behave according to the context

(Al, Third Interview, 6/20/08)

Al's narrative illustrates the idea that identities are fluid (Pavlenko & Blackridge, 2004) and situated (Joseph, 2004; McNamara, 1997; Young, 2008). His narrative shows how he easily positioned (Davies & Harré, 1990, 1999) or shifted his classroom participation patterns according to the context: He raised his hand and said something (line 1858-1859) when he was in the United States and sat still and listened to the teacher when he was in Thailand (line 1862). In doing so, Al seemed to negotiate not only his learner competence but also his identities as a bilingual who needed to shuttle between two academic communities. Being in the United States enabled him to develop a meta-social awareness of both cultures and, most importantly, developed conformist identities to be a legitimate member in both communities.

If Al's shifting identities appears to be effortless, this is not the case for the majority of participants. For Kentaro Saeki, participating in a classroom was a process

that did not come easily. A major problem inhibiting him from speaking out was his low self-confidence. He described the process of building self-confidence as "a long process of convincing himself to talk." He started building his confidence by spending hours in a library cubicle, reading the assigned articles over and over to make sure he understood what the authors said. Understanding the assigned reading materials helped him to gain some levels of confidence. He also asked his MNES friends and engaged discussion with them. Kentaro Saeki admitted that this "community" significantly helped his confidence because he did not feel hesitant to speak. He said he could share his ideas "fluently."

At the same time, he started observing the ways in which other MNESs engaged in the classroom: what kinds of questions they asked, what kinds of comments they made about the readings, and what kinds of opinion they expressed. Through the process of observation, he learned the difference between the United States and Japanese classroom discourse. In Japan, teacher and student interactions most often centered on understanding the reading materials. In the United States, they could be anything related to the articles, even students' own personal opinions about the text. This "finding" was an eye-opener for him. Knowing that he could say "almost anything about the reading" somehow made participating in a classroom easier. He stated in the past he usually examined his ideas before opening his mouth. He tried to make sure his ideas were not "stupid" and sounded intelligent. Now, he did not feel the need to evaluate his ideas. He just shared, and over time he was accustomed to speaking in the classroom.

From Kentaro Saeki's narrative, it can be seen that identity shifts came gradually. His LPP (legitimate peripheral participation) starts internally by building his self-confidence that his opinion is worthy and not "stupid" or imperfect. His participation was

modeled after the participation of old members, the US classmates. Through this observation, Kentaro Saeki was able to identify the difference between Japanese and US classroom interactions. Gradually, the process of building confidence, observing, and emulating the responses of other classmates, as well as spending hours to understand the content of class readings made him feel that he was a somewhat more legitimate classroom member.

Pen's active engagement began when her professor praised her ideas. Pen, an English teacher from Thailand, tended to be quiet in most of her courses. The change came when she consulted "Dr. Y" about her final paper. In the session, he suddenly praised her ideas during a group discussion. Pen, then, revealed her concern over not being active like other classmates. Pen was surprised to learn that Dr. Y did not seem to consider her silence as a problem. He assured her that Asian students often need time to get used to US classroom participation and that she was entitled to keep her cultural style of participation if she wanted to. Dr Y's reassurance and understanding had a significant impact on the way Pen felt in the classroom and in her words "motivate her to participate."

Factors Affecting Learner Identity Shifts

Most participants' narratives about their academic participation reveal tensions and struggles when they attempted to position themselves in a US classroom. The participants mentioned four factors that significantly affecting their identity shifts: (1) The role of silence in L1 academic communities; (2) L1 academic community; (3) MNES classmates; and (4) MEU classmates. In the discussion below I will explain each factor in detail.

The role of silence in L1 communities

Some participants' narratives demonstrate the importance of silence in Asian cultures. In the following narrative, Mika described the significant role of silence in the construction of Japanese women's identities:

Excerpt 5.13

(1214) Henny: Why you want to be silent in the classroom?

(1215) Mika: They [Japanese women] don't wanna make themselves sort of like how do I say like opinionated

(1216) Henny: Why you think?

(1217) Mika: Since I was a little child I always hear people say "Don't brag off" "Don't show off your ability even though you know the answer"

(1218) "Be humble" "Don't show off your knowledge to people"

(1219) we have a slogan about that "Hawks hide their nails"

(1220) it basically means people who have a big knowledge or big power or ability don't show it off to other people

(1221) it's better to hide them

(1222) just use those power only when it's really needed that's the real power

(1223) if you can be humble of your knowledge

(1224) not show it off to people

(1225) only use it when it is mostly needed I am not sure why is that

(Mika, Third Interview, 5/2/08)

The excerpt above was prompted by a question I had asked about factors affecting Mika's classroom participation patterns. Her response indicates her struggle of being a Japanese

woman in the local US classroom. Mika began her narrative by sharing her experience of growing up in a Japanese society. In Japan, she understood that the role of women was to stay "humble," which was achieved by basically being silent. By contrast, US academic communities expected learners to display critical thinking and knowledge by actively engaging in classroom discussions. The discrepancy between the participation patterns in United States and Japan contributed to Mika's dilemma. On the one hand, she desired full membership in a US academic community, which seemed to require learning how to speak like other US members; on the other hand, she did not want to develop what she perceived as an arrogant communicative style in her L1.

In addition to project humbleness, Sakura mentioned another function of silence in Japanese society:

Excerpt 5.14

(887) Henny: Why it's hard for you to participate actively in the classroom?

(888) Sakura: Being a Japanese actually inhibit me to adjust especially for women

(889) Japanese women should be humble they try to be humble than men

(890) our social values is kinda try to create harmony

(891) try to limit disagreement like in my family meeting if my father say I have to just follow not questioning him

(892) among friends sometimes we just talk but we try to avoid arguments so we say something like "Ah you right" or "I see"

(893) if I disagree I just don't say anything I just listen

(894) totally different from here it's opposite

(895) so sometimes it's still hard for me to say my opinion in the classroom

(896) especially challenging professor the authoritative figure in the classroom

(897) I would never do that

(Sakura, 2/25/08)

Indirectly Sakura's narrative addresses the role of silence as a tool for creating harmony (line 890). Silence limits disagreement (line 890) and avoid arguments (line 891-892). Together, the narratives of Mika and Sakura show that in Japanese society, silence has what Pavlenko and Norton (2007) term as an "identitiary function" (p.670) for Japanese women.

For Seeyeon, silence had an important function to show respect to the elderly or an authoritative figure in the classroom:

Excerpt 5.15

(742) Henny: How is the educational system different between here and in Korea?

(743) Seeyeon: In Korean education settings in classroom

(744) usually some people just a few students speak out to professor

(745) we wait for the questions from the teacher

(746) we do not usually ask some questions just a few students who did that but very rarely

(747) we just wait for the questions rather than asking actively

(748) in America if we do not speak out our opinion

(749) professor and other classmates would consider me "Oh, I have no opinion I have no idea"

(750) but I have an opinion or idea but I cannot speak out in English

(Seeyeon, Second Interview, 3/18/08)

Whereas learners' silence in US classroom is considered negative as it indicates passivity and absence of knowledge, silence in Asian classroom is more complex (Jensen, 1973; Liu, 2001; Morita, 2000, 2004). From Seeyeon's narrative, one learns that silence can have two functions. First, as Jensen (1973) and Liu (2001) point out, silence shows respect to the teacher. Second, silence can be a face-saving strategy. Seeyeon preferred to be silent as a face-saving strategy to "hide" her lack of speaking skills, although it did not necessarily mean she did not have the knowledge to contribute to class discussions.

Kentaro Saeki preferred to be silent when he was not sure if his opinions were relevant and "correct." He explained that in Japan, parents and teachers often said that "You should not say anything if you are not one hundred percent sure of what you are going to say." He always was careful of what he said in public for fear of "misleading others" or "giving wrong information." Therefore, when he was not fully confident of his ideas, whether they were correct or would make a positive contribution to what was being discussed, he would rather not say anything. This was the reason he often sat silently in the classroom during his first year. His silence also enabled him to observe the ways in which other classmates engaged in classroom discussion and the kinds of responses they gave. Therefore, for Kentaro Saeki silence gives him a safe space in which he could regulate and imagine future identities.

If most participants voluntarily shift their identities as a means of negotiating their membership and identities, Mika's narrative demonstrates an initial resistance toward shifting her learner identities:

Excerpt 5.16

(945) Henny: How is your adjustment process in the classroom?

(946) Mika: I don't think I must change myself to fit in this culture

(947) partly because I am Japanese and I have my own identities as a Japanese

(948) but at the same time I need to change myself

(949) Henny: Why?

(950) Mika: I cannot behave like Japanese especially when I am here

(951) when I'm talking to other students because I need to speak out more

(952) I need to express my ideas my opinion more in front of people

(953) but I don't do that in Japanese culture I am more silent

(954) so I try to change myself according to America academic culture

(Mika, Third Interview, 5/2/08)

What is interesting from this narrative is the way Mika understood the need to shift her classroom participation style as denying her Japanese selves (line 945-946). Although the view of identities as a core self has been largely challenged (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Bucholtz, Liang, & Sutton, 1999; Hall, 1990, 1996; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), Mika seemed to view her Japanese identities as core identities. Thus, the need to shift her identities felt like negating her Japanese-ness. Yet, eventually, she changed her classroom participation patterns as a way to negotiate her competence and identities. She was afraid that she would not meet the US classroom expectations regarding competence and that she would be unfairly marked as an incompetent member of the classroom.

Among all the subject narratives, Nesiani's account of her learner identities, perhaps, was most complex. Since the beginning of her stay in the United States, she

preferred to be silent in the classroom, unless the teacher asked her to speak. Like Sakura, she attributed her silence to her L1 culture, Javanese. She described Javanese culture as paternalisitic, in which women, in her words, "needs to listen more" and "speak less … and wait till the males speak first." She also mentioned that in Indonesia, there were several proverbs highlighting the value of being silent: *seperti padi semakin berisi semakin merunduk*, (like a paddy, the more rice it has, the lower it bends down), *tong kosong berbunyi nyaring* (an empty barrel will sound louder). Although she preferred to be silent, she did attempt to be more active for fear of being constructed as not wanting to learn by US professors and friends.

After participating in graduate classes, interacting with US, and international friends, Nesiani experienced shifts. Her shift, however, was more internal. She felt less pressured to be like US students and opted to remain silent. In response to the question "Why you remain silent in the classroom?" Nesiani gave the following answer:

Excerpt 5.17

738) Henny: Why you remain silent?

739) Nesiani: Because I believe being silent doesn't mean you don't know anything you silent because silence is golden

740) Henny: Can you elaborate that?

741) Nesiani: It's cool i mean if you silent actually you know everything but

742) when your professor ask you to say something and then you just say

743) and you say the right thing and I enjoyed that moment

744) I mean rather than keep on talking for no reason talking nonsense

(Nesiani, Third Interview, 5/6/08)

Nesiani's academic adaptation and internal shifts seemed to be more grounded in her cultural identities. Her conscious decision to be silent, rather than initiate a talk in the classroom interaction was an act of humbleness, which was greatly valued in her culture. Liu (2001) explains that silence is perceived differently in an "expressive culture" (p.190) such as the United States, and in "receptive culture" (p.190) like Indonesia. Liu (2001) further explained that for receptive cultures, silence indicates strength and power. For Nesiani, being silent when she actually knew the answer to a question projected a powerfully humble identity. Even though her visible classroom behavior did not change, she was actively negotiating her multiple identities in the classroom. She could stay legitimately silent and be assured that her silence was a strength rather than a weakness.

From Mika's, Nesiani's, Sakura's, and Seeyeon's narratives, it can be learned that silence for Asians is complex. Silence is not simply indicative of an absence of knowledge as constructed in the Western academic discourse. Instead, it has several functions. First, silence is a sign of respect for the wisdom and expertise of a teacher (Ishii & Bruneau, 1991; Liu, 2001). Second, silence serves as an identitiary function (Pavlenko, 2003). Finally, silence can have a pragmatic function as a face-saving strategy. The narratives of the three women in the present study demonstrated that although they appeared to be silent, they were actually attempted to negotiate their identities and competence between two competing COPs: the United States and their L1 culture.

L1 academic communities

Another significant factor affecting participants' positioning is the way in which L1 academic communities construct knowledge and classroom interaction. When asked

why it was so hard for her to participate in the classroom, Mika provided the following reason:

Excerpt 5.18

(1056) Henny: Why you said it's difficult for you to speak in the classroom?

(1057) Mika: Because in Japanese culture you always receive some knowledge as it is

(1058) for example when you read your textbook

(1059) and then they are a lot of knowledge there

(1060) and then you just received the knowledge without thinking critically

(1061) without the need to have any opposite ideas

(1062) but here in the US the professor want us to be more critical with the knowledge presented in the reading

(1063) so when I prepare for the class and the teacher ask me to have some respond

(1064) and I said I agree with this idea and the professor said "No critics?"

(1065) Then I thought I can't do that because you know how can I do that

(1066) because those researchers have more experienced than me

(1067) they have published a lot of articles

(1068) who am I to criticize them

(1069) this is very difficult for me

(1070) I am struggling with this kind of style being critical with what you read

(Mika, Second Interview, 4/15/08)

Implied in Mika's narrative is a significant difference in the way the two academic communities, the United States and Japan, view knowledge and the way learners should treat it. In Japan, Mika learned to respect knowledge, which meant receiving and not questioning them (line 1060-1061). By contrast, in the United States, learners were required to question and challenge the knowledge presented by having opposite ideas and not simply agreeing. Due to these different ways of positioning knowledge, Mika appears to be struggling to be critical in the United States. This might be because in her L1 academic community, being critical towards knowledge might come across as disrespecting knowledge, which Japanese learners were discouraged to do.

US classmates

The narratives of Audrey, Kentaro Saeki, Mika, Nesiani, Pen, Seeyeon, and Soongoory point to the significant effect of US classmates on classroom participation patterns. Take for example Kentaro Saeki. In the following narrative account, he shared his feelings of being the only MEU and a master's student in a class full of American PhD students:

Excerpt 5.19

(659) Henny: What factors affecting your classroom participation you think?

(660) Kentaro Saeki: Of course American friends

(661) Henny: How? Could you give me an example?

(662) Kentaro Saeki: Last summer I had a summer course socio-linguistics

(663) in that class I was the only international students

(664) and the only one master students

(665) other students are all American and PhD students

(666) at that time I really feel very hard

(667) I was so ashamed of my English ability

(668) I didn't want to speak in front of other students

(669) because I felt my English is really strange

(670) I couldn't understand what other students say

(671) but I have to say my opinion or else I would get zero for my class participation

(672) it was very embarrassing for me

(673) for example sometimes I gave wrong answers

(674) because I misunderstood the context or the questions

(675) and I said something irrelevant but then I realized that

(676) I saw other native speakers they nodded

(677) they said "Ah good idea" so I felt they are tolerant

(678) when I realized later I said something wrong it was very stressful for me

(Kentaro Saeki, Third Interview, 5/7/08)

Within the class community, Kentaro Saeki positioned himself as lower than the American PhD students who he described as "very tolerant" of his MEU status. Although his anxiety was mostly self-generated, it is evidence that the presence of his US classmates has a destructive effect on his confidence as an English speaker. He felt ashamed of his English (line 667) because it was strange (line 669). Similar feelings were experienced by Mika, Nesiani, Pen, and Sakura during the focus groups.

Likewise, Soongoory also felt linguistically intimidated by US classmates. In the following narrative account, he articulated his feelings about being in a classroom where the majority were US peers:

Excerpt 5.20

(891) Henny: How did you describe your adjustment in the classroom?

(892) Soongoory: I was kind of uncomfortable

(893) because the majority of my classmates were Americans

(894) the class seemed to be led by Americans

(895) I was just trying to follow them just to catch up with what's going on

(896) I think I try to understand what they were talking about in every class

(897) so I didn't blame American people

(898) I just blame myself "Hey practice more, exercise more of your English you are a student here"

(899) I said that to myself you should practice more English in order to catch up with their conversation in the classroom

(Soongoory, Third Interview, 5/20/08)

In this excerpt, Soongory views the presence of US classmates as having directly impacted his English performance and competence. Although he felt uncomfortable with the presence of US classmates (line 892), he chose to take their presence positively as a performance-booster so that he could work harder on his English competence. In other words, his anxiety was a facilitating anxiety (Bailey, 1983) rather than a debilitating one, as experienced by Kentaro Saeki.

The effects of US classmates on participants' feelings can be related to the humanist approach to language-learning. Several humanist theorists (Krashen, 1985; Maslow, 1987; Stevick, 1996) believe that learner's feelings and emotions, or what Krashen (1985) labels as "affects," are as important as-- if not more important than-- cognitive abilities. Krashen (1985) claims that the beneficial value of input depends on the learners being relaxed, feeling positive, and unthreatened. If they are not, Krashen (1985) believes that their affective filter is raised and blocks the input from being absorbed and processed. Although Krashen (1985) does not indicate MNESs as a factor that threatens learners' affective filter, the narratives of Audrey, Kentaro Saeki, Mika, Nesiani, Pen, Seeyeon, and Soongoory point to the significance effect of MNESs to the participants' affect and, eventually, their English performance in the classroom.

The participants' narratives about the effects of MNES peers on their anxiety when participating in a classroom discussion support Bailey's (1983) and Norton's (1997) studies suggesting that anxiety is not an inherent trait of a language learner. In Norton's (1997) view, anxiety is "socially constructed within and by the lived experiences of the learners" (p.123). In the present data, the participants' anxiety levels seemed to relate to their imagined community. Although the US peers were tolerant of and sympathetic toward their non-native status, as can be seen from Kentaro Saeki's narrative, some participants continued to feel anxious when speaking in front of MNES peers. I believe that their high anxiety when speaking in front of MNES peers closely relates to their imagined community. Such anxiety is partly constructed by years of participating in education systems, which positioned MNESs as the legitimate English speakers and MEUs as eternal language-learners. Soongoory, for example, called MNES

peers as “advanced speakers of English” while Kentaro Saeki believed that MNES classmates were the ones who upheld the “standard for speaking English.” To some extent, this belief contributed to their feeling inferior and anxious when speaking in front of MNESs, whom they imagined as evaluating their English performance.

MEU classmates

If some of the participants perceived US classmates as intimidating, all participants perceived international students as facilitating their English performance in several ways. Nesiani felt secure and safe when there were other international students in the classroom. When I asked why she felt “safe,” Nesiani said it was good to know that there were students, other than herself, whose English was not perfect. She felt, using her words, that “they are in the same boat.” Thus, she became more tolerant of her own perceived limited English.

Pen and Soongoory stated that the presence of international students significantly affected her classroom participation, English performance, and the classroom atmosphere. Pen shyly revealed that when she joined a graduate class for the first time, she usually asked around to find out how many MEUs would take the class. The more MEUs in the classroom the better she felt. In the following narratives, Pen and Soongoory compared her feelings of being in a classroom with MNES and MEUs:

Excerpt 5.21

(227) Henny: What factors affecting your classroom participation?

(228) Pen: If there are more Americans native students than international students

(229) I would hesitate to speak because

(230) I feel my English is so poor and this feelings stifle me

(231) so I can't express my thoughts

(232) I can talk more in a situation where more international students are in the class

(233) and in situation where no native speakers are in the class

(234) we can talk more

(235) I think international students can talk more with each other I don't know why

(236) it's just feel more comfortable

(237) when I have group discussion and if the members are international students

(238) then I can talk more but if in the group discussion

(239) I am the only international students I will be silent

(240) like one time I was involved in a group work

(241) the other members were native speakers

(242) and they talk so much and too fast

(243) then I cannot understand them then I would be you know silent

(244) I can't say anything

(245) I cannot participate in their discussion

(246) because they are talking so fast and they are talking

(247) and their content sometimes beyond my understanding

(248) so in that case I cannot say anything because I cannot understand

(249) so I just will be you know say nothing and just sitting there and just nodding

(Pen, Third Interview, 5/08/08)

Excerpt 5.22

(1637) Henny: What factors affecting your classroom participation?

(1638) Soongoory: I feel that I speak better English when I talk with non-native English speakers

(1639) I felt more fluent

(1640) I don't hesitate English words easily come out of my mouth

(1641) and I don't hesitate but I don't know why

(1642) it's interesting why is that?

(1643) I don't know but when I talk with American people

(1644) I feel more barriers and obstacles in my mind

(1645) I think I got kind of gibberish o god what am I talking about

(1646) but when I talk with international students I feel more comfortable

(1647) maybe that makes me more relaxed

(1648) and allow me … to access the English stored in my mind

(1649) I don't know I don't know why I just feel that way

(Soongoory, Third Interview, 5/20/08)

Together the narratives show that the presence of MNESs and international students mediates identities, participation patterns, and the participants' sense of English competence. When there were more international students in the classroom, Pen and Soongoory could develop learner-identities as relatively competent classroom members.

They could talk more and felt comfortable in participating. However, these competent identities were somewhat challenged when there were MNES classmates. Pen's and Soongoory participations became peripheral. Pen became "hesitant to speak" and silent while Soongoory's English became "gibberish" and irrelevant.

Given that the participants in this study were all MEUs, one might assume that their silence might result largely from their limited English competence. Yet, Mika's narrative account shows that she negotiated her identities for reasons that might go beyond a mere limited linguistic competence in English:

Excerpt 5.23

(738) Henny: You don't feel nervous using English with international students?

(739) Mika: I don't know why I feel more intimate to those international students

(740) although a lot of time we have miscommunication

(741) when we have some problems in our communication we paraphrase

(742) say it in another way we did that repeatedly

(743) and I will ask them again and again until we get it

(744) with Americans I don't want to ask them to repeat

(745) I am embarrassed I don't understand them because of my poor English

(746) I felt my English is not good enough when talking to them

(747) it's strange I don't felt that way when talking to international students

(748) I don't have such feelings strange really strange

(749) I just feel we are together in this

(Mika, Second Interview, 3/21/08)

Similar to Nesiani's narrative, Mika's narrative exemplifies the idea of identities as a sense of belongingness (Ha, 2008). While the participants in this study at times describe themselves in specific national terms like "Indonesia," "Thailand," "Korea," or "Japan," they ultimately stress their sense of belonging to a common multicultural L2 English users. Within a community of multi-cultural English users, being MEUs are the unmarked case (Waugh, 1982). This sense of belonging and togetherness might lower Mika's affective filter (Krashen, 1985); and thus, she was able to exercise more linguistic strategies (e.g. paraphrasing and repeatedly asking someone to repeat) when interacting with MEU students.

The work of Canagarajah (1997; 2004) on safe houses provides more insight into the relationship between the presence of international students, identity construction, and English performance of the participants. Pratt (1991) defines "safe houses" as "social and intellectual spaces where groups can constitute themselves as horizontal, homogeneous, sovereign communities with high degrees of trust, shared understandings, and temporary protection from legacies of oppression" (p.40). Canagarajah (2004) perceives safe houses as "unofficial, off-task, or extra-pedagogical" spaces where minority students can negotiate their unfavorable identities without being penalized or marked as exhibiting deviant behavior. Many of the participants' narratives illustrate the way in which the presence of MEUs allowed the atmosphere of "safe houses" that, in turn, facilitated their classroom participation patterns. In this community, their English is not considered marked since everybody speaks different Englishes. They feel equal and feel the need to accomodate one another's participation patterns. As a result, in this safe-house community, participants became more engaged in negotiating meaning when there was a

communication breakdown by asking the other person to repeat, rephrase, and even to spell words that caused misunderstanding without feeling intimidated.

Nevertheless, a few participants were ambivalent about the presence of international students. Although Kentaro Saeki and Soongoory liked having MEUs in the classroom, they felt that MEU classmates hindered their adjustment to US culture. As Kentaro Saeki pointed out during the second interview:

Excerpt 5.24

(2005) Henny: Why you don't like if all your peers are non-US peers?

(2006) Kentaro Saeki: We only have newcomers

(2007) so how can I adjust the American culture ya

(2008) there are all international students in the classroom

(2009) and they have different culture

(2010) but if the majority is American students we can adjust to the American culture

(2011) but in the class there is no standard

(2012) because almost none American students

(Kentaro Saeki, Second Interview, 2/23/08)

Underlying the remarks of Kentaro Saeki in Excerpt 5.24 is the "ideology of nativeness" (Shuck, 2006, p. 260) or the belief of native-speakerism (Phillipson, 1992). At the core of this belief is the view of the world's speech communities, in this case the United States, as naturally mono-lingual and mono-cultural (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1992; Gal & Irvine, 1995; Wiley & Lukes, 1996). In this model, the prototypical individual speaker is therefore imagined to be mono-lingual (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997). By believing

that US students only speak Standard English, Kentaro Saeki projects an identity of "non-native speakers spoke unstandard English" onto the international students he encountered in the United States. In other words, the identities of MEUs are constructed primarily in terms of their foreignness; their positioning as "forever" learners of English.

In this section, I have examined in detail the way participants approached their learner identities. Her (2005) contended that the acquisition process of L2 academic literacy requires MEUs to shift their identities to come to terms with new academic practices that may be at odds with their L1 literacy. Nevertheless, the narratives of participants in my study of learner identities demonstrate a multi-faceted picture. There were a few participants such as Dark Vader, Fatur, and Ido who claimed they did not experience any conscious shift in their identities. Most of the participants, however, believed they did experience shifts. Lave and Wenger (1991) emphasize that the transition to old member in a new CoP is not always a peaceful assimilation but a conflictual process of negotiation and transformation. This was evident in most of the participants' narratives.

For those who shift their learner identities, the shifting process can be interpreted by using a CoP framework, which posits that there are three conditions for newcomers to achieve successful participation (Wenger, 1998): 1) newcomers must be *willing* to engage in the practice of CoP; 2) newcomers must be *granted enough legitimacy*, presumably by an old member, to be treated as potential members; and 3) the community must have *an effective mechanism* for initiating the new members into a "wider range of ongoing activity, old timers, and other members of the community, and to information, resources, and opportunity for participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 101). Although they were

granted enough legitimacy to be potential members, not all participants were willing to voluntarily shift their classroom participation patterns. A few participants, such as Nesiani and Mika, viewed the shifting process as denying their "core" selves, which were largely referred to their cultural identities.

Moreover, participants' narratives point to the absence of "an effective mechanism" (Lave and Wenger, 1991) to initiate new members to US academic communities. Most participants' struggles to position themselves in a US academic community are more internal, personal, and hidden. Despite struggling by themselves, some participants were able to achieve relatively successful participation mostly through: (1) examining and modeling the classroom participation of NES classmates, whom they considered to be old members in the community; (2) building self-confidence and convincing oneself that their ideas and opinions were worthy to be heard; and (3) identifying factors impeding their classroom participation. One subject, Pen, mentioned encouragement from a professor as boosting her self-confidence and helping her to feel comfortable in the classroom. Because of this, she eventually evolved to be an active learner.

Shifts in Teacher Identities

All of the participants agree that studying in the US graduate program made them become better teachers. For Fatur, class readings and discussions on critical pedagogies, especially the work of authors such as Canagrajah, Kumaradivelu, and Pennycook, heightened his confidence as an English teacher:

Excerpt 5.25

(2150) Henny: Do you think you become a different teacher after studying in the US?

(2151) Fatur: Before [coming to the United States] I believe a good role model for English

(2152) or as a good source of knowledge is native speaker teacher

(2153) after I read Canagarajah's article Kumaradivelu's article Pennycook's and other scholars

(2154) I realized that we have to be confident as English teacher

(2155) I realized that all these years we have stigmatized ourselves to believe that we are not as good as native speaker teacher

(2156) in the future I try to design the materials like balanced not only from English speaking countries but also non English speaking countries

(2157) giving different models for the students

(Fatur, Third Interview, 5/5/08)

For Fatur, class readings and discussions helped him to liberate himself from the confinement of the native-speaker fallacy. They empowered him to be a confident English speaker. With the new awareness, Fatur re-imagined teacher identities as belonging to someone who was conscious of different Englishes and used them in the classroom. Audrey experienced a similar effect. Cook's article, *Going beyond the native speaker*, heightened her confidence as an English teacher. She realized that she had something to offer to her students; and as a result, she no longer fixated on her linguistic limitations.

In the focus groups, many participants stated that the program provided them with a pathway to becoming "teacher-scholars." Class readings, such as *Understanding Language Teaching: From Method to Postmethod* and *Language Teaching Awareness,* energized him to be a "self-sufficient teacher." When he was in Indonesia, Ido was always excited to use teaching methodologies from the West, such as Communicative English Language Teaching (CLT) and a student-centered approach. He realized now that he had seen his teacher role only as a transmitter of Western knowledge. Reading the concept of a post-method teacher (Kumaravadivelu, 2003) inspired him to pay more attention to local resources. His education in the United States instilled a belief that he was a transmitter of knowledge as well as a producer of knowledge. Since then, Ido has attempted to publish his class projects. Ido's growing passion for being a producer of knowledge has also been felt by many participants. Audrey, Al, Dark Vader, and Fatur similarly expressed their excitement at being able to present their ideas in conferences, which again, boosted their self-confidence as MEU teachers.

Some participants in this study believe that they have grown into being well-informed, reflective, and critical teachers. Dark Vader shared the view that the program helped him to become a more resourceful teacher. It taught him different ways of teaching. For Nesiani, studying in a US graduate program helped her to become a more critical teacher, who viewed things from different perspectives in addition to her own. In the past, she perceived the teacher as the one holding the "right" knowledge. Now, she realizes that knowledge can also come from the students. For Mika, the teaching practice class has particularly enriched her teaching competence. Similar to Nesiani, she used to view things through the teacher's perspective. As she observed other classmates

conducting their teaching practices, she understood that there were no right or wrong ways of teaching. There were just different ways. She realized that, as humans, we have developed according to the ways we have grown up with and have tended to consider these ways to be the best. She then realized that she could learn from fellow classmates as much as from a teacher.

Studying in the United States allowed many participants to re-imagine different teacher identities. In response to the question, "What are you going to do when you are home?" and "What kind of teachers you going to be in your home country?" many of the participants took the imagined teacher identities as agents of change. Soongoory, Al, Fatur, and Pen were excited to apply the theories they learned from the program, even though both Al and Fatur pointed out the need to adapt those theories to the local contexts. Fatur was determined to use materials depicting a range of Englishes in his classes. Al wanted to propose a course entitled "World Englishes." He believed that such a course could make Thai people use English to promote their culture. Audrey, Dark Vader, Kentaro Saeki, Nesiani, and Pen were challenged to come up with teaching methodologies that could create communities of learners who were independent. Mika attempted to make Japanese learners more "internationalized," that is, more aware of the use of English as a *lingua franca*.

Others imagined teacher identities as cultural ambassadors for their countries. Dark Vader wanted to be a teacher-scholar to represent Thai people and culture. This was triggered by concerns generated when he read many publications about Thailand that had been written by MNES scholars and not by the Thai people themselves. He explained his concerns in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 5.26

1251) Henny: What kind of teacher you want to be once you're graduated?

1252) Dark Vader: I want to be a teacher-researcher

1253) Henny: Why?

1254) Dark Vader: If someone want to write something about Thai students or Thailand it should be the Thai people who write it to tell others about that

1255) I feel like when I read articles they are written by foreigners

1256) and I was like why not Thai wrote that

1257) so I want to be at least a role model for that

1258) I want to write about my own culture my own people

(Dark Vader, Third Interview, 6/21/08)

In the above excerpt, Dark Vader put forward imagined identities of a teacher as a cultural ambassador through scholarly publication. Additionally, he also wanted to be a role model for other Thai scholars so that they would use English to represent their own culture and people.

However, not all participants were excited about going back home. Fatur, Nesiani, and Al expressed ambivalence about going back home to their countries. In the following narrative, Fatur expressed his concern about going back as a Western-trained English teacher:

Excerpt 5.27

(1886) Henny: How do you feel about going home?

(1887) Fatur: I am excited about going home but not about teaching

(1888) I am excited to go home to see my friends and my family that's it

(1889) But not teaching because I am not really excited about it

(1890) Once I started I will see a lot of challenges and rejection

(1891) Henny: What kind of rejection? Can you give me an example?

(1892) Fatur: Because I bring something new and they will hate me

(1893) they will hate me even if I wanna do something

(1894) they might think "O common because you have master degree and you have a higher degree than me and then you wanna challenge us how many years have you been working? Are you senior enough?"

(1895) That's the question they have because in their mind I am just a kid

(Fatur, Third Interview, 2/7/08)

Fatur's narrative indicates the complexities of the identity-construction of a teacher sojourner, in particular, the close ties between identity-construction and future trajectory. Sojourner teachers need to be skillful in shuttling between different COPs so that they can be accepted in both communities. When talking about his future roles, Fatur described his future role as an agent of change in his community. He wanted to integrate concepts of World Englishes and second-language identities. These issues had never been addressed in his teaching context when he was teaching there prior to studying in the United States. He believed such concepts would develop students' critical awareness of their own education. However, he was cautious that his intention would be perceived as "challenging" the educational system that had already been established by senior teachers (line 1892).

Al, who--as previously mentioned--intended to open a new course entitled World Englishes, emphasized the need to implement changes with caution:

Excerpt 5.28

(2105) Henny: Why do you like the term L2 users?

(2106) Al: Perhaps I was influenced by the readings and discussion we did in the classroom

(2107) because at first I just use the two terms native non-native

(2108) casually without awareness without feeling guilty

(2109) I don't really think about when I was using those two terms

(2110) coming to study here I know that there are some hidden agenda

(2111) limitation of using the terms native and non-native

(2112) and there are better terms proposed by other linguists like L2 and L1 users

(2113) and it's more appropriate to refer like us [non-native-speakers]

(2114) so right now I prefer L2 users

(2115) but when I go back to Thailand I think I still use non-native and native

(2116) because it's still pretty much common among teachers

(2117) because if I use L1 and L2 users they won't understand and they would think me as arrogant because I use big words

(2118) but I will use L2 users in the classroom when I have a chance to teach about world Englishes

(2119) but not when I am talking to common people

(Al, Third Interview, 6/20/08)

In the above excerpt, Al described how studying in the United States had raised his awareness of the "hidden agenda" (line 2110) embedded in the terms NES and NNES. He

preferred the term L2-users to refer to bilinguals like himself (line 2112-2114) because those terms did not foreground what multi-linguals lack, namely, the term "non-native speakers". Although he preferred the terms "L1-users" and "L2-users", he pointed out the need to use those two terms judiciously. As a Thai teacher, he was aware that he also belonged to Thai CoPs, which valued humbleness (Fu, 1995). He imagined that if he used terms like "L1-users" and "L2-users," Thai people would consider him arrogant. Thus, he would rather continue to use the terms "native" and "non-native," despite his disapproval. However, when he got a chance to open a course in World Englishes, he would introduce and use the terms "L1-users" and "L2-users" in his own classroom.

Fatur's and Al's narratives remind us of one major characteristic of the participants in this study. In contrast to the participants in most research on ESL education and bilingualism (see, among others, Eng, 2008; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 1998; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Samimy, 2006), the participants in this study were temporary sojourners in the United States as opposed to permanent residents. They arrived in the United States knowing that one day they were going to leave. Norton (2000) maintains that identities are not just about our past and present but about our future trajectories as well. They, too, influence our current relationship in the way we see our present social contexts. The prospect of returning home one day made Fatur concerned about whether his university would accommodate the changes he would like to promote. Al felt the need to make sure that his shifting perspective in understanding the terms "native" and "non-native" would not hinder his re-entry into his university. For fear of being constructed as arrogant, Al chose not to use academic terms such as "L1 users" and "L2-users" of English other than in his own private classroom.

Overall when discussing what the participants labeled "shift" in their teacher identities, all of the participants claimed they became different teachers. The majority of the participants, in particular Fatur and Audrey, claimed that the shifts were facilitated largely by the readings and discussions on critical pedagogies in the graduate program. The shifts also are evident in the way they viewed their future roles: as agents of change and cultural ambassadors. Although they were excited about their future roles, a few participants expressed concerns about navigating their way back to their respective universities in their home countries.

Shifts in Cultural Identities

Cultural identities are central to understanding the participants' adaptation process in the United States. This is particularly true because, in the United States, many participants draw on their learner and MEU identities as well as their cultural identities. Although cultural identities play significant roles in comprehending how the participants construct and reconstruct their identities, defining the term *cultural identities* is problematic.

One way to understand the term cultural identities is to explore the meaning embedded in the word *culture*. Bhugra and Becker (2005) view culture as a learned entity that is passed through generations and includes the beliefs and value system of a society. Additionally, Shah (2004) describes culture as including features that are shared and bind people together into a community. These features include history, beliefs, values, food, religion, language, and entertainment preferences. Bhugra (2004a) maintains that cultural identities form part of one's identities, which can change--even become lost--with the development at a personal and social level as one moves from one cultural context to

another. Bhugra (2004b) further explains that these processes might result in changes in attitudes, family values, generational status, and social affiliations, which can occur both in the host culture and minority cultures as the two cultures interact-- even though typically one culture tends to dominate.

Others define cultural identities in association with ethnic identities. Several authors indicate that cultural identities is a broad term than *ethnic identities* (see, among others, Bhugra, 2004b; Fishman, 1997). According to Bhugra (2004b), *ethnicity* is a source of cultural identities. Ethnic groups are composed of people who share common characteristics such as religion, language, dietary habits, and leisure activities. Likewise, Fishman (1989) and Sheets (1999) explain that people from multiple ethnic backgrounds may identify one another as belonging to the same culture. For example, in the Carribbean and South America, several ethnic groups may share a broader, common, Latin culture. Social groups existing within one nation may share a common language and broad cultural identities but has distinct ethnic identities associated with language and history. Ethnic groups in the United States and several Asian countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore are examples of this.

Because the concept of cultural identities is not easy to pin down, it is not surprising when the participants had difficulties articulating exactly how they felt about their cultural identities. Nevertheless, I attempted to understand the participants' own perceptions of their culture as clearly as possible through their narrative data. In the focus groups, I specifically asked the participants how they would describe themselves as Indonesian, Thai, Japanese or Korean and the role of *Indonesian-ness*, *Thai-ness*, *Japanese-ness* or *Korean-ness*. I was aware that these terms were loaded with multiple,

disparate and even conflicting meanings. Therefore, to avoid narrowing the participants' options, I used these terms without defining them and let the participants reveal what the terms meant to them. I then asked them to explain why they chose particular identifications and what the various labels signified to them. For example, I asked them what makes a person Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, and Thai or what parts of being an Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, and Thai that contributed to their adaptation in the US culture. Many participants felt very strongly about their cultural identities, which they often expressed verbally in interviews and conversations.

Before discussing how the participants constructed their cultural identities, I acknowledge that cultural identities, the term that I chose to use in this study, is a complex and not a unified concept. It is also not a static but constantly changing term. Although I use the term cultural identities throughout this study, I do not treat it as a unified notion on which all Asian teachers agree. Rather, I regard cultural identities as socially acceptable behavior and manner within a specific culture, and in other cases, as dominant ethical values, which are generally shared by the society.

In the focus group, some participants admitted that living in the United States had changed the way they viewed their culture. Among all the participants, Nesiani seemed to enjoy living in the United States the most. If it had been possible for her to stay in the United States, she would have. She did not want to go home. For her, living in the United States foregrounded her cultural identities. She said that living in the United States made her culture "clear and more transparent." This was because she had interacted with people from different cultures whereas in Indonesia, she mostly interacted with people from a "similar" background. Metaphorically, she described the experience in the United States

as “a diamond on a black background” and living in Indonesia as a “diamond on a white background”--her culture being the diamond, the US culture the black background, and the Indonesian culture the white background. She stated that the diamond would become more visible on the black background rather than on the white.

For Fatur, being in the United States significantly enhanced his national identities; his love, pride, and appreciation of his country. He admitted that before he came to the United States, he often focused more on the shortcomings of his country, Indonesia. When he was in the United States, his perception of his country gradually changed. He mentioned that such topics as multi-lingualism and identities from a *Sociolinguistics* class as well as other classes had jump-started this change in perceptions. Living in the United States, whose people speak mostly English, made him focus on the uniqueness of Indonesia. Indonesia has hundreds of ethnic groups and languages; but they are all united by one lingua franca, *Bahasa Indonesia*. He realized that few countries in the world have the uniqueness that Indonesia has. This realization made him proud of being an Indonesian.

Although national identities should not be equated with cultural identities (Kramsch, 1998, 2005), it may also be true that living in two different national states reinforces the salience of national identities (Menard-Warwick, 2008), as illustrated from Fatur’s narrative account. As a whole, Fatur’s narrative illustrates the role of education to his newly-discovered national identities. Living in a mono-lingual society made him proud of the multi-lingual nature of his own country. Menard-Warwick (2008) notes that when powerful experiences of cultural difference come as a result of crossing national boundaries, it is easy for national labels to stand in as cultural labels, as they often do

when Fatur articulated his meta-cultural awareness of his culture. However, it remains crucial to note that in other contexts, national identities may not be at all salient. Therefore, though national identities may be equated with cultural identities by the participants in this study, they should be kept theoretically distinct.

In the United States, Seeyeon also admitted feeling the need to manifest her Koreanness. At home, she continued to cook Korean food. She also made the effort to use Korean with her son, although sometimes, her son responded in English. She did not want her son to grow up speaking English and not knowing Korean. Her attempt to display her Koreanness was not only limited to her home environment but most significantly, also in the US academic communities:

Excerpt 5.29

533) Henny: How do you show your Korean identity in the US?

534) Seeyeon: Generally I usually bow my head in front of the professor in our program

535) because they are my teacher so they are senior

536) I usually bow my head it's a Korean style

537) at the same time I say "Hello Dr. bla bla"

538) not every Korean bow their heads when they greet their professor

539) but I like to try and I like it and I start it

540) that's my identities as a Korean woman

541) I like it I like it and I like to keep it that kind of behavior

542) because I like to maybe in my head in my mind

543) to show them I'm Korean

(Seeyeon, Third Interview, 5/12/08)

Although not all Koreans bow their heads when greeting their professors, Seeyeon chose to do so as a way to foreground her Koreanness. What I found interesting from this narrative is rather than fastening (Reed, 2001) her identities to those of the host nationals, she made a conscious decision to maintain and display her cultural identities as a Korean in the US academic contexts.

Some participants viewed the shifts in cultural identities as cross-cultural adaptation strategies. For Mika, shifting identities includes reconciling a simple concept in both cultures: the United States and Japan. Mika, a high-school English teacher from Japan, found it difficult to say no. In Japan, she was not accustomed to saying the word "no." Saying a direct "no" would make her come across as rude. When she had to say "no," she "tried to frame it as indirect way as possible" and most often people in Japanese would understand. However, saying "no" became an issue when she was in the United States. People in the United States seemed confused and did not know what she meant when she said no indirectly. One of her friends even said "So are you coming or not? Just say 'yes' or 'no!'" I think Mika's problem was not saying the word "no" *per se* but finding it difficult to reconcile her identities when saying "no." She did not want to appear rude or impolite. After interacting with MNESs and MEU friends, she slowly learned to say "no" without feeling guilty. Over time, she admitted she could say "no," and the process totally changed her.

Another interesting event that triggered Mika's shifting identities occurred when she tried to end a contract with her landlord. After living in a dormitory for about one week, she learned that the place was not conducive for learning. The room was badly lit

and the wall was quite thin. She could hear her neighbors talking. She described them as inconsiderate because they often fought and yelled in the middle of the night and woke her up. At first, she did not want to do anything about it; but, then, she started suffering from terrible headache. It was also difficult for her to study in that condition. She, then, decided to find another place, even though she had already signed a one-year contract. She asked her "native-speaker" friends how to end the contract; and they advised her to talk to the landlord. At first, she e-mailed him and explained the situation. He responded that she needed to pay a penalty for ending the contract early. Because of her limited money, Mika then called him. She thought it might be easier to persuade him. He still insisted that she needed to pay the penalty. Finally, Mika went to talk to him. She did that several times. Each time she told him the severe headache she needed to endure every night and how the condition could cost her study. Finally, he allowed her to move out without paying any penalty. Mika described the process of ending the contract as having changed her in a certain way because the way she handled the situation would be considered aggressive in her home country. She admitted that she had never done something like this in Japan because it would be considered impolite. From this incident, she learned the importance of behaving according to the norm in a particular CoP.

Mika's narrative is an interesting example of the complexities of identity-shift. Mika began to establish identities in which she imagined how the world would work for her by consulting her MNES friends. She realized that she could not handle problems with silence as she did in Japan. She then shifted her identities to those of a more aggressive and assertive woman who would stand up for herself when facing difficulties.

Mika utilized available linguistic resources and cultural knowledge to improve her situation.

However, not all participants felt the need to shift their identities to be accepted in the United States. In the focus group, Audrey admitted that living in the United States did not shift her Korean identities. She thought that this might be because of her future trajectory. When I asked if she had any long-term plans of living in the United States, she strongly said "No … never" although her first son was planning to stay in the United States when she returned to Korea. She did not see herself as living in the United States long term and, thus, did not feel the need and the pressure to be like US nationals. She said that living in the United States did not change her cultural identities; if anything, it only magnified them. Again, Audrey narrative illustrates the idea of cultural identities as some kind of core, although they might not be stable and change as she moves from one socio-cultural context to another.

Several participants admitted that the shifts in cultural identities made them face a dilemma. In the third interview, Mika revealed the phenomena of her shifting identities as follows:

Excerpt 5.30

(1342) Henny: What are the effects of this shift for you?

(1343) Mika: Actually that's what I have always been wondering

(1344) when I went back to Japan like May or last Spring or Fall

(1345) I thought about that

(1346) in the United States you have to express your ideas more publicly

(1347) but in Japanese context you have to be silent

(1348) when I was in Japan for holiday I was constantly thinking

(1349) "Do I need to say something in this situation or do I need to be silent?'

(1350) you know I was always thinking like that "O can I say something here?"

(1351) "Do I need to do just be silent?"

(1352) that's how I felt you know

(1353) but perhaps in this couple of months

(1354) probably I am going to change again I don't know

(Mika, Third Interview, 5/2/08)

In this excerpt, Mika described the difficulty of shuttling between two communities: the United States and Japan. In line 1346-1347, she constructed her identities as someone who was knowledgeable about both countries by saying "in the United States you have to express your ideas more publicly" (line 1346) and "…in Japanese context you have to be silent" (line 1347). However, her understanding of both cultures put her in a dilemma. She struggled to position herself when she was back in Japan, whether she needed to be expressive or be silent (line 1348-1351). Mika's narrative account also reveals the continuity and dynamic nature of identities-formation when she said "probably I am going to change again I don't know" (line 1354).

Other participants viewed their identities shifts as giving them opportunities to be agents of change in their home cultures. Fatur indicated that his views of seniority changed after living in the United States. This change is illuminated in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 5.31

(2150) Henny: Do you think your become a different person after living in the US?

(2151) Fatur: I felt I become a different Acehnese

(2152) Henny: In what way?

(2153) Fatur: I felt like I need to change some of my culture

(2154) Henny: For example?

(2155) Fatur: Like the values of the family for example and how you see parents

(2156) I still believe that

(2157) but I admitted I have several changes in my view of that

(2158) like for example in my culture

(2159) seniority is really matter so I don't see that works all the time

(2160) it changes now after I live here [in the United States] right?

(2161) I don't see that work all the time

(2162) so I mean there are changes so

(2163) I think I become more developed I think

(Fatur, Third Interview, 2/7/08)

Here, Fatur constructed his cultural identities as someone who was critical toward his previous cultural values. After living in the United States, he did not see the value of upholding seniority in the society as something absolute. In this way, he described himself as "more developed" (line 2163).

Likewise, Al perceived his cultural norms differently once he lived in the United States. During the third interview, Al discussed parts of his home culture that he thought needed to be changed:

Excerpt 5.32

(1879) Henny: Do you become a different person after living in the US?

(1880) Al: Yes I think culture is not absolute.

(1881) Henny: What do you mean? Can you give me an example?

(1882) Al: Asian cultures including Thai have a lot of norms

(1883) so after studying in the US I might say that some norms we can keep

(1884) some norms we can have it as an option as an alternative

(1885) we don't need to follow them all the times

(1886) for example we should not speak in front of the seniors

(1887) just listen and obey something like that

(1888) but I would say that is alternative

(1889) you can obey it if you happy with that do that

(1890) but there is other alternative that you can do

(1891) you can really say what you want to senior people

(1892) but you have to think about how to say it

(1893) of course you cannot say it like the American way

(1894) but you can say it in a Thai discourse

(1895) like go to half and half compromise negotiate

(1896) you can say it with different approach less directive and more polite

(1897) and be very very selective of the words and manner

(Al, Third Interview, 6/20/08)

In this excerpt, Al provided ways of wanting to change his culture. Like Fatur, after living in the United States, he perceived that his cultural norms were not absolute but

alternative. In line 1886-1891, Al gave an example of one cultural norm in Thailand, respecting elders by listening to and obeying them. Now, he thought that "challenging" elders was not always inappropriate. In line 1891-1897, he pointed out that people could "challenge" elders but chiefly by using "Thai discourse," which he described as "less directive and more polite," and "very very selective of the words and manner."

From analyzing participants' narratives of their cultural identities, we can see that their identities continue to be constructed and reconstructed, as they negotiated their existing values with other new values in the United States. This suggests a sense of continuity (Charmaz, 1991; Galindo, 1996) in their identity-formation process, despite the obvious tensions, contradictions, and fragmentations they experienced when reconciling the different cultural values.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the identity shifts of the 12 participants manifested in four identity-options: MEU identities, learner identities, teacher identities, and cultural identities. Overall, the narratives of the 12 participants suggest that identities are continually constructed and reconstructed or are always "under construction" (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 4). The process of reconstruction is complex. It differs from one subject to another. There were a few participants whose identity shifts appeared to happen quickly, and naturally. These participants easily shuttled between different cultures, the United States and their L1 culture, by fastening (Reed, 2001) their behaviors and adopting interactional patterns according to those of the US culture and practices to claim membership status in both communities. Nevertheless, many participants admitted

that the shifting process was a struggle. It involved a reconciliation of contradictory cultural values.

Participants' narratives of the participants on their MEU, teacher, and cultural identities illustrate the significant roles of reading and discussion on critical pedagogies (e.g. issues in postmethod pedagogies, second language identities, World Englishes, and multilingualism) to participants' shifting identities (Her, 2005; Pavlenko, 2003). The narratives of Fatur and Audrey illustrated how they became more confident English teachers once they realized the value of being MEU teachers.

Recent research on identity construction of MEUs indicates the importance of imagination as an integral model of belonging and identity construction (Her, 2005; Kanno & Norton, 2003; Pavlenko, 2003; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007). The narratives of all the participants illustrate that their future identities are constantly challenged and negotiated as participants move through different and competing CoPs. The TESOL program in general has provided them ways of repositioning themselves in relationship to their academic and professional communities. Other than teaching English, Ido and Dark Vader imagined identities as scholars who would represent their L1 culture. However, the ways they imagined themselves should not be understood as static and unitary. Rather, as indicated by poststructuralist view of identities, they are conflicting, multifaceted, and changing over time (Norton, 2001; Norton & Kamal, 2003; Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Pavlenko, Blackledge, Piller, & Teutsch-Dwyer, 2001).

The poststructuralist view of identities challenges the idea of identities as having a stable core (Hall, 1992, 1996; Hall & Gay, 1996). While the identities of the 12 participants in the present study are far from stable, the participants seem to negotiate

their identities on the basis of core or dominant cultural identities. Mika's and Nesiani's narratives about classroom participation patterns demonstrated their resistance to conform their interactional patterns to those of the US learners. They viewed the need to change as an imposition to their L1 cultural identities. They suggest the notion of persisting cultural values, which I see as a sense of connectedness to their home culture.

When narrating about their classroom participation, most participants mentioned four factors affecting learner identity shifts. Those factors were 1) the role of silence in L1 academic community; 2) L1 academic communities; 3) NES classmates; and 4) NNES classmates. The narratives of Mika, Audrey, and Nesiani illustrated how growing up in paternalistic societies, where women are expected to be silent, to a certain extent shaped their participation process. Other participants, such as Kentaro Saeki and Soongoory viewed MNES classmates as directly affecting their English competence in different ways. Kentaro Saeki developed a destructive internal rhetoric, whereas Soongoory was challenged by their presence. In general, the acquisition of academic literacy in second language, as demonstrated in some participants' narratives, is inherently challenging and complex. The process requires that participants consciously and subconsciously come to terms with new ways of making sense of academic practices that might be at odds with their familiar and desired ways of participating in academic discourse (Her, 2005). Participants were aware that participating in US academic communities implied losing or giving up their familiar ways of learning and emulating those of the competent members, the US classmates, to be considered legitimate learners in US academic communities.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

When I began the study, I was curious about exploring the effects of studying in the United States on other Asian EFL teacher identities. On completing this study, my understanding of myself and the ways I see the world have changed. I learned to appreciate others' ways of doing, their values and practices. From listening to and understanding the identity development and shifts of my 12 participants, I now know that identities shift through the encounters they have with people, MNESs and MEUs, as well as through the unique experiences they have experienced in the United States. Through this study, I also have learned the struggles and feelings of Nesiani, Fatur, Ido, Kentaro Saeki, Sakura, Mika, Dark Vader, Pen, Al, Seeyeon, Soongoory, and Audrey as teacher-sojourners in a community different from their L1 cultures. These narratives were not heard when they sat silently in classrooms and listened to the teacher or other classmates. The study provided a venue for witnessing the identity development of the 12 South/East Asian EFL teachers as a result of participating in a graduate program in the United States. The present study is designed to examine the following research questions:

> How does South/East Asian English teachers' participation in the United States communities of practice inform their teacher identities?

In the following paragraphs I give a brief summary of the four major findings of the present study.

Summary of Findings

MEU Teacher Identities as Situated, Multiple and Dynamic

The finding of the study supports the post-structuralist view of identities as situated (Duff & Uchida, 1997; Ha & Que, 2006; McNamara, 1997; Young, 2008). In

their home countries, all of the participants self-positioned as confident English teachers, although at times they continued to seek help from NES teachers in areas of language and pedagogy. However, once in the United States, most participants (10 out of 12 participants) positioned and repositioned themselves primarily with regard to their sense of their English performance in terms of fluency, pronunciation, and accent as well as the ways in which local US people responded to their English.

The findings of the study also point to the idea that teacher identities are multiple (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Ominiyi & White, 2006; Pavlenko, 2002; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). While the main aim of pursuing degrees (MAs or PhDs) in the United States was to enhance their professional identities, participants negotiated their teacher identities alongside their multiple identities as learners, mothers, and MEU teachers, among others. Some participants truly struggled to navigate these multiple identities, as in the case of Seeyeon and Audrey. Their struggles exemplify the presence of "hierarchies of identities" Omoniyi (2006) put forward. She notes that "a cluster of identities options … are …distributed on a hierarchy based on ratings from least salient to most salient" (p.30). Take for example, Seeyeon, a part-time English teacher at a Korean university. At the beginning of her stay in the United States, her identities as a good mother were downplayed because at that moment her identities as a learner were most salient to her.

Most importantly, all the participants' narratives indicated that identities can shift and therefore, are dynamic, incomplete, and always under-construction (Britzman, 1994; Canagarajah, 2004; Clandinin et al., 2006; Danielewicz, 2001). In the present study, participants mention several factors that specifically contribute to their shifting identities.

These factors are the following:

1) Learning about critical pedagogies (E.g. second language identities, multilingualism, multi-competence, and World Englishes);
2) Interacting with other MEUs in the program; and
3) Interacting with local (US) people.

Although all the participants experienced shifts in their multiple identities, the nature of these shifts varied. For a few participants, such as Al, Dark Vader, and Fatur, the shifts appeared to be quick and effortless while for the majority of participants, they were full of tensions and struggles with regard to reconciling contradictory cultural values.

Critical Pedagogies as a Driving Force Underlying Identity Shifts

The narratives of the 12 participants suggest the significant role of education in the participants' teacher identities. The findings of this present study support findings of Cook's (1992; 1999; 2002), Pavlenko's (2003), and Samimy and Burtt-Griffler's (1999) studies, which illustrate the role of critical pedagogies as identitiary functions and educational tools. At the beginning of their stays in the United States, most participants viewed their teacher identities mainly in terms of nativeness. After reading and actively engaging in classroom discussions focusing on critical pedagogies (e.g. issues in second language identities, nativeness, World Englishes and postmethod pedagogies), all participants experienced shifts in their teacher identities. They constructed their teacher identities with regard to competence, viewing themselves as either agents of change or cultural ambassadors. Take, for example, Audrey. During the beginning of her stay in the United States, she described herself as "a retard" because of her difficulty in expressing herself in English. However, after reading articles by Pennycook and Canagarajah, she

started to identify herself in a more positive way. She realized that her bilingualism should be celebrated instead of viewing Korean, her first language, as a hindrance to becoming a legitimate English speaker. She also felt confident as an English teacher.

Identity Negotiation Through Silence

From the narratives, we learn that participants often chose silence as a strategy to negotiate their competence and identities. In their home countries, both Seeyeon and Kentaro Saeki were proud of their English and identities as English teachers, but they started feeling inferior to MNES peers when they were in the United States. Seeyeon chose to be silent rather than to express her ideas because she was afraid of making mistakes; and, thus, her peers would mark her as less competent. Similarly, Kentaro Saeki chose to be silent because he felt his answers were not as "sophisticated" as those of his MNES counterparts.

In addition to linguistic factors, there is a cultural explanation for some participants' silence. From the narratives of Nesiani, Mika, and Sakura, we learn that the concept of silence is closely related to the role of women in Asian countries. Mika and Sakura shared the point that in Japan, women were expected to create harmony, which was achieved by being silent. The narratives of Nesiani and Mika illustrate that being silent in US classrooms is a projection of humbling identities highly valued in Asian cultures. For Nesiani, being talkative in the classroom did not mean that a person was smart; and being silent did not necessarily mean that person was not knowledgeable.

Cultural Identities as Core Identities

Most of the Asian teachers experienced changes in their identities as a result of their exposure to a new context with different cultural and pedagogical practices, but they

seemed to negotiate their identities on the basis of core identities. This is evident in the narratives of Mika, Nesiani, and Sakura when discussing their classroom participation patterns. All of them indicated that their cultural gender identities, which expect women to be silent, as the reason for the difficulty of being active learners. Fu (1995) explains that Asian culture focuses more on listening than on speaking because being modest is considered an important virtue. Nesiani even determined not to shift her identities and maintained her silence in the classroom. For these 3 participants, identities seemed to be a "sense of self-hood attached to a physical body" (Young, 2008, p. 9). Thus, the attempts to be more active and critical, like US learners, might come across as denying their true senses of self.

Limitations

Despite the theoretical justifications and the conclusions reported here, this study may be subject to certain limitations. First of all, my interviews were contextually-limited and occurred at certain stages of participants' identity development. Thus, it might not represent a holistic picture of the participants' identity development. Second, since the study is exploratory in nature, the findings of the study need to be supported by more research based on participants from various cultural and educational backgrounds. The generalizability of the study is also limited by the settings. The experience of English teachers working in different teaching contexts or participating in educational programs in different contexts could be different from those represented in this study. Finally, it is important for me to reiterate that the participants in the study worked with the knowledge that I was the researcher and data-collector within the context of the university setting.

This fact carried with it an inherent bias, which remains an underlying limitation affecting the analysis and the findings presented in the current study.

Implications for Teacher-Education Programs

TESOL Programs as a Site for Identity-construction and Reflection

Some of my participants said to me during individual and focus groups that they had never had a chance to reflect explicitly on their own teacher selves. Cochran-Smith (1995) encourages the importance of introducing reflection in teacher-education programs:

> If we are to prepare teachers to work intelligently and responsibly in a society that is increasingly diverse in race, language, and culture, then we need more teachers who are moved by their own intelligence and are actively involved in communities that engage in 'the heresy' of systematic and critical inquiry (p.520).

She argues that when teachers are initiated into teaching through systematic and self-critical inquiry, they have opportunities to reconsider their personal knowledge and experience, to locate teaching within the context of the school and the community, and to analyze learning opportunities. The importance of critical inquiry and reflection made me realize how important it is for TESOL program to provide a platform for students to communicate and reflect on the formation of teacher identities. Supporting such authors as Danielewicz (2001), Ha (2008), Johnson and Golombek (2002), Menard-Warwick (2008), and Williams (2007), among others, I therefore encourage the inclusion of the teacher-identities concept in TESOL programs.

The concept of identities can be developed by encouraging TESOL students to reflect on their teacher-identity construction. I agree with Salvatori's (1996) definition of

pedagogy as "reflexive praxis" (p.4). She claims that pedagogy must be reflexive, which means that "a teacher should be able and willing to interrogate the reasons" (p.4) for adopting a theory and "to be alert to the possibility that a particular theory and the rigorous practice that enacts it might be ineffectual, or even counterproductive, at certain times or in certain contexts" (p.4). According to Salvatori, pedagogy is most effective when teachers engage in reflexive activities that involve theorizing, applying ideas to practice, and evaluating results in light of specific institutional contexts and student populations.

During the interviews, Dark Vader, Fatur, Ido, Nesiani, and Soongoory expressed the idea that the program had enabled them to be aware of their identities as well as factors affecting their identity-construction (e.g. beliefs, cultural values, family upbringing, religion, and cultural background). Their narratives show that once they were aware of and able to evaluate their own identity construction, they could negotiate and cultivate viable identities in a way that served their development and teaching purposes. Their teaching identities were no longer based merely on the ways they had been taught.

One of the main criticisms of Western teacher education programs is their failure to pay specific attention to students' needs (Brown, 2000; Chowdhury, 2003; Ha, 2008). Making TESOL program as a safe place for students to communicate their identities would begin to close the gap between what the program provides and what the students actually need. Additionally, such insight will enable teacher educators to develop more appropriate training methods that are personally relevant to the trainees.

Approaching TESOL Education through Narratives

One way to include teacher-identity concepts in TESOL education is by integrating narratives in coursework. The narratives of the participants in the present study illustrate the notion that when living in a different socio-cultural context, participants found it difficult to position themselves with regard to cultures and languages. This is the reason Wong (2007) states that shuttling between communities can be a lonely affair. By providing readings enabling students to relate to their struggles and unique experiences as MEUs, instructors would make the journey less lonely as the texts and the discussions would allow students to discuss, challenge, and share personal joys and struggles of constructing and reconstructing identities as MEU teachers. In my own case, I found reading personal narratives by Hoffman (1989), Choi (2007), Li (2007), and Wong (2007) to be particularly informative.

In addition to reading personal narratives, encouraging students to write about their journeys of being English users, learners, or English teachers can help them to reflect on their beliefs and values. This reflection is crucial for professional development and empowerment (Tsui, 2007). One way to achieve this reflection, as suggested by Menard-Warwick (2008), is to encourage students to share specific experiences and to be explicit in interpreting how these experiences can inform teaching. This activity can provide a platform for sharing teaching and learning experiences; and, by doing so, students can realize how complex, and significant each experience is. Kumaravadivelu (2008) maintains that by sharing each other's experiences, students, and teacher can gain a richer understanding of how to explore real issues in L2 classrooms while avoiding simplistic stereotyping. Kumaravadivelu's book *Cultural Globalization and Language*

Education provides excellent techniques for using students' cultures and multiple identities as resources for personal reflection and cultural awareness in the classroom.

Continuing the Conversation of MNES and MEU Teachers

Ten years ago Samimy and Brutt-Griffler (1999) ended their research report on the perceptions of MEU students in a graduate TESOL program with a question "Native or non-native: Is that still the question?" (p.140). The qualitative data indicated that participants express a sense of inferiority with regard to MNES professionals. The finding of the present study is similar to that of Samimy and Brutt-Griffler's (1999) study in that there were some participants who continued to express a sense of inferiority when interacting with MNES professionals. Although questioning, "Who is the best teacher MNESs or MEUs?" is irrelevant as both have their own strengths and weaknesses as pointed by the participants in the present study, a question still needs to be asked on how TESOL programs can produce better teachers by focusing on the construct of expertise (Rampton, 1990) and not nativeness.

As indicated by most participants' narratives in the present study, it may be important for TESOL programs to introduce or continue the inclusion and discussion on critical pedagogies focusing on issues such as second language identities (Block, 2007; Pavlenko, 2003; Popko, 2003; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999; Seidlhofer, 1999), multi-competence, multi-lingualism, and World English, among others. These topics appear to be significant in providing positive identity options to draw on such as depicted in Seeyeon's, Sakura's, and Audrey's narratives.

Language Training for MEU Teachers

Narratives in this study, such as in the cases of Audrey, Pen, and Kentro Saeki, indicate that NNES teachers are often concerned with their language proficiency or accent, concepts highly related to their self-confidence. In other words, linguistic identities appear to be significant in the construction of MEU teachers' identities. Speaking a foreign language well can be challenging for anyone, but MEU teachers, in particular, face an additional challenge: the expectation that language teachers need to be fluent when speaking English. The narratives from the participants in this study illustrate the point that fluency, listening, and pronunciation accuracy were areas where they felt their English performance was lacking. However, in graduate TESOL programs, speaking and listening are often not formally taught, since these programs tend to assume that trainees already know how to speak English. Because language fluency is not considered a key issue in TESOL programs, the English performance of the trainees has been overlooked.

The findings of the study call for the need for TESOL programs to include language training in pre-service as well as in-service teacher education to help MEU teachers enhance their language proficiency. Medgyes (1999) suggests that teacher candidates who plan to teach ESL or EFL needs special attention paid to their English fluency, in particular to pronunciation intelligibility. In order for MEU teachers to be effective and self-confident professionals, it is important for teacher preparation programs to include language training to enhance language proficiency of teacher candidates.

Employing Successful MEU Teacher Educators as Role Models

Through hearing the narratives of Seeyeon, where she felt the significant impact of MEU teachers in the programs on her self-confidence, I have learned that it is crucial to have MEU teacher educators in the TESOL programs as role models. Experienced MEU teacher educators can advise MEU trainees on responding to or dealing with possible challenges of navigating in L2 academic communities and cultures. MEU teacher educators' stories may serve as "pedagogy" (Morgan, 2004a) to provide role models of expertise, types of engagement, and contributions that MEU teachers might provide to the field of TESOL. Teachers' stories can set an intimate tone as well as provide emotional support for MEU trainees who may want to pursue a teaching job in the United States. I remember how I was inspired to publish my papers after hearing the stories of my MEU professors' experiences of being MEU bilingual writers. Their constant belief in the positive values that MEU teachers can bring to the profession and the TESOL field was the sole reason I wanted to enhance my professional credibility by pursuing a PhD degree in the United States.

Implications For MEU Teacher Sojourners

Empowering the MEU Selves

I recognize that the initiative to improve the quality of trainees cannot rely only on teacher educators and teacher education programs. It must also come from the trainees themselves. Their willingness to take an extra step in sharpening their expertise (pedagogical skills and knowledge) is crucial. This can start from seeking opportunities to engage in professional activities, such as attending conferences or presenting in one. Attending and/or participating in conferences can provide trainees with experiences and

networking opportunities allowing them to develop confidence in their language and pedagogical skills (Kamhi-Stein, 1999) as well as in their identities as professionals as experienced by Audrey, Al, Dark Vader, Fatur, Ido, and Nesiani.

Since English is a foreign language for many Asian sojourners in the United States, they need to find ways to practice and improve their language skills if language training is not part of the curriculum in the program. I personally found journaling and talking to fellow classmates to be effective methods for increasing confidence and fluency in using English. Attending a course with a speech therapist, which Pen did, can be important for those trainees who felt the need to "polish" their pronunciation. Other participants in the present study expressed the opinion that visiting a writing center was significant to their development as multilingual writers.

Creating "Safe Houses" to Facilitate Identity Shifts

One significant finding from the present study is that most participants struggled to position themselves according to their individual images of a good US learner. Following the COP model (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), I realize that to be successful in United States academic communities, it is important for Asian learners to position themselves according to the legitimate practice valued in the communities they want to gain membership in. Although all the participants were familiar with the practice of a US academic community, their problems seemed to spring from reconciling their cultural identities with the new practice.

To this end, I think Canagarajah's (2004) concept of safe houses, as discussed in Chapter 2, can be useful. Canagrajah defines a safe house as underlife in institutional contexts. Because a safe house is "relatively free from surveillance, especially by

authority figures" (p.121), minority students are able to develop identities that contribute to their academic participation in the classroom. I found that it is important for Asian students in the United States to initiate "safe houses" or communities where they feel free and safe to talk about their fears, challenges as well as successes. Asian student communities can also invite other Asians, who have lived in the United States and somewhat feel comfortable with the culture, to share their stories. These informants can serve as role models as well as partners for newly-arrived Asian students, especially during the initial stages of their cultural adaptation process.

Implications For (Home) Universities

The study suggests the importance of including re-integration issues of returnee teachers in the university program. The focus groups with Indonesian participants (see Chapter 5) illustrated the concerns of Nesiani, Ido, and Fatur about going back to their home countries. Their particular concerns centered on the awareness and willingness of home university to ease and facilitate the reintegration process of returnee teachers to optimally utilize their professional and educational experiences. Nesiani stated that she could not apply all the things she learned in the graduate program if they were not supported by the department. The participants felt that the home university practices impeded, rather than assisted, identity development of the teacher returnees. The participants' narratives illustrated some participants' concerns about the need to adapt to the system of the university, rather than the university adjusting their system to the needs of the returnee teachers.

Kanno (2003) believes that institutions were traditionally developed for the education of mono-lingual and mono-cultural people, thus, bi-lingual and bi-cultural

people, like the participants in this study, experience major adjustments that are not supported or even acknowledged by the home universities or institutions. It needs to be noted that teacher returnees are no longer the "personas" that they were when they left their home countries. I personally feel that I became a "different persona" when I was in the United States. I learned new cultural ways of thinking and behaving when I spoke English and adopted new writing styles within the US academic communities. When I visited Indonesia, I realized how much my "Indonesian self" had changed and evolved into a new persona.

Due to the fluid nature of identities of teacher-returnees, attempts need to be taken to establish "an effective mechanism" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) to ease and assist their re-entry into the home institution. For instance, when I return to my home university, I will hold a small seminar to introduce the concept of teacher identities and the significance of teacher identities to teaching and learning. This is important because the concept of teacher identities is relatively new in Indonesian contexts. Other than introducing the concept of teacher identities, I would like to share the findings of this study with other teachers in my department. Such seminars can start a venue where teacher returnees can share their experiences of learning and living abroad and how the experiences affect their professional growth.

The findings of this study also point to a need for developing pre-departure programs focusing on the concept of teacher identities as being and becoming. This program would provide a means by which teacher sojourners can critically reflect on their identity constructions as well as factors affecting such constructions. The program can also make teacher-sojourners aware of the difference in participation patterns

between L1 and L2 academic communities. Thus, they can anticipate problems and also offer tentative solutions to overcome cross-cultural difficulties.

Implications For Further Research

Future research needs to focus on understanding the lives and experiences of MEU teachers working in EFL contexts given that most studies on MEU teachers were conducted in ESL contexts (Amin, 1997; Golomberk & Jordan, 2005; Polio & Wilson-Duffy, 1998; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999). English-language teaching in EFL contexts is practiced quite differently from the ELT in ESL contexts due to their unique educational, political, and cultural milieus (Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Phan, 2004; Sullivan, 2000). The issues and challenges that EFL teachers encounter in EFL contexts deserve further attention.

The narratives of most participants in the present study suggest the significant role of previous education in participants' teacher-identity construction. As more graduate TESOL programs have recently been established in EFL contexts, the ways in which these programs educate and train pre-service English teachers would be a worthwhile topic to pursue in future studies. It would benefit the field of TESOL if more studies were conducted on such topics such as (a) how and to what degree the TESOL programs in EFL contexts provide teacher candidates with an opportunity to problematize the hegemony of a global spread of English and the very problematic notion of native-speaker fallacy through the inclusion of critical pedagogies; (b) how the TESOL programs educate teacher candidates to become critically-reflective teachers able to critically examine the education they receive as well as produce creative localized method and theories--and therefore help them to become competent teachers in EFL

contexts; and (c) what kind of professional identities are promoted in TESOL programs in the EFL contexts.

Another longitudinal qualitative study of MEU teachers teaching English would be useful. Such a study would help professionals to understand the role of multiple factors that impact teachers' identities and their relationships with teaching. In my study, the teacher identities were influenced by the participants' involvement in CoPs in the United States. It did not show how their involvement in different CoPs in their home countries (e.g. family, religious and societal organization) affected the construction of teacher identities in local contexts.

This study portrayed the interconnectedness between one identity option and another. I therefore encourage further research aimed at revealing the relationship between the presentation of teachers' various identity options (e.g. as a mother/father, a bilingual/trilingual speaker) and participation in various CoPs: How does teacher participation in various CoP manifest in their teaching and learning contexts? How do teacher identities impact the subject matter they are teaching, the curriculum, and the teaching-learning environment? We typically assume that a teacher is an individual with professional training and that their lives evolve primarily in the academic world. As pointed out by Evans (2008):

> one of my professors had often talked about the academy's "floating head" syndrome; how people are expected to function as disembodied brains, not connected to bodies or families or any sort of life outside of academic pursuits (p.52).

This resonated with me as I completed my dissertation. All of us belong to multiple communities (Wenger, 1998). We cannot simply devote all of our attention to one community; rather, we need to coordinate the various memberships we hold (Wenger, 1998). In relation to this idea, what is customarily missing in our understanding of teacher identities is the way in which different aspects of teacher lives outside of the academic become visible in educational contexts. This includes the teaching participants, textbooks, curriculum-building, as well as experiences and interactions with students and other teachers. Additional research is needed to further illuminate issues relevant to the impact of teacher identity-construction on learning and teaching.

I would encourage further research to reveal the relationship between the presentation of teacher identities and the classroom-learning environment. Studies can focus on the following questions: How does the manifestation of teacher identities shape his or her relationship with the students and with the classroom interaction created in the classroom? How does teacher-identities impact curriculum and school? We typically assume that a teacher is an individual with professional training. I hope that additional research will further illuminate issues relevant to the impact of identities on teaching and the relationship between teachers and students.

Finally, I am grateful that I have had the opportunity to listen to the voices of the 12 Asian educators who participated in this study. It is my hope that this research has added value to the body of work that is moving the focus of educational research closer to the practice of teaching embodied in the identity-constructions of teachers.

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APPENDIX A: EMAIL INVITATION

Hello Friends,

I would like to invite you to join my research project. I am studying teacher identity constructions and how identities are negotiated and transformed across time and spaces. I will be particularly interested in your learning and teaching and experience in your home country as well as your learning experience and cultural adaptation in the U.S. I am asking you to consider joining this research project. The methods of data collection will involve interview, (individual and focus group) and document analysis.

This research can benefit you in several ways. First, I believe you will learn from the rich discussion we will have about your teaching or learning experience. Second, in our discussion you will gain insight about your profession and the different sociocultural factors contributing to their constructions. I believe that the discussion you will have in the context of this study will enhance your understanding of teaching and your own self as a teacher.

I will attach the consent form, which gives greater details regarding this research project. Please email me (N.T.Zacharias@iup.edu) if you are interested in participating in this project.

I am looking forward to working with you.

Thanks,
Henny

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

INDIANA UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLANIA

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

Title of the Study

The Transformative Identities of South/East Asian Teacher-educator in a Graduate Program in the U.S.: Negotiating Teacher Identities

Nugrahenny T Zacharias, PhD Candidate, Principal Investigator

Email: N.T. Zacharias@iup.edu

INVESTIGATOR STATEMENT

I am kindly asking you to participate in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to provide information you will need to help deciding whether or not to participate in this study. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, your rights as a participant, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to participate in the study.

PURPOSE AND BENEFITS

You may benefit from taking part in this study. My research will primarily focus

on how Asian teacher-educators construct their teacher identities. In particular, I am trying to explore how sociocultural aspects (e.g. school, institution, family, society) and the different roles teachers have affected their identities formation and how they negotiate them in their home countries as well as in the U.S. This study may inform teacher-educators as well as participating teachers. This study will be the basis for my doctoral dissertation.

PROCEDURES

If you choose to be in this study, I would like to interview you about your personal, educational and professional life related to your teaching practice in your home countries as well as your learning experience and cultural adaptation in the U.S.. The interview will be divided into 3 stages conducted separately in December 2007, January 2008 and February 2008. Each interview can take up to 1 hour, which can be conducted in one sitting, or across several sessions, depending on your preferences. For example, I might ask "What made you decide to become an English teacher?" and "How has you role as a teacher affected your family life?" These interviews can take place at your school or any other sites you prefer. You do not have to answer every question.

Other than individual interviews, I would also like to conduct a focus group interview. In the focus group interview, you will be grouped with colleagues of the same nationality. The focus group interview will take 1 hour or more and can be done in one sitting, or across several sessions, depending on your preferences and other participants within the same group. You do not have to answer every question.

I would also like to collect and analyze various documents, such as your teaching philosophy, CVs, reflective journals, class assignments and portfolios. You do not have to provide any documents that you do not want to provide. With you permission, I would like to audiotape the interviews so that I can have an accurate record. Only I will have access to the audiotapes, which will be kept in a locked file cabinet. I will transcribe your interview tapes within two weeks of your interviews, assign a study code to the transcript and destroy the tapes. If you choose not to be audiotaped, I will only take notes during the interview session. Please indicate below whether or not you give permission to audiotape the interviews.

RISK, STRESS AND DISCOMFORT

Some people feel that providing information for research is an invasion of privacy. I have addressed concerns for your privacy in the section below.

OTHER INFORMATION

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You can stop at any time. Information about you is confidential. If the results of this study are published/presented, I will not use your name. This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone 724-357-7730).

_____	_____
Date	Name and Signature of Primary Investigator

SUBJECT STATEMENT

The study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later on about the research I can ask the investigator listed above. I will receive a copy of this consent form.

Tick accordingly in the box provided
☐ I give permission for the researcher to audiotape the interviews.
☐ I am willing to participate in the interviews but not to be audiotaped.

Name (PLEASE PRINT) _____ Signature: _____

Phone number where you can be reached: _____

Best days and times to reach you: _____

E-mail: _____

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONS FOR PAST NARRATIVES

Personal Identities

1. Tell me about yourself. Where are you from?
2. Does your name mean anything significant?
3. What are the roles does your parents have to your education and your decision of becoming a teacher?
4. Who were your role models when you grew up?

The sociocultural context of teaching and learning in the home country

5. Why do you learn English?
6. How much English do you hear in the society back home?
7. Tell me about a common language classroom in your country. (e.g., the roles of a teacher and a student, materials/aids used, etc.)
8. What do you believe as the role of a teacher in your home country? What about the role of the students?

Learning/educational Experiences

9. Tell me about your education background.
10. Please talk about your experience of learning a foreign/second language. Do you enjoy learning it?
11. How did you perceive the culture(s) of the languages you learned?
12. Have you ever felt foreign to the content of the textbooks when you were learning English or other foreign/second language? If yes, how did you feel and how did the experience affect your teaching?
13. Have you had a good language teacher that you benefited from?

Teaching Experiences

14. How long have you been teaching?
15. Why do you want to be a teacher? What motivate you to become a teacher?
16. What's your objective of being an English teacher?
17. What are the "things" you have as part of your culture, identity, etc. that help/helped you during the teaching process?

18. What do you see as the difficulties of an English teacher? How do you overcome them?
19. Describe your most successful class
20. Describe the class that you considered a failure. Why so?

Teacher Multiple Roles/Identities

21. Other than being a teacher, what other roles do you have in the family, community, church/mosque? How do you manage them? Are they ever been in conflict with one another?
22. How does your role of being a teacher affect your family life or other communities of practice you were involved in?

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONS FOR PRESENT NARRATIVES

1. What made you decide to come to study in this program?
2. How did you feel when you first got here? How did your feelings change overtime?
3. Did you experience cultural or educational shock? Explain!
4. What cultural issues have you encountered upon your arrival? How many of these issues do you think are "manageable" for a sojourner?
5. Do you believe teachers' attempt of continuing their education (both in the country as well as overseas) will result in some changes in the way they teach English? Explain!
6. What do you learn from your courses? Anything that you haven't known before? To what extent, what you learn from your courses is applicable in the local context? Are there any that are not applicable?
7. Do you think you have changed as a result of your previous education? Do you think you are NOT the same teacher any more?
8. Is this your first living experience in a foreign country?
9. How would you compare the life in the U.S. to the previous experiences of yours in other foreign countries or home countries?
10. Name a few of the similarities and differences between your home culture and the U.S. culture.
11. Identity is related to one's roles he or she takes on, such as your roles as a student, as a teacher in both societies, and so on. Now, have you experienced times that you are in-between roles? Why do you think that happens/happened?
12. Do you think you have fitted in the United States culture easily? What makes you think that?
13. What are the "things" you have as part of your culture, identity, etc. that help/helped you during the process of your adaptation to this new culture?
14. How did your personality help you in "surviving" in the U.S.?
15. Name a few of the positive AND negative life style changes you experienced as a result of living in this culture.
16. Name a few of the positive AND negative changes in self values/cultural values you experienced as a result of living in this culture.
17. With which group of people do you associate yourself more: Americans or other international students/sojourners?
18. When you're making friends, do you have any preference among specific nationalities?

19. How do you make friends and socialize in this country? Is it similar to what you would do back home?
20. Are there any people helping you on your adjustment to living and studying in the U.S.?
21. How different are the expectations of the American academic culture compared to your home country?

NNES Identities

22. Do you feel any advantages of being a non-native English teacher?
23. Do you feel any disadvantages of being a non-native English teacher?

APPENDIX E: QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE NARRATIVES

1. What is your plan after finishing your coursework?
2. How do you feel about going back home to teach English in your home country?
3. What kinds of teachers do you want to be?

APPENDIX F: FOCUS GROUP PROMPTS

Identity is not an easy term to understand and approach. One of the reasons is, as pointed out by Joseph (2004), it can both address 'sameness' (p.37) and differences. Each of you here represents those conflicting phenomenon of identities. I group you here obviously since you share a 'sameness' quality -- being a(n) Indonesian/Japanese/Thailand/Korean teacher. Although you come from the same country, I understand that each of you is unique since you have different understandings of being a(n) Indonesian/Japanese/Thai/Korean teacher as expressed in the individual interviews. Now it's time to explore as a group if there is (or there isn't) the relationship between teacher identities and ethnicity.

Question 1:

Norton defines identity as "the ways people understand their relationship to the world," how would you understand the term '*Japanese/Indonesian/Korean/Thai* teacher'?

Do you feel Japanese/Indonesian/Korean/Thai teachers different from teachers from other countries?

Question 2

Uchida and Duff (1997) believe that in educational practice life, identities are co-constructed, negotiated, and transformed on an ongoing basis by means of language, which language do you use to teach English?

When you teaching English do your language choice (English or L1) affect your teaching identities?

Question 3

Do you feel the need to express your Indonesia-ness? If you do, how? If you don't, why?

Does living in the U.S. have significant effects on your *ethnic (Japanese/Indonesian/Korean/Thai* teacher identities?

Question 4

What do you see imagined identities for Japanese/Indonesian/Korean/Thai English teachers? What do you want Japanese/Indonesian/Korean/Thai English teachers to be like?