

**Narrative inquiry into Hanban teachers' first years of
professional identity construction in UK schools**

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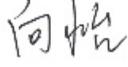
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Declaration

I, Yi Xiang, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signature: 

Citation style

This thesis employs the APA style guide, Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, Sixth Edition, 2010.

Abstract

This study explores how Hanban teachers construct their professional identities during their first years in UK schools, and the structural, educational, social and personal influences on the process.

The theoretical framing of professional identity is drawn out of three theoretical traditions, namely psychological, sociocultural and poststructural. Professional identity is used in this study as an overarching frame containing the mental processes of an individual's cognition and emotion, as well as his or her process of being and becoming through social relations and social practices. Located in the interpretivist tradition and narrative inquiry approach in particular, this qualitative study uses semi-structured interviews, personal artefacts, observation, organisational document and researcher's reflective journal as research instruments.

Longitudinal in nature, this inquiry follows six individual Hanban teachers throughout one academic year. It reveals that the initial stage of Hanban teachers' school experience marks an often problematic transition from pre-departure training to the reality of working in schools. It entails an intensified period of professional learning and identity construction: Hanban teachers need to negotiate roles and responsibilities in the classroom; reconcile competing demands and requirements from different communities of practice; negotiate the personal meaning of work with the meanings that are imposed by multiple policy objectives; participate in the practices of constructing an effective second language identity, and harmonise their personal and professional lives.

By understanding the nature of Hanban teachers' professional identities, recommendations are made for teacher education, policy makers and host schools. They contribute to the better preparation and utilisation of the target group of teachers. Regarding the theoretical contribution, the unique nature of the research context allows me to bring together dimensions from other frameworks into the theorisation of teachers' professional identity. It specifically contributes to ways of theorising teachers' professional lives in the globalisation era, where much movement across borders is involved.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This study explores how the professional identities of Hanban teachers are constructed in UK schools, and the influences that affect their identity construction. In this chapter, I firstly cover the reasons and motivations behind starting this study, which stem from both its significance in the UK Chinese teaching landscape and my personal interests. I then explain the choice of the theoretical lens, the research setting and the choice of an overall methodology. Subsequently, I argue for the significance of this study by discussing its theoretical and practical contributions. To conclude this chapter, I provide an outline of the overall thesis structure, detailing the content and purpose of subsequent chapters.

1.1 The rationale for this study

1.1.1 The UK Chinese teaching landscape and Hanban teachers

The rationale for commencing this study starts from recognising the important role of a group of native Chinese speaking teachers in the UK Chinese teaching landscape, and the comparative lack of comprehensive studies into this group of teachers.

It is commonly recognised at the policy level that the study of Modern Foreign Languages (MFLs) at school can better prepare pupils for their future in an increasingly globalised age by stimulating their growth as a person socially, culturally and linguistically (Education, 2013). Influenced by global economic development and the demographic evolution within the British society, the language learning policy in the UK has witnessed some crucial changes in the past decade (Anderson, 2014). As a result, a more diversified foreign language curriculum has begun to be provided at schools, and Chinese, is one of these newly introduced Foreign Language subjects (Zhang & Li, 2010).

In the context of introducing and developing Chinese teaching and learning in the UK, researchers and practitioners have identified many complex issues, such as the level of curriculum preparedness, availability of appropriate teaching materials and of

qualified teachers (Anderson, 2014; Carruthers, 2012; Tinsley & Board, 2014). Amongst which, the shortage of trained teachers is recognised as one of the major barriers in enabling the subject from being mainstreamed and sustainably developed in the British school system.

In facing the shortage of trained teachers, several policy initiatives were introduced, some of which demonstrate the UK Government's willingness to seek cooperation with China, where native-Chinese teachers, short-term training programmes and generous funding are available. For instance, in 2006, the UK Department for Education and Skills and the Office of Chinese Language Council International (Hanban) signed a memorandum of understanding, agreeing on a series of approaches to develop the teaching and learning of Chinese language and culture across the British education system (Carruthers, 2012). Native Chinese speaking teachers, thus, started being deployed from China into UK schools through organisations like the Confucius Institute (CI) and the British Council (BC).

Typically, the group under the management of the CI with teaching positions back in China are collectively named Hanban teachers and new graduates or current post-graduate students are named volunteer teachers, while the group under the management of BC are called Chinese Language Assistants (CLAs). However, Hanban teachers sometimes may consist of new post-graduates while volunteer teachers might be experienced teachers. Thus, these three types of teachers from CI and BC programmes have much overlap in their prior and current experiences. It is not surprising that Tinsley and Board (2014) suggest that such programmes in the UK school landscape should be integrated. Therefore, in this study, I use the term 'Hanban teachers' to refer to the three groups throughout the thesis.

As one of the attempts to increase the availability of trained Chinese teachers, how effective then, is this initiative of bringing in native speaker teachers? More particularly, how adequate is the educational provision of Chinese language and culture by Hanban teachers, to the needs of UK students and schools? Some researchers appraise the specific contribution they make to the introduction of Chinese teaching in schools new to the subject and for communicating different cultures (Carruthers, 2012), while many

question the quality of this group of teachers' teaching practices, as their working experience as a group has constantly been reported as difficult and challenging.

However, a review of the current literature suggests that very often the issues these teachers face are simplistically treated as the consequence of inadequacy in their personal command of knowledge and skills (CILT, 2007; Filmer-Sankey, Marshall, & Sharp, 2010; L. Wang & Higgins, 2008). There exists a lack of comprehensive studies which systematically examine what real problems and challenges these teachers face, why those issues occur, and how they develop in the new sociocultural context. These are important questions worthy of exploration before this group of teachers can be better prepared and utilised for the linguistic and educational needs of students.

1.1.2 Personal interest

In addition, there are personal factors which drew my interest in investigating this research topic.

Firstly, I have developed an interest in the education of Chinese as a second language, through both my academic career and prior professional experience. During my academic career, I gained a BA in Teaching Chinese as a Second Language (TCSL) and an MA in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics from two universities in China. These two programmes, not only prepared me with knowledge of the Chinese and English language, linguistics and literature, but also evoked my intellectual curiosity to pursue further study in the related area.

In addition to the theoretical training in university programmes, I was engaged in a variety of part-time teaching practices. I taught as a whole class teacher, and also as a one-to-one language tutor from time to time, with students ranging from school pupils, university students, to full-time professionals. Through these teaching experiences, I developed an even stronger passion for Chinese language education.

Secondly, through my prior work experience in the UK, I developed a particular research interest in exploring the professional lives of individuals who are in the transition from one geographical and sociocultural context to another.

In 2010, I went through a rigorous selection process in China and was offered a work placement in a London based company. My fellow Chinese students and I received one week's training in London before beginning work in various companies in the UK. The training programme was designed to familiarise us with English language and 'culture'. It covered topics like English idioms, wine tasting and British table manners.

The work placement reality which followed, however, made me question the adequacy of the training provision, as every day of my time in the company entailed much learning and adaptation. For instance, I found my previous English language training was inadequate in preparing me to understand the varied accents of my colleagues. It took a while before I gained the confidence to communicate with those colleagues who spoke English with strong accents. As a newcomer, transitioning to both the UK and the company, I was constantly facing the mixed pressure of learning to speak, learning to work and learning to be.

In sum, the collection of these experiences guided my interest into further exploring areas such as Chinese language education and the professional lives of individuals who work across borders. These research interests, combined with my plans to work in the field of TCSL teacher education and the evidence of a gap in research on this topic discussed previously, motivated my investigation into the complex experiences of Hanban teachers' becoming, doing, and being in the UK schools.

Furthermore, I believe that my personal experiences and interest in the research topic has a tangible influence on the methodology of this study. For instance, it influences how my participants think and relate to me as a researcher, and what data they construct. I will elaborate this point more in the methodology chapter.

1.1.3 The choice of professional identity as the theoretical lens

In seeking a theoretical lens to facilitate my understanding of the research topic, identity in general and professional identity in particular have drawn my attention. Studies of identity have become increasingly popular in the last few decades in a range of disciplines including psychology, philosophy, sociology and anthropology, in response to the ever changing and increasingly globalised world, where individuals are

confronted with some of the existential questions, such as what to do, how to act and who to be (Giddens, 1991).

Identity as a theoretical lens has been applied to examine various issues regarding persons in society, for instance, to explore the ways gender roles and functions are socially constructed through language and power (Weedon, 1997); to study changes in an individuals' construction of cultural identity in the context of globalisation (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011); to inquire the ways in which national identity has been constructed at the collective level (Schildkraut, 2011); and to examine the relationship between the sense of occupational identity and career success, resilience and mental well-being (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011), to name just a few. Those studies further demonstrate that identity is powerful in reconciling one of the classic dichotomies in the social sciences of 'determinism versus agency' and in linking the individual with the historical, social and cultural contexts (Olsen, 2016, p. 81).

However, within these current studies, there is no consensus on the definition or the theoretical understanding of identity and professional identity. One theoretical frame might be particularly applicable to explaining certain aspects of data, while not so strong to other aspects. Thus, having tried and tested these alternative theoretical understandings of identity and professional identity, it has let me contribute a new framework. I will detail this new frame in Chapter 3. Here I just signpost some elements of it and further highlight how those dimensions can be useful to explore my research topic.

Identity has been utilised to describe individuals' contextually specific beliefs, emotions, social relations and social practices, and to explain how those aspects are simultaneously influenced by multi-dimensional elements. These elements transcend time and space, including lived personal history, current participation and imagined future orientations within the multiple social communities, which cover and connect local groups to the global context. Through the continuous participation in social practices, identity shapes and is shaped by the multiple social communities. Although some aspects of identity are more easily altered, while some are more resistant to changes.

Professional identity, as one aspect of identity, is of special relevance to one's occupation. It encompasses dimensions related to an individual's professional life, such as his or her roles and responsibilities in the work place, job purpose, sense of self-confidence, job-related expertise and professional development over time. It also discusses how a collective of individuals differentiate themselves from other professional groups.

With the occupational aspect featuring most prominently, it is worth noting however that professional identity is inextricably linked with other aspects of identity within the overarching frame. Thus, when discussing professional identity, one inevitably discusses identity as a whole. Moreover, an individual's professional identity is not only shaped by the professional context, such as a professional training programme, national and organisational policies or standards, but also shaped by an individual's personal context, such as one's personal biography and their fundamental beliefs and values as a person.

Professional identity has been utilised to examine the professional lives of a variety of occupational groups at different stages of their professional lives. Within the field of education, professional identity is widely applied to as a lens to investigate the working lives of teachers, covering a wide spectrum, including student teachers, newly qualified teachers, experienced teachers under educational reform, career changer teachers, foreign trained teachers, teaching assistants (TAs) and teacher educators. Those studies cover issues regarding teachers' practices, professional development and sense of well-being, and how those issues are affected by historical, social, cultural, institutional, relational and personal influences. Professional identity, as an analytical lens, presents both the product (e.g. beliefs, value, roles, and job purpose) and the process (i.e. the dialectical interactions between the agency and structure in producing the product). The professional identity lens, on the one hand acknowledges the unique nature of an individual teacher's experiences, whilst on the other hand, brings into light the multiple influences, visible or invisible. Thus, I identify the professional identity lens as a useful tool, with the explanation potential suitable for the complex professional lives of Hanban teachers.

1.1.4 The choice of research setting

Although there has been a comparatively large number of CIs established across the UK (25 by the end of 2014), this study primarily focused on the Royal Garden Confucius Institute (RGCI) and the narratives of a small number of Hanban teachers in detail. RGCI is a pseudonym. I have had the choice of recruiting individual Hanban teachers from various CIs. However, I deliberately focus on RGCI as the research setting. Not only because the RGCI was the leading centre to support the development of Chinese teaching and learning across UK primary and secondary schools, but also for the consideration of practical and methodological reasons.

At the practical level, I recognise the RGCI as an important platform for me to meet and recruit participants for this study. Indeed, it transpired that all six Hanban teachers presented in the latter narratives in Chapter 5 were either working under the management of the RGCI, or attended teacher training events organised by it.

At the methodological level, the engagement with the RGCI helped to provide some of the important contextual information of Hanban teachers' professional identity construction. Otherwise, I could not have access to the organisational documents regarding teacher training and teacher management, the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) events and the accounts from senior leadership team.

1.1.5 Overall methodology

In terms of methodology, I locate this study within the qualitative paradigm and narrative inquiry in particular. The choice of methodology allows for a unique study. In somewhat similar research into the target group of teachers, the methods of data collection has often been relied on the autobiography of one individual teacher (P. Wang, 2011), or on the questionnaire responses of a large sample (R. Zhu & Qian, 2015). However, in this study, I made the deliberate choice of focusing on a small number of participants (six) rather than one or the diluted opinions of many. Thus, this study contributes a rich and nuanced understanding of the target group of teachers and their professional lives over time. The study not only covers the unique experiences of individuals within the group, but also a set of shared characteristics, which demonstrate the unique nature and value as a professional group.

Moreover, being influenced by ‘an inquiry-oriented way’ of thinking promoted in the narrative inquiry methodology (He, 2002c), I did not limit myself as a researcher to a set of fixed research purposes, questions, methods, procedures and outcomes. Rather, I continuously reflected on aspects of established research practice and made changes where necessary, in order to investigate the comparatively new and complex research phenomena and context. This point can be seen through my deliberate choice of conducting a two stage research journey, which contains a pilot and a main study of almost the same length. More detail will be provided in Chapter 4.

In addition, a review of the current literature on Hanban teachers suggests two contrasting perspectives: the exclusive perspective of the dispatching country and the exclusive perspective of host countries. It is not surprising that researchers and scholars under those two perspectives often analyse Hanban teachers’ practice against rather different policy objectives and standards. Each perspective alone has contributed valuable insights. Yet, the lack of dialogue between the two may hinder identification of understandings that are vital for the phenomena under investigation.

However, through my prior academic and professional experience in the field of TCFL in China and my studies within a UK-based PhD programme, I bring a new perspective and appreciation to this observation. The combination of both sides has helped me arrive at a vantage point, which allows me to engage critically with both perspectives. This position, helps me to generate some new understandings of the target group of teachers’ experience.

For instance, I identify the gaps between their pre-departure training in China and the school reality in the UK, the gaps between how they are evaluated in Hanban system and UK school system, as well as how the competing demands from two communities might become one major source of the challenges they have to face at work. More detail will be elaborated on in Chapter 6.

1.2 Significance of this study

In this section, I argue for the significance of this study from two aspects: its theoretical and its practical contribution. Firstly, this study, by drawing out relevant dimensions from three theoretical traditions and testing them in the research context, is able to

contribute to a new multi-dimensional framework of professional identity for teachers. This framework is detailed in Chapter 3 and its analytical power is revealed in the comprehensive analysis of Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

Each strand of the theoretical traditions has its own strengths in explaining certain aspects of identity and weaknesses in explaining others. The psychological perspective is powerful in describing the individuals' cognition and emotion and their development, and in establishing the links between individual mental processes with their immediate social environment. However, it overlooks the social practice aspect of identity which is external to an individual's mind. Also, its analysis of the links between individual and environment tends to be simplistic.

The sociocultural perspective, thus, complements a psychological perspective by providing theoretical tools to examine individual's social practices and social relations and how those aspects are negotiated within communities of practice, which are complex constellations of historical, social, cultural, local and global influences.

Both psychological and sociocultural perspectives tend to overlook the complex power relations individuals' are embedded in. The poststructural perspective, and especially Foucault's analysis of power relations and its effect in producing subjectivity provides a complementary third tool.

By drawing out the complementary perspectives from the three traditions, I construct an analytical lens to examine the complex phenomena like professional adaptation and formation when crossing the geographical and sociocultural context via a government initiated programme.

Subsequently, the unique nature of the research context allows me to bring together dimensions from other frameworks into the theorisation of teacher professional identity. The context helps me to recognise the limitation of the current theorisation. More specifically, its inadequacy in describing aspects of professional lives that are related to the work abroad status of a group of teachers, which I believe is a significant gap in the globalised world today. I argue for the inclusion of Norton's (2000) concept of 'investment' and Benson et al.'s (2013) concept of second language identity into the conceptualisation of the professional identity of teachers, which provide explanation to

individuals' complex motivation of working abroad and establish the explicit links between their language identity and professional identity.

Moreover, through gaining insights into Hanban teachers' professional identity construction experience in British schools individually and collectively, and the elements that influence this process, I am then able to make practical recommendations for their preparation and deployment. Findings of this study are detailed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, I signpost some of the important points below:

- My study agrees with the current literature (CILT, 2007; Filmer-Sankey et al., 2010; L. Wang & Higgins, 2008) that Hanban teachers' initial school period does not mark a straightforward transition from the pre-departure training to the school reality. It further suggests that their initial period at school entails intensified professional learning and identity construction.
- Echoing Blatchford et al.'s (2012) identification of the blurred boundary between the identities of teachers and supporting staff in British schools, my study identifies that there equally exists blurred boundaries between the professional identities of Hanban teachers and the locally employed Chinese teachers. Moreover, this ambiguity elicits many conflicts within Hanban teachers' professional identities and their relationship with the local Chinese teachers.
- Different from current literature's treating of Hanban teachers' professional identities as being (re)constructed within, and for one unified professional community of practice (Tinsley & Board, 2014; R. Zhu & Qian, 2015), my study proposes that Hanban teachers face competing demands and requirements from different professional communities of practice (e.g. Hanban community and school community), which often draws out struggles in their identity construction.
- Unlike the current literature's appreciation of Hanban teachers as passive receivers and agents of policy objectives (Nie, 2012; H. Zhu & Li, 2014), my study identifies that Hanban teachers actively negotiate the personal meaning of work with the meanings that are prescribed by multiple policy objectives.

- My study expands the general understanding that native speaker Chinese teachers lack English language proficiency when they first start work in British schools (Tinsley & Board, 2014), and develops a more nuanced and complex picture of Hanban teachers' (re)construction of second language identity in relation to their (re)construction of professional identity.
- Following current researchers' endeavour of bringing into light the inextricable links between teachers' professional identities and personal lives (Davey, 2013; Morgan, 2004; Nias, 1989), my study offers a nuanced analysis of how Hanban teachers' personal lives greatly influence their professional lives in ways such as their career decision, emotions, dedication for the professional learning, pedagogical choice and the construction of subject knowledge.

By understanding the nature of Hanban teachers' professional identities, possible recommendations are made for policy makers, teacher education and host schools. For policy makers such as Hanban, for instance, I argue for the consideration of alternative ways to measure Hanban teachers' contribution. For teacher education, I argue for preparing Hanban teachers with practical experience in UK schools. For host schools, I argue for the establishment of a clearer boundary of roles and responsibilities between the local Chinese teachers and Hanban teachers. Implications and recommendations are detailed in Chapter 7.

1.3 Thesis structure

Chapter 2 outlines the background information of this study, in an attempt to situate the professional identity construction of Hanban teachers within the broader cultural-historical context.

It places the study within both the Chinese and UK landscapes. It starts with an exploration of the Chinese landscape from where the target group of teachers departs, with special attention paid into the historical and current development of Hanban system, Confucianism as an influential social ideology, and the training programmes Hanban teachers have received. Then, it explores the UK landscape the target group of teachers transit into, with special attention paid to the professionalism of teaching in

the UK, Chinese language teaching in UK schools, and the CPD events for Hanban teachers.

Chapter 3 identifies the key theoretical concepts about identity in the general literature and identity in educational research in particular, which have informed the analytical lens used to focus this research. Eight dimensions of professional identity have been teased out from three theoretical traditions, and used as a foundation to illuminate the thinking and positioning that underpins the research questions, the methodological choice and the interpretation of the findings.

This chapter also details the refined research questions of the main study stage, which are refined from preliminary research questions in the pilot study stage.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approach to seek answers for the research questions. It demonstrates the consistency of the approach with my theoretical understanding of professional identity. It describes a two-stage research journey, which consists of a longitudinal pilot and main study. It demonstrates a case of narrative inquiry, which adopts the reflective stance towards the research questions, methods of data collection, data analysis and the presentation of findings, and adjusts the corresponding aspects when necessary during the research journey.

Chapter 5 presents six narratives of individual Hanban teachers' experiences of professional identity construction as they transit into the UK school system. Based on various forms of data source (e.g. interview transcripts, field notes and personal artefacts), I construct a lengthy narrative about each individual's becoming, doing and being. After each narrative, I construct a commentary, which attempts to make explicit how professional identity construction of the individuals' are affected by the social, cultural, organisational, relational and personal influences.

Chapter 6 presents a discussion around five recurring and striking themes emerging from the analysis across six individual narratives. Those five themes illuminate the general features and common characteristics of Hanban teachers' experience as a professional group. It highlights how those findings can advance the current understanding of the unique nature of their professional lives.

Chapter 7 summarises how this study contributes to current knowledge, in terms of both its theoretical contribution and practical contribution. Implications are drawn for various stakeholders, including policy makers, teacher educators and host schools. Limitations of this study and inspirations for future research are discussed.

Chapter 2 Background information

Introduction

In this chapter, I am going to provide relevant background information about the Chinese and UK landscapes, in an attempt to situate the professional identity (re)construction of Hanban teachers within broader cultural-historical contexts. I start with a discussion about the Chinese landscape, where the target group of teachers have lived, and have been educated. In particular, I will focus on three themes: the current and historical development of the Hanban system, the teacher education of Hanban teachers, and Confucianism as an influential social ideology. Subsequently, I offer a discussion about the British landscape, where the target group of teachers temporarily transit into, work and live for a limited period (i.e. between one to four years). Special attention is paid to teacher professionalism, Chinese language teaching in the British school system and the provision of CPD events. Although I am engaged in the discussion of the two landscapes respectively, I do not take the two as separate as their geographical locations appear to be. Rather, the more I look into both landscapes, the more I am aware of the connections and interactions between them. This chapter is not intended to provide a fully comprehensive coverage of these topics but to provide contextual information for Hanban teachers' professional identity construction.

2.1 The Chinese Landscape

2.1.1 Hanban, CIs and CCs

To understand Hanban teachers' professional identities, it is crucial to understand more about Hanban and CI as organisations, which play significant roles in recruiting, training and deploying Hanban teachers.

In 2002, Hanban, was established as the main organisation for the promotion of Chinese language and culture worldwide, which constitutes an integral part of China's geopolitical strategy (H. Zhu & Li, 2014, p. 327). With an affiliation to the Chinese Ministry of Education (MoE), the major objectives of the organisation, as claimed by

itself, go beyond supporting the education provision of Chinese language and culture internationally. They also aim at contributing to the development of multiculturalism and the establishment of harmony in the world (Hanban, 2016).

Hanban acts as a policy maker and sponsor for activities around the promotion of Chinese language and culture. Its activities are aimed at the organisational, staff and learner levels. At the organisational level, it is responsible for functions such as assessing applications for the establishment of new CIs, planning annual programmes and budgets. At the staff level, it is responsible for recruiting the Chinese Director, organising the pre-departure training programme for Hanban teachers and setting up *International Standards for Chinese Language Teachers (The Standards)* (国际汉语教师标准) and *International Curriculum for Chinese Language Education* (国际汉语教学通用课程大纲). At the learner level, it is engaged in such activities as establishing a language proficiency test, organising language competition events and providing scholarship funding. It is recorded in 2015 annual report that, 500 CIs have been established in 135 countries. The number of staff deployed by Hanban in 2015 alone reaches 3751 worldwide (Hanban, 2015).

The first CI was established in South Korea in 2004. Although named after the ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius (551- 479 BC), CIs do not teach Confucianism. Rather, they function as the teaching and learning centres of Chinese language and general cultural activities, such as Tai Chi and Chinese fan dancing (Starr, 2009, p. 69). There exist three models to run the CIs, namely:

- Run by Hanban
- Run by the host country under license from Hanban
- Run through a joint partnership between a Chinese university and a university in the host country and Hanban

Among these, the third model is most common (Starr, 2009, pp. 70 - 71); however, this model is not unproblematic. For instance, H. Zhu and Li (2014, p. 328) remind us that the complex institutional structure and the varied backgrounds of the staff might bring many challenges.

At the primary and secondary school level, Confucius Classrooms (CCs) function as the equivalence of CIs. CCs work as the hub for teaching and learning of Chinese language and culture, connecting different schools into the network of a host CI. RGCI in this study is one of such host CIs. Although established within a specific school, CCs however, can be shared by other schools in the same region. That means, deployed into one specific CC, a Hanban teacher may be responsible for the supporting and delivering of Chinese language and culture teaching for several schools in the region.

How, then, is Hanban's effort of promoting Chinese language teaching and learning received in the host countries? In terms of its value, many researchers have confirmed its significant contribution to the development of teaching and learning of Chinese language by providing funding, teaching materials, teachers and organising various activities for language learners (Gil, 2015; Tinsley & Board, 2014).

However, Hanban and CI projects also receive much criticism. Starr (2009, p. 78) usefully differentiate two perspectives of criticism: insider type and outsider type. The former, refers to the practical issues that might occur during the implementation of CI project, such as financial, educational provision quality and partner university relations.

The latter refers to ideological concerns, often raised by those who do not directly work in or with the CIs, in response to Hanban's affiliation status to Chinese government. One extreme example is an anecdote occurring in 2008 in Stockholm University in Sweden, where some staff requested to separate the Nordic CI from the university, as they accused the CI was utilised by the Chinese embassy to perform political surveillance and secret propaganda, and to restrict research on sensitive issues. According to the report from an independent assessment, all the accusations were found to be baseless (Starr, 2009, p. 79).

Whilst not every ideological concern towards CIs is presented in such an extreme form as discussed in the anecdote above, the existence of such concerns is one condition that CI projects and my target group of teachers have to face. I agree with Gil (2015, p. 221) that although substantial evidence of such concerns cannot be proven, they might to a certain degree limit the development of CI projects and influence the work experience of Hanban teachers.

2.1.2 Training programmes

The training programme is the prerequisite activity Hanban teachers bring into their experience in the British landscape. Examining training programmes can help us better understand their actions, feelings and perceptions of themselves as professionals. Hanban teachers are primarily trained teachers from China. Prior to their arrival at the UK educational landscape, two parts of their teacher training can be considered crucial for the construction of their professional identity:

- General teacher education: including both pre-service teacher education and in-service teacher education;
- The Hanban initiated pre-departure training programmes.

The separation of these two components is based on the view that entering Hanban training programmes signifies a critical moment in their career. Training before this point tends to revolve around the objective of facilitating the learning and professional development as a specific subject teacher within Chinese education system. However, the major objective of Hanban pre-departure training is to prepare them to work abroad as Hanban teachers. These two strands of training programmes are organised and delivered by different institutions and teacher educators, with their own priorities and agendas.

2.1.2.1 General teacher education in China

Before the secondment into the UK educational landscape, Hanban teachers work at various levels in China ranging from primary schools to universities. The target group of teachers is diverse not only in terms of the level of education they work at, but also in age, highest qualifications and educational trajectories. Furthermore, China is a large education landscape, where teaching practices might be very different between Urban-Rural and East-West regions (Wang & Piesse, 2010). Thus, this diversity requires me to discuss teacher education in China from a more abstract sense and with a more historical view, rather than focusing only on teacher education in the here and now. I will now examine these aspects including the general trends of the development of teacher education in China and the philosophy and ideologies which underpin it.

Since its establishment in 1949, new China has undergone a series of significant transformations politically, economically and socially. Transformations happening in the society at large, bring about changes to the conception of teachers and teaching. Teacher education, accordingly, has undergone a continuous change. Guo (2014) usefully categorises the development of teacher education into four historical periods:

- Foundation period: 1949 - 1965
- Reversion period: 1966 - 1976 (I rename this period as the Reversion period, to replace Guo's original title of 'Damage period', as is more appropriate).
- Recovering period: 1976 - 2001
- Quality period: 2001

The first period witnesses a rapid increase in the number of teachers trained (Gu, 1981). The second period refers to the Cultural Revolution period, which reversed the advancements in teacher education that had been developed from the previous period. For instance, the national university entrance examination was removed and teacher education programmes were shortened. With the end of the Cultural Revolution and the release of the 'open door' policy in the third period, teacher education has gradually recovered from the previous period through the re-establishment of an overall structure. Under an increasingly competitive international environment, it enters the period of consistently improving quality since 2001, when the MoE initiated Curriculum Reform at the Primary and Secondary school levels.

As all the participants in my study received their teacher education after the Cultural Revolution period, I will focus on examining the latter two periods by teasing out general trends:

- Pre-service teacher education has gradually moved from normal institutions (i.e. colleges and universities that specifically train teachers) into non-normal and comprehensive universities. Some researchers view this change as the end of the traditional models of teacher education (Shi & Englert, 2008), while others argue that there has been little change in terms of the actual curricula or teaching methods within teacher education (Gu, 2006).

- Pre-service teacher education gradually transfers job-finding responsibilities to its graduates. An important implication of this change is that the highest qualification of teachers becomes a crucial indicator of the competitiveness in a job application. Many people, as a result, have engaged in a continuous pursuit of higher qualifications (Shi & Englert, 2008).
- Attempts are made to professionalise teacher education through the introduction of the unified curriculum and the establishment of professional standards for teachers, such as 2011 Teacher Education Curriculum Standards, 2011 Professional Standards for Preschool, Elementary and Secondary School Teachers.
- Western notions and ideas of teaching and teacher education, such as learner-centred and experience-based modes of teaching, have been increasingly introduced through both pre-service and in-service teacher education. Those notions and ideas confront the sociocultural context of teaching, and bring much dilemma into the professional identity construction of student teachers and teachers (Chen & Day, 2014).

2.1.2.2 Philosophy and ideology underpinning the teacher education

Both what the learning objective of teacher education is, and how it is organised to achieve this objective, influence the knowledge base of pre-service and in-service teachers. The discussion of these questions requires us to go beyond the practice level and examine the educational philosophies and ideologies that underpin the organisation of pre-service and in-service programmes.

Although teacher education in China is a complex system that is influenced by various, sometimes contested, educational philosophies and ideologies, Confucianism is still commonly recognised as having a dominant influence (Chen & Day, 2014; Guo, 2014).

With an examination of a number of influential studies, Guo (2014) forms a discussion on how teaching and learning in China is influenced by Confucianism. I summarise it into four major tenets below:

- Role of teacher: teachers are regarded as the authority of knowledge and should be highly respected by students. Their primary role in the classroom is to transmit the knowledge to students.
- Knowledge: is pre-coded by the authorised textbooks. It is stable and external to students.
- Conception of teaching and learning: learning is regarded as the information transmission from teachers to students.
- Assessment of learning: is to test to what extent students can memorise or master the knowledge, as is reflected in examinations.

This way of conceptualisation has influence on both learning at school level and professional learning at teacher education level. For instance, in the initial training programmes, student-teachers are assumed to be the authority of knowledge within the classroom, the majority of the curriculum is designed to equip students with subject knowledge. As Zhu and Liu (2004) suggest more than 70 per cent of the curriculum time is spent on the teaching of subject-specialised knowledge, while merely 7 percent is distributed to prepare students professionally.

Within this 7 percent of curriculum time, however, it is further split by theories (e.g. teaching theories, psychology theories) and school practice. As a result, in a four year programme, student teachers' school practicum can be less than ten weeks. In terms of how professional learning within the school practicum is organised, Qu (2003) identifies that it tends to follow a rigid and linear procedure, in which student teachers are expected to conduct class observations, class teaching, activities organising and experience reporting.

Thus, teacher education in China tends to prioritise the formal learning in universities, which focuses on the teaching and learning of the general and undifferentiated *codified knowledge* (Eraut, 2007). It has a certain neglect of student teachers' development of personal knowledge through the *non-formal learning* process in schools, which is identified as of great importance for the practice of professionals (Eraut, 2007).

2.1.2.3 Hanban pre-departure training programme

The previous discussion on the general teacher education in China is helpful for us to form an overall impression of the training Hanban teachers received prior to their involvement with Hanban programme. Now I am going to examine Hanban pre-departure training, which is more targeted at preparing its trainees for the work as Hanban teachers.

Although organised by Hanban, some prestigious universities in different parts of China are mandated to deliver the pre-departure training programme. Attempts have been made to professionalise the pre-departure training by establishing knowledge and skills base and linking this to the quality of the teaching. For instance, *The Standards* were released in 2007 and revised in 2012 to ensure the quality and consistency of the training provided by various universities. *The Standards* (Hanban, 2007) prescribes five components of knowledge and skills, which Hanban teachers should master. I list them below:

- Linguistic knowledge and skills
- Culture and communication
- Theories of the second language acquisition and learning strategy
- Teaching methodology
- Overall quality

Kennedy (1991) reminds us it is important to examine the conceptual orientation of the teacher education programme when we try to discuss the quality of such provision. Thus, next I am going to examine the conceptual orientation of the pre-departure training by taking a close look at *The Standards*. Firstly, it assumes the roles of Hanban teachers in their host schools are teachers who are responsible for teaching the whole class. Therefore, its prescriptions are all targeted at preparing them for whole class teaching like teachers in China do. None of them explicitly prepares Hanban teachers for the possible roles as teaching assistants, which all my participants need to take for the whole or part of the time.

Also, *The Standards* promote a mechanistic model or transmission model of teacher education (Hoban, 2005; Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998). It reduces the process

of learning to teach as Hanban teachers, to the mastery of a separate components of knowledge and technical skills over a short period of time. It assumes that trainees can automatically integrate those components and develop a holistic understanding of the educational landscape (Hoban, 2005). It overlooks the prior knowledge and experience of trainees as well as the specific sociocultural context of various schools they are dispatched into (Day, 1999).

Having discussed the general conceptual frame of the pre-departure training, now I will discuss in a greater detail about the pre-departure training of the participants have received in this study. The source of data includes the interview transcripts and the organisational documents.

Although my participants are from both CI programmes and BC programmes and they are from different intakes, the training they receive before their deployment into the UK schools more or less follows the same structure. According to the scale of time and trainee numbers, I categorise their training into two sessions: the basic training and the top-up training.

The basic training is delivered solely by a China-based university. It lasts approximately one month, with a large number of Hanban teachers (i.e. 200) trained within one programme. It seems that this session strictly follows the transmission model as suggested by *The Standards*. It attempts to cover various components of knowledge and skills in different courses, ranging from subject matter (e.g. Chinese linguistics and Tai Chi) and pedagogy (e.g. how to correct pronunciation) to practical information regarding to living in a foreign country (e.g. self-defence). However, with various aspects to cover within a short term, the knowledge delivered in the training tends to be unsystematic and superficial. For instance, as is reflected in the interview data the curriculum of the Tai Chi course was distilled down into just the teaching and learning of a simplified routine. This limited preparation may bring challenges into Hanban teachers' actual school teaching, whereby they may feel an inadequacy in the breadth of their subject knowledge. More details will be discussed in Narrative 2 of the Chapter 5.

Moreover, with trainees being dispatched into various countries, it tends to provide general and non-context specific knowledge.

Primarily following the same model as the basic training, the top-up training, however, is more targeted at the context of UK schools. It is delivered by either CI or BC and it lasts for approximately one week with a small number of Hanban teachers (i.e. 20). Its curriculum pays attention to the sociocultural context of the UK schools, covering topics like the UK education system and the characteristics of UK students. It starts to notice the importance of helping trainees to develop a holistic understanding of the work in the UK educational landscape by inviting experienced Hanban teachers to share their lived experience.

It is interesting to note that, no matter in the basic training or the top-up training, there is a complete absence of practicum in schools, which is commonly believed to be an opportunity for the pre-service teachers to gain contextual-specific knowledge and to bridge the gap between the theory learnt during the teacher education programme and the teaching practice in school reality (Furlong, 2002; Lortie, 2002). It is not surprising that the target group of teachers have generally experienced a sense of 'not knowing how to act' at the initial stage of their work in British schools, as is reflected in my data. Elsewhere, Tinsley and Board (2014, p. 84) also identify the need of additional training and preparation for Hanban teachers.

2.1.3 Confucianism and Chinese way of a virtuous life

Hanban teachers are born and educated in Chinese society, and they as individuals are greatly influenced by the social ideologies within it. Thus, to understand Hanban teachers' identity experience in a new geographical and sociocultural context, it is important to understand the ideologies that they have lived in, which can be viewed as another significant pre-requisite they bring into their current experience.

Confucianism is commonly recognised as the most influential school of thought in China, which was selected and endorsed as the official ideology by almost every feudal dynasty ever since Western Han Dynasty (i.e. around 200 B.C.). Although it was severely opposed and attacked during the Cultural Revolution period, it soon regained its influence in the 'cultural craze' (文化热) and 'national studies craze' (国学热) since

1980s. In the era of globalisation and fast economic development, Confucianism is reinterpreted and utilised as social ideology to guide people's thinking and practice (Cheng & Xu, 2011).

The primary focus of Confucianism is on the relationship between the self and others and how to live 'this life' well (Jenkins, 2002). It attempts to shape individuals' fundamental beliefs and perceptions about themselves, their roles and their relationships with other members in the society, both in personal and professional arenas (Gao, 2003; A. E. Kim & Park, 2003). I sketch out the picture of a virtuous life in a Confucian view, which has prescriptions on individuals' personal and public lives, with emphasis on concepts like social harmony, diligence, self-sacrifice, filial piety (Xiao), which are of special relevance to participants' experience in this study. For instance, in Narrative 1, Mr Zhou's decision of returning to China is under the great influence by his perception of filial piety. More specifically, the perception of his familial responsibility of caring for ageing parents.

In Confucianism, the virtue of individuals is often discussed in the context of fulfilling their social responsibility to others, which is in stark contrast with the European values that stress more on individual human rights and freedom (Chung, Eichenseher, & Taniguchi, 2008). A Jun Zi, as the ideal human being in Confucian conception, is expected to embody both perfect inner moral values (e.g. humaneness, benevolence) and to act in accordance with their roles (e.g. husband, son and government official) in an orderly society (Hue, 2008). They have crucial parts to play in the realisation of the social harmony from within a family, a nation, to among different cultures and countries, as is reflected in *The Book of Great Learning*:

The ancients who wished to enlighten the world with great virtue would first rule well their own States. Wishing to rule well their States, they would first manage their families. Wishing to manage their families, they would first cultivate their personal characters. Wishing to cultivate their personal characters, they would first rectify their minds. Wishing to rectify their minds, they would first sincere their intention. Wishing to sincere their intention, they would first expand the body of their knowledge. The

acquisition of knowledge can be achieved through the investigation of things. (Translated by the author)

古之欲明明德于天下者，先治其国。欲治其国者，先齐其家。欲齐其家者，先修其身。欲修其身者，先正其心；欲正其心者，先诚其意。欲诚其意者，先致其知。致知，在格物。 See in Fu and Cai (2006, p. 7)

However, it is not an easy task to become and be a Jun Zi, it necessitates lifelong learning, dedication and practice. Thus, diligence is an important virtue for Jun Zi to stay participated in the acquisition of knowledge, character cultivation and actively fulfilling their social responsibility to their immediate social context.

Under Confucianism, the virtues one is expected to possess in one's personal and professional lives tend to be similar. This is due to the conception of ideal family relations being similar to the social relations 'in the political (ruler-ruled) and civic (patron-client) spheres of activity' (Barbalet, 2014, p. 189). Therefore, the virtues one develops within his or her family life are helpful for one to deal with issues in public sphere.

Thus, to understand the desired virtuous life in Confucian conceptualisation, it is crucial to understand its ideal of family relations. In its discussion about ideal family relations, Confucianism stresses each member's devotion to other members of the family (*Daxue and Zhongyong*, 2012). It highlights the subordination of individuals' interests and preferences to the collective needs and interests of a family. Moreover, there is a hierarchy among different members within one family (*Daxue and Zhongyong*, 2012, p. 447). For instance, in *the Mencius*, it advocates the love between father and son, the distinctive roles between husband and wife, as well as the precedence of the old over the young (Mencius & Lau, 2004, p. 60). The outcome of this process of subordination to family relations leads to one's self-realisation (Barbalet, 2014, p. 189). For instance, in *the Zhongyong*, another classic book of Confucianism, illustrates the picture that the virtue of filial piety brings one's social position, prosperity, reputation and longevity (*Daxue and Zhongyong*, 2012, p. 439).

Furthermore, each member carries responsibility of maintaining the continuance of the family. The life of the individual member bears the history and future of the whole family, who existed before and who are about to exist. Baker (1979, pp. 26-27) illustrates this vividly, under the Confucian ideal family, an individual 'exists by virtue of his ancestors, and his descendants exist only through him'. Thus, individuals' sense of being and sense of honour is closely linked with his or her family.

2.2 The British landscape

Having discussed different facets of influence that shape the prerequisites that the target group of teachers bring into their UK experience, now I proceed to outline the historical, social and cultural contexts of the educational landscape they transit into and work within. In particular, I will focus on tracing the changes of teacher professionalism, historical development and current situation of CPD events provision and Chinese teaching at the primary and secondary school level. These elements are identified as important contextual factors shaping the professional identities of Hanban teachers in the British landscape.

2.2.1 Trends in teacher professionalism

Teacher professionalism is commonly recognised as having important implications for teachers' professional lives and professional identities. Like many other socially constructed concepts, teacher professionalism does not share a single common definition. In this study, I borrow a working definition from Evans (2008), who treats it as:

Professionalism-influenced practice that is consistent with commonly-held consensual delineations of a specific profession and that both contributes to and reflects perceptions of the profession's purpose and status and the specific nature, range and levels of service provided by, and expertise prevalent within, the profession, as well as the general ethical code underpinning this practice. (Evans, 2008, p. 29)

I choose to use this definition because within this frame, Evans usefully distinguishes two sets of closely linked but subtly differentiated dimensions, which are important for

us to form a comprehensive understanding of teacher professionalism. Firstly, she distinguishes the individual dimension of *professionalism* from the collective dimension of *professionalism*; secondly, based on to what extent professionalism is realised, she distinguishes *demande/requested* professionalism, *prescribed* professionalism and *enacted* professionalism.

Before I continue to discuss the trends in teacher professionalism, it is important for me to spend some time discussing the phenomenon of globalisation, which provides a crucial backdrop to the topic. Burbules and Torres (1999) propose that globalisation has elicited some significant changes in the economic, political and cultural arenas. In the economic arena, for instance, there witnessed the rise of post-Fordist industries, which emphasises the knowledge economy, the service sector, tourism, and culture industries. In the political arena, the power of the nation-state is undermined by the internal (e.g. domestic demands) and external pressures (e.g. transnational capital). In the cultural arena, countries find themselves needing to reconcile their own local cultures with other external cultures.

Those changes at different levels require the response from different states on their national policies in general and educational policies in particular (S. J. Ball, 1998). In the Western industrialised countries, Whitty and Wisby (2006, p. 43) summarise that the trends in educational policies as 'devolution and competition, alongside increasing central prescription and performativity'. However, they also remind us there might exist different priorities in different countries during different time periods. In the context of the UK, there has been a shift from traditional to new conceptions of teacher professionalism during the last three decades (Hargreaves, 1994).

As Hoyle and John (1995) have suggested, traditional conceptions of professionalism emphasises three interrelated dimensions, namely, knowledge, autonomy and responsibility. In the context of teaching, teachers are believed to require a body of specialised knowledge which can be applied in the complex situations of teaching and learning. Unpredictable daily situations require teachers to make their own local / situated judgements. Thus, autonomy is considered important and having the autonomy to act, teachers should act with responsibility towards the interests of

students. A set of professional values are expected to be abided by teachers collectively.

However, the new conceptions of teacher professionalism challenge the traditional ones by replacing teachers' autonomy with accountability. Teachers are no longer free to make curriculum and pedagogical decisions without referring to external policy documents (Furlong, 2000b). Also, they are held accountable to accomplish the measurable targets and objectives set by the school principal, the regional authorities and the central government (Sachs, 2001).

Those changes are revealed by the introduction of a series of educational policies and initiatives by the central government. For example, the 1988 Education Reform Act introduced the National Curriculum to the maintained schools in England. The release of this policy document has been viewed by many as a means of central control over teaching content (*National Curriculum: Fourth Report of Session 2008–09*, 2009). The 1998 Green Paper, *Teachers: meeting the challenge of change*, extended this central influence into the other aspects of professional lives of teachers by prescribing the definition of a good teacher. Further, the national assessment system for students was introduced and has functioned as a significant means to monitor the performance of schools and teachers ever since 1988.

The new professionalism has received many critics from both educational researchers and practitioners. Hall and Schulz (2003) argue new professionalism demolishes the autonomy as well as creativity of teachers. Rose (1990, p. ix) takes this argument further and contends that it brings changes into educational practitioners 'subjective existence' and relations with one another. More specifically, S. J. Ball (2003, p. 215) asserts that such changes in educational policies require teachers to 'organise themselves in response to targets, indicators and evaluations' and 'to set aside personal beliefs and commitments and live an existence of calculation'. He cautions us that although some teachers might embrace the opportunity and succeed, many of them might face the 'inner conflicts, inauthenticity and resistance' in their soul.

Having discussed the paradigm shift from the traditional to the new conceptions of teacher professionalism, I will focus on illustrating three specific trends in teacher professionalism, which I identify as of special relevance to my study.

The first trend concerns workforce remodelling. The objective of this agenda is to raise the educational standards and reduce the excessive workload of teachers. For instance, the 2003 National Agreement on Raising Standards and Tackling Workload flags such agenda. These policies have reframed teacher professionalism by officially creating a range of quasi-teacher roles. British schools witnessed an increased number of support staff. Support staff are engaged in both pedagogically-related and pedagogical activities, including behaviour management, administrative tasks and facilitating students' learning. Thus, teachers have started to share some of the ownership of their professional mandate with support staff (Gray & Whitty, 2010). Some empirical investigations into the real practice in schools have raised some issues, such as the blurred boundaries of roles and responsibilities and, the power dynamics between teachers and support staff (Blatchford et al., 2012). In my study, as one type of support staff deployed in British schools, my target group of teachers face similar issues, which I will detail in Chapter 5.

The second trend is the increased involvement of business and other stakeholders in the school system, linked more to issues of funding, initiating and operating some school-based programmes at both local and national levels (Dickson, Halpin, Power, Whitty, & Gewirtz, 2003). An example of such a policy initiative is the 1998 English Education Action Zone. The key thinking promoted by the policy is an increasing partnership between different public sectors and between private, voluntary, public and community sectors. This trend makes legitimate the involvement of organisations such as CIs, CCs and the BC into the process of developing of Chinese language teaching and learning in the British school system.

The third trend concerns the children's agenda. This trend aims to better support every individual child to reach their fullest potential, as is revealed in The Every Child Matters Green Paper (DfES, 2003). Noteworthy is that students' views have been valued and students have started to be formally engaged in the process of decision making. To some of my participants, the emphasis of students' opinions in deciding issues like

whether they are to take Chinese classes and when to attend tutorials, challenged their existing sense of authority as teachers and caused some uncertainty in relation to professional identities. Likewise, I will detail this point in Chapter 5.

2.2.2 Chinese teaching in British schools: past and present

Although Chinese teaching might exist in different forms (i.e. a curriculum subject, an enrichment subject or even a club subject) in the school timetable, Hanban teachers primarily work in a Chinese classroom. Thus, to understand Hanban teachers' professional identities construction in British schools, it is important for us to gain a general picture of the historical and current situation of Chinese teaching in British schools.

Historically, Chinese language teaching was primarily provided in the weekend community schools for Chinese-heritage students and a limited number of other schools. However, there has been a rapid development of Chinese language teaching in British primary and secondary schools in the last decade. In Language Trends 2015/2016, Tinsley and Board (2016) identify that by 2015, Chinese teaching has been provided in 13% of state schools and 46% of independent schools, which appears as the strongest among the lesser-taught languages (e.g. Arabic and Italian). In terms of the number of students taking General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) exams, according to the report, the most widely taught MFL subject, French dropped to 150,900, decreasing by 48% compared with 2004. However, Chinese indicated an upward trajectory. It achieved 47% of growth, compared with 2008. Although the total number was still comparatively small, which was only 3,100.

It is interesting to note that this expansion of Chinese teaching involves efforts from various organisations from both the UK and China, such as the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust (SSAT), the BC, HSBC Global Education Trust and Hanban. In this section, I am going to trace the important policy changes and events, which facilitate and signify this development.

Language policy initiatives set an important backdrop for the development of Chinese teaching and learning in British schools. In 2002, Languages for All: Languages for Life, a language document was published by the Department for Education and Skills.

It set out crucial changes in MFL provision at the school level. In particular, it ended the statutory status of MFL language subjects in Key Stage 4 (i.e. for 15-16 year olds) and planned to entitle all the pupils in primary schools to learn MFL by 2010 (DfES, 2002). In 2014, compulsory language teaching was introduced at Key Stage 2 (i.e. for 7-11 year olds), which brought the particular opportunity for the development of Chinese teaching and learning at the primary school level (Tinsley & Board, 2014).

Also in 2002, HSBC and the BC started working together to organise an annual conference on educational cooperation with China and the Chinese speech competition, which became the influential events for Chinese language teachers and learners at the school level (Zhang & Li, 2010). In 2004, the first Schools Network National Conference on Chinese Teaching in Schools was held in Cambridge. This event was labelled the 'turning point' of Chinese teaching in schools by Carruthers (2012, p. 2). She argued that it was from this time that the interest of developing Chinese teaching in schools has been strikingly growing.

2006 witnessed the commencement of the high-level official co-operation between UK and China in seeking ways to expand Chinese teaching within the British education system, which can be seen from the signing of some key agreements, such as the Memorandum of Understanding between DfES and Hanban, and the agreement between SSAT and Hanban to establish a CI specialised in schools (Carruthers, 2012). In 2012, with the ending of contract with government, SSAT transferred into the Institute of Education (IOE), University of London and became the IOE Confucius Institute for Schools (H. Zhu & Li, 2014). Following in the footsteps of the former SSAT, it continues to play a crucial role in coordinating and facilitating the Chinese teaching in British schools.

With this rapid development in the last decade, however, Chinese teaching in the British schools still faces some complex issues and challenges, as I have briefly discussed in Chapter 1. Those issues concern pedagogy, curriculum preparedness and availability of qualified teachers.

Different from those common European languages, Chinese has its own distinct characteristics, such as it is a tonal language and is written in a 'logographic system in

which characters provide limited clues to pronunciation' (Anderson, 2014).

Researchers have been engaged in the discussion on the pedagogical issues needing to be addressed by teachers due to those distinctive features (Anderson, 2014; Everson & Xiao, 2011).

In addition to the pedagogical issues attached to the characteristics of Chinese as a language, some researchers question the readiness of welcoming Chinese into the curriculum as current MFLs in schools have already been 'squeezed' as well as the lack of motivation towards foreign language learning in British society at large (CILT, 2007; Pachler, Evans, & Lawes, 2007).

Lastly, the availability of qualified teachers was perceived as another prominent constraint for the sustainable development of Chinese teaching (CILT, 2007). Tinsley and Board (2014) highlight structural constraints in developing a local teaching force brought upon by reforms of the initial teacher training system in recent years, which have placed greater emphasis on individual school-centred training rather than university-led training. However, they assert that, the number of schools which can offer placements to pre-service teachers cannot satisfy the growing demand. Thus, although many native Chinese-speakers wish to train as CFL teachers, training providers are not able to offer more places in their programme.

On the other hand, although Hanban teachers are deployed into the British school systems as one approach to solve the issue of teacher supply, their educational provision is often criticised as inadequate to the needs of British students and schools (Filmer-Sankey et al., 2010; Tinsley & Board, 2014; L. Wang & Higgins, 2008).

2.2.3 CPD events for Hanban teachers

CPD events in the UK landscape are another contextual element influencing the professional identities of Hanban teachers. Although based in schools on a daily basis, Hanban teachers are under the management of either a host CI or the BC. Both organisations are responsible for the provision of CPD training to Hanban teachers. Some CPD events organised by CIs are open to various types of Chinese teachers in the UK landscape. Thus, Hanban teachers from the BC programme also have access

to such programmes. For instance, I met Mr Wang in Narrative 2 when he was attending a CI training.

Not many references have been made to the CPD events of Hanban teachers in the current literature. Thus, in the following account, I will illustrate a case of the CPD events provided by a CI and the BC, based on three sources of data: programme documents from the RGCI; field notes from observation by the researcher and interview transcripts. Due to the aim of this study, I do not intend to provide a comprehensive comparison between the two programmes. Rather, I try to offer a general picture of the CPD events.

Each academic year, there are two to three CPD events for Hanban teachers. During each event, teachers from different British schools are assembled into one physical setting which is outside their schools for a short period of time (from one up to three days). Different from the pre-departure training, the CPD events are targeted at the UK context. For instance, local experts and experienced teachers are invited to deliver a set of classroom techniques, such as doing games in the Chinese classroom and tips for classroom management. It is interesting to note that all the techniques are shared with the assumption that Hanban teachers play the role of the whole class teaching in Chinese classroom. Almost no attention is paid to their role of being TAs by the local experts. Thus, it is not surprising that those whose primary roles are TAs find the content of the training irrelevant, as is reflected in the interview data.

Another feature of those CPD events is that opportunities, either through formal training sessions or informal socialising, are provided for the Hanban teachers to tell and share the stories of their lived experience with their peer group. The content of these stories go beyond teaching in Chinese classrooms. It touches a range of broader issues, such as rapport building with the host schools and tips for overcoming English language barriers at work, as is reflected in the field notes. The sharing of the personal experiences of teaching and working provides Hanban teachers with a holistic frame to reflect on their actions, feelings and thoughts in the UK landscape, which is increasingly believed to be an important tool to facilitate teachers' professional development (Avalos, 2011; Breault, 2010). It creates a 'collaborative learning space',

where individual experiences can be shared in a public realm and possible directions of changes can be sought (Shank, 2006, p. 711).

However, the sharing of lived stories can be problematic and I argue that such collaborative practice, especially in the formal training session, can cause unnecessary stress and pressure on teachers. What I observed in such sessions was primarily the sharing of success stories with little critical reflection and interpretation (Breault, 2010). The success stories might elicit the pressure and self-doubt in teachers who have less successful experience as others constructed. Moreover, I doubt to what extent the experience of different teachers can help solve the challenges of each other, as they work in various school settings with their own sociocultural context.

In the CI programme, it is worth noting that CPD events are utilised not only for the professional development of teachers, but also to *'encourage a continuous dedication to work ahead'*, as is reflected in an interview with the management team of the RGCI. A series of team building activities are organised to realise this objective. For example, these included a talent show, a periodic summary of the work and group dining. For the periodic summary, Hanban teachers, individually and collectively are measured against to what extent they have realised the policy aim of international promotion of Chinese and culture through indicators like 'numbers of UK students, teachers and schools engaged in classes and events, hours of classes and events, and numbers of news articles accepted by Hanban website'. The performance data of each teacher is ranked against each other and presented in front of all. This brings much pressure and even a certain level of embarrassment for teachers who rank low (field notes, 2014-3 CPD programme).

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have provided an account on the cultural-historical contexts of Hanban teachers' professional identity (re)construction, by discussing the Chinese landscape and the UK landscape respectively.

I have teased out multiple elements, which might exert direct and indirect influence on Hanban teachers' thinking, feeling and action. I have constructed the landscape of the dispatching country, through highlighting the relationship between the Hanban system

and Hanban teachers, exploring the underpinning assumptions of Hanban teachers' past and present training, examining the Chinese way of a virtuous life under the social ideology of Confucianism. Also, I have constructed the landscape of their host country, through underscoring the changes in their framing of teacher professionalism, tracing the development of Chinese teaching at the school level and examining the current CPD events for Hanban teachers.

Thus, this chapter situates the inquiry of a specific group of participants in a particular time and location against a broader background.

Chapter 3 Literature review

Introduction

Silverman (2013) contends that it is problematic to complete a literature review at an early stage and suggests such a review should be completed alongside the process of data collection and data analysis. Thus, this study follows an iterative literature review strategy, with the data and the literature review presenting a dialectic relationship informing the development of each other. As such, I continued the literature review throughout the whole research journey, from prior to departing for the collection of the pilot study data, to the point of writing up the main study. More detail will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In considering whether a researcher should draw on single or multiple theoretical perspectives, Feyerabend (1993, p. 24) contends that, 'proliferation of theories is beneficial for science'. Following Feyerabend, in the field of education, Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, and Johnson (2005) provide a critical analysis of how different theoretical frameworks are used in current literature to investigate language teacher identity. They focus their discussion on three frameworks, which are located within three distinctive theoretical traditions: psychological, sociocultural and postmodernist perspectives, however they argue that different approaches can be compatible with each other. An openness to various theoretical approaches will enable researchers to gain a deeper and more useful understanding of the complex questions regarding identity and the professional identity of teachers.

Elsewhere, Kincheloe and Berry (2004) assert a similar view that the dynamics of the lived experience and the complex interrelationship of phenomena can be better examined from an analytical lens, which integrates diverse theoretical perspectives. This approach, suggested by Kincheloe and Berry (2004), acknowledges the possible conflicts among theories located within different research traditions, which often adopt rather different ontology and epistemology. However, those conflicts are viewed by them as an opportunity of generating new understanding, through 'the collision of the diverse perspectives' (2004, p. 39).

Following this approach, the main task of this chapter is to tease out relevant dimensions of professional identity from multiple theoretical traditions and integrate them into an analytic lens that informs the interpretation and analysis of the data generated in this study. Below I will make explicit the two principles that underpin this procedure.

Firstly, the choice of which theories and concepts to include in the framework was a considered decision. Guided initially, towards influential and applicable theories by other actual studies in the field of education, and specifically chosen through data generated in this study.

Secondly, I do not intend to 'find out' the ultimate truth about identity and professional identity, through comparing and contrasting different theoretical traditions. Rather, I view those theoretical traditions as providing dimensions that capture different theoretical aspects of identity and professional identity, and those dimensions are helpful to interpret the complexity of my target group of teachers' experiences.

In the following section I will first discuss the relevant theories and concepts derived from three theoretical perspectives, namely, psychological, sociocultural and poststructural perspectives. Then I will scrutinise how identity and professional identity are examined and developed, with nuances in the contexts of school teacher studies and second language learner studies. In the end, I will show how those different theories, concepts and their applications help me to draw out a workable set of understanding of professional identity. This analytical lens of professional identity with eight dimensions are detailed in 3.4.

3.1 Three theoretical perspectives on identity

Identity, as an analytical lens, has increasingly been applied to the investigations of experiences of both teachers and students in the field of education. Three theoretical traditions, namely, psychological, sociocultural and poststructural perspectives, have been largely drawn upon by educational researchers (Davey, 2013). Different traditions seem to have varied theoretical understanding of identity and preferred methodologies to study it. My goal here is not to compare and contrast these traditions. Rather, I aim

to tease out the dimensions which are influential and most relevant to my study, and integrate them into a comprehensive frame.

I understand each perspective has its unique contribution in describing and explaining certain aspects of people's complex lives. For instance, the psychological perspective has strength in establishing links between the inner forces (i.e. mental models and emotions) and one's life events. The sociocultural perspective is helpful to understand the participatory aspects of identity and uncover identity process within a more complex theorised immediate and cultural-historical contexts. The poststructuralist perspective has its unique strength in bringing into light the control and power in identity process.

Next, I will present and discuss the selected theories and concepts from the three perspectives respectively.

3.1.1 The psychological perspective

The psychological perspective draws my attention by its strength in discussing the cognitive and emotive aspects of identity and establishing the links between these inner forces with one's life events. Within this perspective, I include four strands of research: developmental psychological research on 'personal identity' (Erikson, 1950), 'narrative identity' (McAdams, 1985), social psychology research on 'social identity' (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and 'emotive identity' in the cognitive and appraisal theories (Oatley, 2000). These different strands of theories and concepts are influential in the school of thought and collectively cover different facets of identity with an overarching frame, which can be utilised to explore the relationship between these internal elements and my target group of teachers' thinking, feeling and actions.

Working in the psychoanalytic tradition, Erikson's works on identity have offered some foundational perspectives on this matter. In his influential book, *Childhood and Society*, Erikson (1950) proposes a theory of psychosocial development with a series of eight stages throughout a lifespan from infancy to late adulthood. Within each stage, individuals might need to deal with one predictable psychological crisis. At the infancy stage, for example, the primary crisis is whether he or she develops the sense of trust. Erikson's concept of crisis receives some further elaboration by his followers. For

instance, Marcia (2002) suggests that the stages might be as significant as the contents of these stages in eliciting identity crises. Also, he proposes that identity crises do not refer to people's struggle of role inconstancy, but to their struggles between their existing identity and the incompatible alternatives.

Within this theory, Erikson proposes a multifaceted model of identity, which contains different components like ego - 'an inner institution evolved to safeguard that order within individuals on which all outer order depends' (Erikson, 1950, p. 175), self-perceptions and the endeavour to maintain the inner continuity. In terms of whether identity is constructed or discovered (Vignoles, Schwartz, & Luyckx, 2011), Erikson asserts that identity is not innate, it is firstly formed at late adolescence. Later, Marcia (2002, p. 14) further explains that as there is no formed childhood identity to deconstruct, the initial identity formation needs to be understood as a process of construction, which contains much 'decision making and eventual synthesis of chosen parts.' This initial identity becomes the foundational structure that individuals need to reconstruct at later stages. Thus, identity is not something stable but changeable. However, identity in Erikson's conception is relatively stable and its changes take long processes (Vignoles et al., 2011).

I agree with Day, Kington, Stobart, and Sammons (2006), that Erikson's theory offers insights into the inner forces which can be powerful in influencing people's feelings and actions. Also, I understand them as establishing explicit connections between one's current identity and their prior events and imagined future. However, as Côté and Levine (1988) suggested, his writing style might be too artistic and thus lacking theoretical precision. This criticism, however, is by no means undermining the contribution of Erikson. His work stimulates a significant literature in both theoretical and empirical discussions (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Wang, & Olthuis, 2009).

Building upon Erikson's (1950) theory of psychosocial development, McAdams (1985) proposes the concept of narrative identity, which views identity as, and only as, a person's internal story that organises his or her life. Similar to Erikson's understanding of identity formation, this narrative identity is constructed around late adolescence and young adulthood. However, with more studies done into this concept in the subsequent years, McAdams (2011) asserts that identity should be understood as a broad frame,

which encompasses more than a story. Narrative identity merely constitutes one aspect of many different psychological senses within the frame. Also, he questions his original tendency of viewing life stories as finished products and proposes they need to be viewed as a continuous changing process. Later in 2013, McAdams and McLean (2013, p. 233) refine the definition of narrative identity as a, 'person's internalised and evolving life story, integrating the reconstructed past and imagined future to provide life with some degree of unity and purpose'.

With Erikson and McAdams' main focus on individual or personal identity, the 'aspects of self definition at the level of the individual person'(Vignoles et al., 2011, p. 3), it would be beneficial to include some discussions on collective or social identity, which is powerful to explain the aspects of identity in relation to intergroup interactions.

Like Erikson's leading role in the field of personal identity research, Tajfel is the key figure in the field of social identity research. With mainstream social psychology primarily adopting the individualistic approaches, social identity theory develops as a significant supplementary theory used to discuss intergroup situations (Spears, 2011).

In their influential work, Tajfel and Turner (1986) illustrate some of the foundational concepts of the social identity theory. They define social identity as, 'those aspects of social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging'(1986, p. 16). Within this conception, social identity is the outcome of a process of an individual's social categorisation (i.e. to categorise in-group and out-group) and identification with the groups he or she belongs to (Spears, 2011). It emphasises individuals' perceptions of their group membership rather than perceptions of other people. One may derive positive value from social identity as well as negative value of it, depending on the social comparison between his or her in-groups and the relevant out-groups. When social identity is negative, individuals might attempt to leave their current group or strive to make some positive changes of it.

This definition of social identity, thus, attends to both cognitive and evaluative dimensions. That is, it refers to both an individual's knowledge of their membership in specific social groups, as well as their perceptions of the value and emotional significance of the membership (Spears, 2011).

Moreover, social identity is not fixed but dynamic. Different group membership might become salient in one's self-perception, when he or she interacts with different people in various situations.

For instance, when an individual perceives his or her language as a distinctive difference with members of another group, language identity becomes a salient social identity. When an individual perceives his or her nationality as a distinctive difference, national identity becomes a salient social identity. Also, social identity is not necessarily singular but can be multiple. For example, when a Hanban teacher interacts with a student in Chinese classroom, he or she may identify he or she as a teacher/teaching assistant, a Chinese national and a non-native English speaker.

Tajfel and his colleagues' development of social identity theory offers a valuable tool to study individual's self-perception beyond the personal level, and its consequent influence on intergroup interactions. However, its reliance on dichotomous and static categories is criticised for underplaying individual variation (Varghese et al., 2005).

The three theories and concepts discussed so far do not pay specific attention to the dimension of emotions, which have great influence, either directly or indirectly, on 'somatic health, subjective well-being and social functioning (Lazarus, 1991, p. 422). I find Oatley's (2000) definition of emotions within the cognitive and appraisal theories providing some insightful understanding. Oatley defines emotions as the result of the interplay between individual's personal objectives and well-being, and their interpretation and appraisal of those related events around them. Thus, emotion is closely linked with cognition, perception and context.

In terms of the process how emotions are elicited, following Lazarus (1991), Van Veen and Slegers (2006) summarise three dimensions which are vital to the process:

- Relational implies that emotions always concern person-environment relations, which can either harm (for the negative emotions), or benefit (for the positive emotions) the individual in question. Person-environment relations can change with the circumstances and over time, and, thus, give rise to different emotions.

- Motivational implies that emotions and moods are reactions to the status of one's goals during everyday encounters and life in general. The concept of motivation helps clarify what makes a particular encounter relevant, a source of harm, a source of benefit, and, thus, emotional.
- Cognitive implies that emotions involve some basic knowledge and an appraisal of what is happening during a particular encounter. Basic knowledge consists of situational and generalised beliefs about how things work, and it is apt to be rather cold than emotional. Appraisal involves an evaluation of the personal significance of what is happening during an encounter with the environment. In the case of a mature individual, the appraisal of a situation tends to be heavily influenced by social-cultural variables and personal development (Van Veen & Slegers, 2006, pp. 88-89).

The three dimensions proposed by Veen and Slegers above provide a comprehensive frame for the explanation of how emotions are elicited. It connects the individuals and their immediate contexts, it links the situational encounter with the long term objectives, and it bridges emotion with cognition.

However, like other theories and concepts within the psychological perspective, this frame tends to treat concepts such as environment, motivation and the appraisal of a situation, over-simplistically.

Each one of the concepts are worthy of more in-depth analysis and examination. For the concept of environment, can it be completely separated from the individuals? Is environment a static whole or is it constituted of multiple dynamic elements? For the concept of motivation, is it completely up to the individuals to decide their objectives and life purpose, or is it also shaped by the society at large? If so, how? Finally for the appraisal of a situation, are there any power relations at work that influence how individuals evaluate their everyday situations? I understand it is the research focus of this school of thought that put limitations on our exploration of those questions. It may be beneficial if we turn to the sociocultural perspective and the poststructural perspective to seek answers for these questions.

Before I go into detail about these two theoretical perspectives, I will complete this section by summarising how psychological theories on identity contribute to my understanding of identity and professional identity. Identity is within individuals' mind. It contains multiple facets, such as personal identity, narrative identity, social identity and emotive identity. Identity is not something that one is born with, rather, it is constructed through the course of one's life. Neither is it a site of tranquillity and stillness. Rather, it develops over significant stages of one's lifespan. Different facets of identity might change at different speed. For instance, personal identity in Erikson's conception is comparatively stable once formed while emotive identity shifts more often.

3.1.2 The sociocultural perspective

While the psychological perspective places its focus on analysis of the internal elements in forming and shaping one's identity, the sociocultural perspective complements it with an emphasis on the external elements and their relationship with the individuals' lives. It views identity as something more than the mental models within individuals' mind, it also includes aspects that are external to the individual, such as their social practices and social relations within the complex local and global contexts. It highlights both the role of immediate contexts and the society at large in shaping the identities of individuals. Simultaneously, it attends to the interplay of agency and structure, as well as the power distribution among actors in shaping their practices and interaction.

Lave and Wenger are influential sociocultural theorists whose work has been often cited (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Although their theories are not specifically about identity, they offer a nuanced account of the process how professional identity is negotiated and constructed in a new sociocultural context. Thus, I find their perspective can be of special strength in investigating the dynamic professional identity construction process of my target group of teachers, whose UK school experiences entail much professional learning and changes as persons.

Before I go into detail about their conception of identity, I start discussing two key concepts in their theories, namely, learning and communities of practice. These two concepts set the anchor for their discussion of identity.

Rather than viewing learning as mental process happening within individuals, Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 49) approach learning as 'increased participation in communities of practice concerning the whole person acting in the world'. 'Participation' refers to an individual's engagement in social practice. 'Increased' highlights the participation is not static, rather, it is continuously evolving. 'Communities of practice' denotes that learning happens neither within an individual, nor merely between the teacher-student relations, rather, it happens between the individual and fellow participants in a complex sociocultural community. 'The whole person' stresses the involvement of identity in the process of learning. Learning does not merely concern the engagement in new activities, the performance of new functions, or mastery of new understandings, it also contains the changes of the individual's relation to social communities. Thus, social relations are highlighted in their analysis of learning and identity. Actual cases from ethnographic studies of apprenticeship, such as apprenticeship among tailors have been utilised by Lave and Wenger to illustrate their conception of learning, with emphasis on the process how newcomers grow into skilled old timers in a rather well-established community of practice.

At a later stage, Wenger develops a clearer definition of communities of practice and its main characteristics have been elaborated. He defines community as 'the social configurations in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognisable as competence' (1998, p. 5). He proposes three defining characteristics of a community of practice as, the mutual engagement of participants, the negotiation of a joint enterprise and the development of a shared repertoire.

More explicitly, he provides a detailed analysis how individuals' identities are formed and shaped within the communities of practice. For Wenger, individuals are subject to experiencing intensified identity construction and reconstruction not only when they are enrolled in formal education programmes, but also at times when the situations are no longer familiar and comfortable; when individuals do not know how to respond against challenges; when individuals are about to embark on new practices and when they join new communities.

By identity, Wenger refers to 'not only what we do, but also who we are and how we interpret what we do' (1998, p. 4). It is deeply connected with social practice. In his

words, 'identity and practice as mirror images of each other' (1998, p. 149). In its essence, Wenger stresses that it 'is not discursive or reflective' (1998, p. 151), and he proposes five attributes of identity:

- Identity as negotiated experience. We define who we are by the ways we experience our selves through participation as well as by the ways we and other reify our selves.
- Identity as community membership. We define who we are by the familiar and the unfamiliar.
- Identity as learning trajectory. We define who we are by where we have been and where we are going.
- Identity as nexus of multi-membership. We define who we are by the ways we reconcile our various forms of membership into one identity.
- Identity as a relation between the local and global. We define who we are by negotiating local ways of belong to broader constellations of manifesting broader styles and discourses. (Wenger, 1998, p. 149)

Lave and Wenger offer us a comprehensive picture of individuals' learning and identity development within a complex system of communities of practice. Their theories can be applied to study different aspects of one's identity, such as professional identity (Kanno & Stuart, 2011) and second language identity (Kinging, 2013; B. Norton, 2000), with special strength in analysing the changes in one's identity.

However, their theoretical perspectives still do not entail a systematic discussion on some crucial issues in identity construction, such as power relations, power dynamics and the role of agency and structure. As Cox (2005) suggests, they tend to assume communities of practice as the neutral contexts for newcomers to learn and develop, thus overlooking the power dynamics between the newcomers and old timers, which are vital to the construction of the former's professional identity. Also, they overlook the possible strategical situation which attempts to control and direct individuals' practice into certain ways. Moreover, I agree with Coldron and Smith (1999) that their theories demonstrate the tendency of being over-deterministic and underplaying human agency in identity construction.

Therefore, it will be beneficial to include some other leading proponents' work, such as Giddens' notion of duality of structure and power, as well as Foucault's construct of power relations into the discussion. As Foucault's construct of power relations is mainly located within the poststructural perspective of discourse, subjectivity and power, I will discuss it in the next section rather than here. For the remainder of this section, I will focus my discussions on Giddens' frame of duality of structure and power.

To what extent individuals can act as the way they wish to, and to what extent their actions are determined by the external structures is a classic topic of debate among sociologists. Here I choose to include Giddens' analysis on this matter because his notion of duality of structure demonstrates an attempt to integrate the more agency-centred analysis (Beck, 1992) and the more structural-determined analysis (Bourdieu, 1977).

His view can be helpful to understand the interplay of the internal agency and external structure in influencing individuals' professional identity construction within communities of practice, as for Giddens, agency and structure cannot be completely separated. He proposes the dialectical relationship between them. By agency, he refers to, 'not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things' (1986, p. 9). By structure, he refers to, 'recursively organised sets of rules and resources, out of time and space, saved in its instantiations and co-ordination as memory traces, and is marked by an 'absence of the subject' (1986, p. 25). As to the relationship between both, he proposes that it can be illustrated through duality of structure:

The constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. According to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organise. Structure is not 'external' to individuals: as memory traces, and as instantiated in social practices, it is in a certain sense more 'internal' than exterior to their activities in a Durkheimian sense. Structure is not to be equated with constraint but is always both constraining and enabling. (Giddens, 1986, p. 25)

Ever since its publication, Giddens' formulation of the duality of structure has become an influential and dominant perspective on this matter. However, as Jones (2011, p. 7) observes, this notion still receives some criticism on its 'treatment of agency is inappropriately voluntarist'. In particular, critics like Archer (1989) question Giddens' treatment of structure as neglecting the big structures (i.e. macro-forces), which act primarily as limiting the choice of individuals rather than both constraining and enabling.

Further, this understanding of the relationship between agency and structure forms the basis for Giddens' understanding of power. According to Giddens, when individuals interact with each other, they need to act within certain social rules and to draw upon certain resources. However, the social rules are not neutral and resources are not equally distributed. It is not surprising that there exists differences in power among different people. Thus, Giddens' notion of power is relational and hierarchical. As Wenger summarises Giddens' conception of power concerns 'the capability of an individual or group to exert its will over others' (1998, p. 211).

It makes explicit the uneven power distribution between different people and groups and its effect in shaping the practice of different parties involved. It offers a lens to analyse the dynamic power distributions between newcomers and old timers and how they influence the former's identity construction process. I acknowledge that Giddens' view on power stands as only one important explanation of power. With his own research focus, Giddens does not go further about the aspect of power as a strategic situation, which is well-developed in Foucault's work, and which receive a detailed discussion in the next section.

Before I move to the next section, again, I summarise the key points that I draw from the sociocultural perspective on identity. Within this school of thought, identity is more than cognitive models and emotions as suggested by the psychological perspective, it also contains one's social practices and social relations. Entering and participating in the social practices of new contexts (e.g. a host school and a host country), newcomers are subjected to an intensified period of learning and identity construction. This learning and identity construction is not a linear process, in which the newcomers are acculturated into the existing system of practices. Rather, they are engaged in a

complex identity negotiation process. Also, they need to reconcile requirements from multiple communities of practice, which they simultaneously belong to. Moreover, their identity construction process entails the interplay between agency and structure. The unequal power distribution (e.g. old timers tend to have more power than the newcomers) has influence on their construction of identities.

3.1.3 The poststructural perspective

Whilst the previous two perspectives attempt to establish the links between the internal / external elements and the development of one's identity, they do not allow for an in-depth analysis of a sense of control or subjectification in the process of identity construction. As this is a concept central to the poststructural perspective on identity, this third perspective should be included as complementary to the two theoretical traditions discussed previously.

Foucault is one of the most influential figures among poststructural theorists (Alcoff, 1988; Butler, 1997, 1999). His work mainly covers how power relations and its effects produce human beings into subjects. My choice of including Foucault's theories into discussion here is guided by some actual studies of the influential educational sociologist Stephen Ball and his colleagues (S. J. Ball, 2003; S. J. Ball & Olmedo, 2013), which successfully applied Foucault's concepts in the context of education, and generated some novel insights into teachers' professional lives. Those studies demonstrate that Foucault's theories are of special potential in illuminating the process of how teachers are produced into and reproduce certain professional identities in the web of power relations, and in explaining certain inner struggles or feelings of empowerment that they experience on a daily basis.

Foucault's theories are not specifically about identity, however, my understandings of identity and identity construction are significantly expanded by drawing on his discussion of subject, power, three techniques of control, Bentham's Panopticon and resistance. Those concepts are articulated through a series of books and papers spanning several decades (Foucault, 1972, 1980, 1982). I choose to include those concepts is because they are often cited and relevant to my study.

Next, I will first revisit those concepts proposed by Foucault respectively. Then, I will discuss how those concepts inform / expand my understanding of identity and identity construction.

I agree with S. J. Ball and Olmedo (2013) that Foucault's term *subject* mainly contains two meanings: one suggests the state of subjection of individuals; the other suggests one's consciously construction of a certain identity. Moreover, for Foucault, the subject is not a substance but a form, which is not fixed or pre-existed but in the endless processes of construction (S. J. Ball & Olmedo, 2013).

Closely linked to Foucault's concept of subject, is his construct of power. Foucault's way of conceptualising power is different from the traditional focus of power studies which put its attention on 'political institutions or economic systems' (Wenger, 1998, p. 189), or different power distributions between individuals or groups (Giddens, 1986). In Foucault's view, power 'is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society' (1984, p. 93). As to the operation of power, Foucault explains that 'it is not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalisation, not by punishment but by control, methods that are employed on all levels and in forms that go beyond the state and its apparatus'(1984, p. 89).

Moreover, Foucault does not agree on the negative description about the function of power. Rather, he views power as a force of production, he says, 'in fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production' (1977, p. 194).

Regarding how power and control is exercised, in *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) proposes three primary techniques, namely, hierarchical observation, normalising judgment, and the examination.

In the discussion of his well-known conception 'the gaze', Foucault gives the example of an ideal camp, within which 'all power would be exercised solely through exact observation; each gaze would form a part of the overall functioning of power' (1977, p. 171). That is, disciplinary power can be achieved through merely observing the

behaviours of people. As it is impossible to realise the perfect mechanism of observation in reality, which allows one gazing point to capture everything of all time, Foucault contends 'relays' of observers are needed to increase the effect of the 'disciplinary gaze' (1977, p. 174).

According to Foucault, normalisation is another crucial instrument of power. It 'imposes homogeneity' and has been applied in many aspects of our society (1977, p. 184). For example, in the field of Education, the founding of a standardised schooling and teacher education programmes are measures of establishing norms. The norms help to establish the dichotomies of good and bad, normal and deviant. The norm functions 'as a useful imperative and as a result of measurement' (1977, p. 184). Individuals are measured against the norm and are measured 'in quantitative terms' and categorised by their 'abilities, level and nature' (1977, p. 183).

Finally, the examination is a technique of control that combines the previous two techniques. Foucault well articulated the nature of examination, 'it is a normalising gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them' (1977, p. 184). This technique can be found in situations, such as the examination of patients in hospitals and the examination of students at schools.

If those three techniques discussed so far are more about the exercise of power and control external to individuals, Foucault's account on Bentham's Panopticon is more about the exercise of power internal to individuals. In other words, it is about how power relations produce individuals into subjects who govern and control themselves. As Foucault suggests that the effect of the Panopticon is 'to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power' and the inmates themselves become the 'bearers' of the disciplinary power (1977, p. 201).

Later, he makes it more explicit about the relationship between the individuals and the power relations. When human agents are located in relations of production, immanently, they are placed in those complex power relations. However, 'the exercise of power is not simply between partners, individual or collective; it is a way in which

certain actions modify others' (1982). He further explains how the power works, he says it 'does not act directly and immediately on others', rather, it 'consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome' (1982). Through this process individuals are constantly tried to make into subjects.

Last but not least, another important concept that is central to Foucault's analysis of power is resistance, as he puts it, 'where there is power, there is resistance' (1984, p. 95). Foucault's definition of resistance, however, is different from the normal way of conceptualising it, which refers to resistance as 'a collective exercise of public political activity'. Rather, Foucault approaches resistance from the perspective of 'the cares of the self' (S. J. Ball & Olmedo, 2013). He views the individual's resistance as always concerning the question of 'who we are'. In resistance, individuals demonstrate 'a refusal of these abstractions, of economic and ideological state violence, which ignore who we are individually, and also a refusal of a scientific or administrative inquisition which determines who one is' (1982). According to Foucault, such resistance also includes forms which may not yet be developed into the explicit confrontation. It is occurring but sometimes may not be fully aware of by the individuals (S. J. Ball & Olmedo, 2013).

What I draw from Foucault's theories to my understanding of identity and identity construction can be summarised into the following points. Identity does not pre-exist or is fixed, rather, it is constantly constructed. Identity construction is not something neutral, rather, it is a process containing a sense of control. This sense of control is tacitly (re)produced through the web of power relations. More specifically, the control and power are exercised by both external techniques, such as hierarchical observation, normalising judgment, and the examination, and individuals' self-governing. The aim of the exercise of power is trying to direct individuals' thinking and actions into particular ways, through establishing and reinforcing an understanding of what is good and what is desired. However, there is space for individuals to demonstrate their resistance towards power, and to think and act differently.

3.2 Professional identity in school teacher studies

Having discussed how identity is conceptualised in three theoretical traditions, now I examine how it is applied and developed with nuances in the educational field, focusing on two broad contexts, school teacher studies and second language student studies, which I find of special relevance to my study.

In the context of school teacher studies, identity and professional identity are commonly recognised as fundamental components to their education provision, learning to teach and professional development (Alsup, 2006; Varghese et al., 2005). They have been widely applied in the investigations into school teachers, with different aspects discussed to serve various research objectives by multiple research methodology. There can be found a certain ambiguity about the similarity and differences among those concepts like identity, self, self-image, soul and subjectivity, and it appears that researchers to a certain extent, use those terms interchangeably (Davey, 2013; Gee, 2000).

In this section, I categorise the relevant literature into five themes and will offer a discussion of each vein of studies respectively. I list the five themes below:

- Professional identity and stories to live by
- Professional identity and pedagogical actions
- Professional identity and neoliberal control
- Professional identity and language identity
- Professional identity and personal lives

These five themes have emerged from an iterative analysis between the existing literature and the data from my study. I adopt this approach because I hope to include the literature which is broad and comprehensive while of most relevance to my study. However, the context I research into is comparatively new and complex. If I conduct a literature review without responding to the data, I may encounter the pitfall of establishing a framework which cannot reflect some of the most prominent features of my data.

For instance, language identity is not an often discussed dimension in current professional identity literature. So it was not included in the original theoretical frame. However, language and its related issues (e.g. self-confidence) emerge as a salient theme across data from almost all the participants. Therefore, I go back to the broader literature and include the relevant studies around the theme into the original frame.

3.2.1 Professional identity and stories to live by

From the methodological perspective, there is a collection of autobiographical or biographical narrative studies into teachers. He (He, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c), for example, in Canada, conducted a life-story inquiry into the identity development of three Chinese women teachers, focusing on their journey of living cross-cultural lives and how their identities and beliefs about teaching have been shaped within. To present her data, she constructs nuanced stories for each participant. These stories help to integrate the boundary between personal and professional lives of teachers and present a potent account of teachers' becoming and being.

Influence from developmental psychology perspective can be traced in this strand of literature. The theoretical understanding that underpins these studies shows strong influence from Erikson, with his holistic and process view of human life is emphasised (Connelly & Clandinin, 1995). However, educational researchers add some contextual nuances of teacher studies. For instance, Connelly, Clandinin and their colleagues, as leading proponents in this area, develop some useful insights into teacher identity and narrative inquiry. I include the well theorised definition of teacher identity below, as proposed by Clandinin and Huber:

Teacher identity is understood as a unique embodiment of each teacher's stories to live by, stories shaped by knowledge composed on landscapes past and present in which a teacher lives and works. Stories to live by are multiple, fluid, and shifting, continuously composed and recomposed in the moment-to-moment living alongside children, families, administrators, and others, both on and off the school landscapes. (Clandinin & Huber, 2010, p. 9)

This conception of teacher identity highlights the incorporation of both past and present lives, as well as both personal and professional lives into the understanding of

teachers' current teaching practices. It acknowledges the gap between teachers' personal practical knowledge and the extensive categories of knowledge base that can be learned in teacher education programmes (S. Lee, 1987). Alternatively, it provides a powerful explanation to teaching and teachers through revealing the interconnectedness amongst the professional, personal, social, cultural and institutional elements and the interaction of those elements over time.

For me, another major point to draw from these studies lies in the methodological design of my study. It provides me with actual examples how professional identity of teachers over time can be investigated, analysed and represented. I will discuss more in detail in Chapter 4.

3.2.2 Professional identity and pedagogical actions

I use pedagogical actions to refer to individual practitioners' ideas and practice to teach (L. S. Norton, 2009). In this sense, pedagogical actions are closely linked with one's professional identity, at both the collective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and individual level (Erikson, 1950; Wenger, 1998). This strand of literature reminds me to examine the aspects of Hanban teachers' professional identity in relation to their roles and responsibilities within school communities. Also, it guides me to explore the relationship between Hanban teachers' pedagogical actions and their sense of professional identity as well as their professional confidence.

3.2.2.1 The ambiguous teacher/TA boundary

At the collective level, pedagogical actions are utilised as an important variable to categorise practitioners at school into two different subgroups, namely teachers and TAs (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). More specifically, those two roles are differentiated largely based on whether they are allowed to be engaged in pedagogical activities and to what extent they are expected to participate in such activities.

With the large increase in support staff at schools in the past decades internationally, there is an increasing number of studies into the professional identity of TAs. In the UK, for example, Blatchford et al. (2012, p. 20) conducted a comprehensive and large-scale research into TAs in UK schools, investigating into questions like 'who teaching

assistants are, what they do and what impact they have on teachers and pupils'. Blatchford and his colleagues identify that compared with teachers, TAs adopt a comparatively low and marginalised status at schools, and those two professional groups are usually under different types of contract and salary scales. However, within the classroom, there appears to be ambiguity in the boundary between TAs and teachers, as their actual roles and functions within the classroom lack a clear differentiation. They view this as the major problem that hinders the successful deployment of TAs. Therefore, they argue for the establishment of the professional identity of TAs, with recognition of their unique roles, responsibilities and values in the school communities.

Also in the UK, Wilson and Bedford (2008) report similar uncertainty over the roles and responsibilities of TAs. Moreover, they stress the importance of further exploration on the dynamic relations between the teachers and TAs, especially in the occasions when teachers might regard TAs as a threat to their profession. Following these two studies, Trent (2014) provides a more nuanced account on the professional identity of a smaller number of TAs in Hong Kong. He adds on the dimension of power relations into understanding the differences and similarities between teachers and TAs. Trent suggests that the professional identity positions of teachers and TAs are not equal or neutral roles. Rather it is often constructed as hierarchical with TAs subordinating to teachers.

3.2.2.2 Changing pedagogical actions

At the individual level, the changing pedagogical actions might influence one's self-perception (Erikson, 1950). Also, they can reveal the changes as a person within communities of practice (Wenger, 1998).

In the context of preservice/new teachers' studies, the changes of pedagogical actions influence their formation of sense as teachers and their confidence as teachers. For example, Flores and Day (2006) identify that the actual school experience provides new teachers with situational knowledge about their students and how they tend to react to their teaching. Thus, their participants change their pedagogical actions into a way that is more aware of the possible disciplinary problems. This deliberate decision

of adjustment seems to be helpful for them to start viewing themselves as teachers and to develop confidence in their ability to exercise control.

On the other hand, their changed identities can be revealed in their pedagogical actions. For instance, in the US, Kanno and Stuart (2011) follow two ESL student teachers for one academic year, in an attempt to understand more about the relationship between the school experience and the construction of teacher identities. They identify that the successful completion of the first circle of teaching helps the participants to develop a sense of confidence as teachers, and their sense of control can be observed in their pedagogical actions, such as a quicker lesson pace and the increased sense of decisiveness. In the context of foreign national teacher studies, Block (2005) identifies that his participants, a group of French national teachers, construct a 'third place pedagogical identity' in the UK educational landscape, which can be revealed through their ambivalence towards pedagogical actions, with special relevance to communicative language teaching approach and child-centred approach.

It is worth noticing that significant others, such as students, school teachers and leaders, play important roles in shaping not only the pedagogical actions, but also the professional confidence of novice teachers. For example, in Australia, Izadinia (2015) investigates the role of mentor teachers (i.e. in the school practicum) in preservice teachers' professional identity construction, sense of confidence as teachers in particular. Although not providing a specific definition of confidence, Izadinia's analysis suggests that confidence is related to a specific role or domain. It is changeable. It influences teachers' communication with others and their decisions of whether to initiate certain classroom practices. Echoing the findings from Patrick (2013), Izadinia asserts the freedom granted by mentor teachers to try out pedagogical actions is crucial for student teachers' professional learning and the formation of professional confidence.

3.2.3 Professional identity and neoliberal control

Many studies have investigated the influence of the global neoliberal trend on teachers and teaching, and hence their professional identities. Researchers in this strand of study bring in the poststructuralist view on discourse, power and identity into the school

teacher context and contribute some new insights into teachers' professional identity construction.

Before beginning the examination of specific studies in this area, it would be helpful to start our discussion by clarifying the definition of neoliberalism. Harvey (2007) in his book *Brief History of Neoliberalism* provides a useful definition of this term:

. . . in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade (Harvey, 2007, p. 2).

In the field of Education, scholars and researchers have developed a nuanced understanding of this notion and its impact on teaching and teachers.

Leading theorists S. J. Ball and Olmedo (2013), following Foucault's analysis of power relations and its production of subjectivity, view neoliberalism as capable of forming a new system of truth. It uses the new logic of competition to replace classic liberalism's logic of exchange (Foucault, 2010). Under neoliberalism, they summarise a broad series of shifts, such as changes to the state's functions, a shift from government to governance, a move from hierarchies to heterarchies, and an emergence of a new sense of being as an 'entrepreneur of himself' (Foucault, 2010, p. 226). Of special relevance to professional lives of teachers, S. J. Ball and Olmedo (2013, p. 88) maintain that neoliberalism demands that individuals become different kinds of teachers, who are made accountable for the performance of both themselves and others. They identify that teachers experience the 'uncertainties, discomforts and refusals' towards their daily practices, which reflect, they argue, struggle and resistance in teachers' subjectivity in response to neoliberal reforms.

Neoliberalism is closely linked with the concept of accountability. In his highly cited paper, Ranson (2003) argues that professional accountability has gradually been replaced by neo-liberal accountability since 1970s. The former emphasises that education professionals' judgement is trusted to ensure the quality of education. However, the latter stresses that external dimensions, such as a free market,

contractual agreements, inspections and corporate power have been gradually trusted and utilised to evaluate and regulate educational practice (Ranson, 2003). Within this new form of accountability, Ranson (2003) suggests that, a wide range of considerations now need to be accounted for, moving from the students' progress alone to, including the extent of parents' choices, costs/value for money efficiency, national standards and capital.

Another important relevant concept is performativity, S. J. Ball (2003) provides a well-articulated definition: it is 'a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change - based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic)'. He suggests that in the UK, performativity, as a new form of state control, requires teachers to adjust their ways of thinking and actions in response to 'targets, indicators and evaluations' (S. J. Ball, 2003, p. 215). This brings some teachers the chance of achieving success, at the same time, however, others are put under constant 'inner conflicts, inauthenticity and resistance'. His research on teachers' soul suggests that identity of teachers is best understood as teachers' subjective existence and their relations with others (Rose, 1990). It contains a set of comparatively stable and highly personal perceptions of roles and responsibilities, ethical values and purposes of actions as both teachers and individuals. Also, it has close links with teachers' emotions as well as their relations with colleagues and students.

In Australia, Sachs (2001) depicts a similar picture of how the educational restructuring shapes the professional identity of teachers. However, her understanding of professional identity departs from the personal and individual level and suggests that it also should be understood as a set of shared attributes and values, which distinguishes teachers as a professional group. Further, she engages teacher professionalism into the discussion of identity, making explicit the two differentiated and competing discourses in their attempt to 'set the limits of what can be said, thought and done' (2001, p. 151). Those two discourses are derived from two separate but related groups: democratic professionalism from members of teaching profession, while managerialist professionalism from employers and governing bodies.

This strand of literature draws my attention to the possible influence of the neoliberal control on professional identities of my target group of teachers, individually and collectively. Also, it informs me with some actual examples of how Foucault's construct of power relations can be applied in the studies of teachers.

3.2.4 Professional identity and language identity

In the field of school teacher studies, very few studies in the current literature have included language identity into the discussion of professional identity. I believe this is because most participants under study are teachers who teach in their home countries in their native languages. Thus, language and its related issues do not seem to be recognised as prominent in general teacher studies.

Due to the nature of the subject of teaching, the language identity of TESOL teachers has been frequently discussed. Language identity in these studies is often viewed from the social identity theory perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Following social identity theory's 'either-or' tone (Varghese et al., 2005, p. 25), language identity of this group of teachers is arbitrarily categorised into native English-speaking teacher (NEST) and non-native English-speaking teacher (NNEST).

In the US, Johnson (1992) conducted a longitudinal study into a Mexican student teacher's experience of learning to become a TESOL teacher. Here I choose to include this study because it explicitly explores how language identity influences the professional identity construction across time. Johnson identified that the participant's experience of learning to become an effective teacher faces double challenges, as she is both a student of teaching and a student of the language.

During the school practicum, the participant's group membership as a NNEST emerges to be a salient issue. As at the personal level, it is found to be the major obstacle to form the sense of confidence as a teacher. At the relational level, this student teacher's mentor teacher at the school finds the NNEST identity brings in extra challenges for her to facilitate the participant's professional learning.

What we can draw from Johnson's study is that language identity has great influence on student /new teachers' formation of the sense of confidence as teachers. However,

its reliance on the NEST and NNEST dichotomy does not allow for an analysis on the changes in one's language identity, or differentiating the individual differences within the NNEST group (Wenger, 1998). Also, it does not allow for theorisation of the aspects of identity that are related to one's use of language (Benson et al., 2013).

3.2.5 Professional identity and personal lives

Many studies have investigated the inextricable links between teachers' professional identity and their personal lives. As Nias (1989) term 'being whole' suggests that the boundary between teacher' personal and professional lives is blurred. It is difficult for an individual to stop being him or herself when they are being a teacher. Of special relevance to my study, I include three dimensions of influence from personal lives on professional identity.

3.2.5.1 Personal biography and future aspirations

Erikson and Wenger, although from different traditions, adopt a holistic view towards identity. Both of them remind us an individual's current construction of professional identity should be understood with its links with past and future. Following this view on identity and identity construction, this vein of studies reminds me how the personal histories and events, as well as the aspirations and goals could shape the way teachers experience their work and thus, their professional identity construction (Davey, 2013). Thus, Hanban teachers' professional identity construction should be examined in relation to their personal and professional histories, as well as their future aspirations and goals.

In the context of preservice/new teacher studies, the relationship between their personal biography and their decision of becoming teachers are explored. For example, in America, Alsup (2006) investigates the professional identity construction experiences of six student teachers. She identifies the impact of family members on student teachers' career choice. In particular, she offers an interesting account of how family members' discourse about teaching has positive influence on some of her participants' decision to become teachers. Elsewhere, in Portugal, Flores and Day (2006) conduct a longitudinal study into professional identities of new teacher. They

summarise the elements that influence their participants' decision of becoming teachers as the employment prospect, significant others and personal desire to teach.

Also, the connections between their personal and professional histories (i.e. prior school experience, teacher education) and the process they construct their professional identity in school practices have been explored. In Canada, Beauchamp and Thomas (2011) investigate the changes in professional identities of 35 participants between their graduation from university training programme to some point at their first teaching year. They suggest that under the influence of prior school experiences, methods and beliefs promoted in the teacher education programmes, participants construct tentative professional identities. However, these professional identities they embody into the school communities are challenged by the ideas of school teachers and the needs of students. They characterise the transition experience from teacher education to school reality as a time destabilising one's sense of professional identity and filled with tension.

Echoing Thomas and Beauchamp's finding, Flores and Day (2006) maintain that new teachers' initial stage at school are subjected to a period of 'deconstruction and (re)construction' of professional identities. They highlight the past experience of being students, both positively and negatively, influence new teachers' perceptions of themselves as teachers. In particular, the role of their former teachers and their teaching is emphasised. Regarding the influence from teacher education experience, they identify that it has comparatively weak impact on new teachers' construction of an effective professional identities. They further explain that this is because of the gap between the 'pedagogical theories' learned at university and the 'pedagogical decisions' needed to make in classroom. This classic and widely recognised gap between theory and practice caused much inner tensions and practical challenges (Hauge, 1999).

Also focusing on new teachers, Block (2005, p. 173), however, brings into discussion the theme of 'negotiated pedagogies and identities across borders'. More specifically, the participants in Block's study are not local but foreign nationals. Their personal histories with the educational culture in the homeland (i.e. France) seem to bring much confrontation and challenge in their professional identity in the host country (i.e. the

UK). Thus, they primarily adopt two strategies, resistance and compromise during the process. As a result, Block identifies that these French teachers negotiate their way towards a 'third place pedagogical identity' (2005, p. 192), which adopts pedagogical approaches neither fully British nor fully French and beyond both.

The link between individuals' future aspirations and their professional identity construction does not seem to be a prominent issue in studies of 'normal' pre-service or new teachers (Alsup, 2006; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011; Flores & Day, 2006). However, it is explored in studies of non-traditional teachers (e.g. foreign national teachers and teachers enter schools through alternative routes). For foreign national teachers, as suggested by Block's (2005) study, their decision as whether to stay in the language teaching profession in the UK for a long term is significantly influenced by their personal aspirations of living in a foreign country for a limited period of time or permanently.

Future aspirations are not completely decided by individuals, they are also under the influence of the external structure. As Gray and Whitty (2010) suggest, Teach First teachers, for instance, are recruited into a teaching programme in which recruiters expect them to go beyond the classroom and advance their career in various professions and industries after two years. This future aspiration imposed by the programme greatly influences teachers' current professional identity construction. More particularly, Teach First teachers are expected to construct a professional identity that is more generic and transferable, rather than a particular teacher identity.

3.2.5.2 The substantial identity

Following Erikson's perspective, personal identity is comparatively stable once it is constructed, although it might be subjected to some changes when arrive at the next life stage. D. Ball (1972) names this more stable, core and fundamental aspect of self-perception as substantial identity. It is differentiated from the situated identity, which refers to an individual's construction of identity as response to the immediate situations in a specific time. The concept of substantial identity is helpful for me to understand the relatively stable aspects of Hanban teachers' identity, and provide possible

explanations for some aspects of their practice as well as their resistance towards the externally imposed requirements and expectations.

Following Ball, Nias (1989) inquires into professional identity as teacher in the context of UK primary school. She further elaborates this distinction and stresses the substantial nature of the personal identities. In her words:

The 'substantial self', a set of self-defining beliefs, values and attitudes, develops alongside our situational selves and is highly resistant to change. Our most salient beliefs about 'the sort of person I am' are deeply internalized and are not easily altered. In consequence, the core of our self-image is well-defined and stable. (Nias, 1989, pp. 204-204)

Applying this concept into data analysis, Nias identifies that her participants tend to perceive themselves as similar kinds of people. More particularly, they perceive themselves as caring, aspiring for professional development and excellence, valuing individual autonomy and interested in both educational ideas and practice. Their substantial identities have great influence on the ways they construct their professional identities as teachers. Besides, they interact with the situational influences of their job, such as the institutional requirements. At the time where situations challenge their substantial identities, they develop strategies to maintain them from being altered.

3.2.5.3 Personal life as a pedagogical resource

Personal lives of teachers can be understood as a pedagogical resource, which can be used to achieve teaching objectives. This concept can be applied to analyse the unique teaching resource Hanban teachers bring into the Chinese classroom with their insider experience in China.

Within this vein of conception, R. I. Simon (1995) develops concept of 'image-text', which theorises the situations when a teacher performs his or her identity strategically against stereotypes held by a certain group of students. Following Simon, Morgan (2004) conducts an autobiographical study into his own teaching experience as an English teacher for a group of Chinese students in Canada. He contends that a language teacher is 'able to freely choose which aspects of his or her identity are of

pedagogical value or to know in advance how one's identity matches up with a particular group of students' (2004, p. 173). I understand his use of identity is not about one's perception of self. It is more about one's personal life in relation to his or her social identities, as is reflected in the anecdotes he provides. For instance, he provides an anecdote about how his personal admiration for a Chinese actress is chosen and utilised in classroom to challenge his students' group assumptions around culture, gender, and family roles. As a result, students' interest to explore the new possibilities on this matter is stimulated.

It can be drawn from his study that the personal lives of language teachers can be appropriated as a teaching resource to provide alternative ideas and possibilities against certain assumptions held by students. Different from other types of teaching resources, however, teachers' personal lives can only be appropriated contingently. Moreover, what part to appropriate is not randomly decided by teachers. Rather, it is negotiated by both teacher and students.

3.3 Identity in second language learner studies

The five threads of literature in the context of school teacher studies discussed in the previous section, provide us a comprehensive frame of how the professional identity of teachers is conceptualised in the current literature. However, this frame does not cover an understanding of aspects of professional lives that specifically relate to the cross-border working status of a group of teachers, who can be increasingly found in the staff rooms of local schools, under the era of globalization (Block, 2005; P. Wang, 2011; H. Zhu & Li, 2014).

I argue, that with their special strength in theorising individuals' complex motivations to study abroad, as well as the intricate links between language learning and identity, second language learner studies should be used to complement the current professional identity theoretical frame. In particular, I find Norton's (2000) notion of investment and Benson et al.'s (2013) notion of second language identity offered some well-developed thoughts around those areas. Both concepts, I propose, should be developed and applied in the context of teacher studies, as they have potential of generating some important understandings of teachers' cross-border professional lives.

Next, I will examine those two concepts and discuss what can be drawn from each of them to study teachers' professional identity.

B. Norton (2000) conducted a longitudinal study of five immigrant women in Canada, examining the relationship between their sense of identity and learning of a second language. Language learning in Norton's conceptualisation is not limited to the cognitive process within the classroom. Rather, it encompasses language learning as social practices in the host society. She proposes the notion of investment, which views the language learner as 'having a complex social history and multiple desires' (2000, p. 10). She identifies that when learners invest time and effort in learning a second language, their ultimate goal is not only to master the new language. They understand that during the process of second language learning, they will simultaneously gain the access to symbolic resources (i.e. language, education and friendship) and material resources (i.e. capital goods, real estate and money). In a long-term, they might change their language identities, which might in return allow them the access to the resources they do not have access to before. Thus, Norton argues that learners' investment in the learning of the target language is also an investment in their own identities.

What we can draw from Norton's development of this notion is that individuals need to be understood as social beings who have complex personal histories and future aspirations. Their decision to engage in a range of activities in a new geographical and socio-cultural context, needs to be understood against their long-term objectives of enlarging their access to the symbolic and material resources in the broader society. Different from Norton's participants who have migrated to the host country permanently, my target group of teachers only work in a new country temporarily. Thus, their consideration around this issue in both home and host society should be examined.

The second concept I include is Benson et al.'s (2013) notion of second language identity. In Hong Kong, with more focus on the aspects of identities that are influenced by second language learning, Benson and his colleagues investigated the development of second language identity of language learners within study abroad experiences. Those second language learners are from different level of educational programmes,

ranging from secondary school to postgraduate degree. Some students from a teacher education programme are also included. They propose a useful working definition of second language identity as it 'refers to any aspect of a person's identity that is related to their knowledge and use of a second language' (2013, p. 17). Within the frame of second language identity, they further propose a three interrelated dimensions, I summarise them below:

- Identity-related second language competence: this dimension emphasises the influence of language proficiency and sociopragmatic competence on the construction of identity.
- Linguistic self-concept: this dimension emphasises 'the self's view of the self' in terms of their second language competence and their position in the second language community. (Benson et al., 2013, p. 45)
- Second language-mediated personal competence: this dimension emphasises the non-linguistic outcomes accompanying the second language learning experience, such as personal independence, academic development, the growing understanding of the host culture and the development of intercultural sensitivity, etc. (Larzén-Östermark, 2011).

Compared with the commonly used approach in language teacher studies (Johnson, 1992), which categorise individuals' language identity into a dichotomous pair, namely NEST and NNEST, Benson and his colleagues' definition of second language identity, brings many nuances into the concept of language identity. Following the poststructuralist perspective, their framing of language identity allows for a more comprehensive analysis about the individual differences within the NNEST group, and for extending discussions from merely about language use to a fuller language related issue.

Although this notion was originally constructed to investigate second language learners' study abroad experiences, it is also applicable to investigate individuals' experiences of teaching abroad, which entail much second language use and learning. However, I am aware that this frame may need some further adjustment to better investigate teachers. Especially for the third dimension, which focuses on exploring the non-linguistic outcomes from one's second language learning process. Instead of

achieving academic development as students, teachers may attain some professional development. Therefore, teachers' second language use and learning needs to be discussed in relation to their professional learning and professional identity.

3.4 Towards forming an analytical lens of professional identity

It is necessary to draw out a workable set of theoretical dimensions from the extensive literature on identity and professional identity discussed previously. These theoretical dimensions form the analytic lens of professional identity that is applied in the rest of the thesis.

I summarise the dimensions encompassed by the analytic lens of professional identity as below. The first seven dimensions treat professional identity at an individual level, while the final dimension treats professional identity as a collective noun, referring to professional identity as it applies to a group of individuals.

- **Professional identity is an overarching frame which contains mental processes** of an individual's cognition and emotion, as well as his or her social relations and social practices.
- **Professional identity concerns multiple aspects of an individual's working life.** It contains the more stable and core component, such as an individual's fundamental beliefs, values and attitudes. It also contains more changeable components, such as one's self-confidence, roles and responsibilities, emotions, job purposes, proficiency of work related languages, and profession related knowledge and skills, for instance, subject knowledge and pedagogy for teachers. Those multiple dimensions are in a complex interaction.
- **Professional identity is inextricably linked with personal life,** although it prominently concerns dimensions of an individual's working life. Personal life encompasses one's personal biography, investment in identity, future aspirations, fundamental beliefs, attitudes and values as a person, and their memberships in the personal domain. Personal and professional lives interact and shape each other.
- **Professional identity is always shifting, although some aspects are more resistant to change than others.** There are some critical moments, when

professional identity is subject to more intensified construction and reconstruction. Those critical moments for teachers include when an individual is, engaged in teacher education programmes, embarking on practices within a new sociocultural context and the time in which an individual undergoes educational reform.

- **Professional identity is informed by and informs a nexus of interconnected communities of practice, which are complex historical, social and cultural configurations, linking the local to the global.** Professional identity does not only concern the social participation and development of identity within a single community of practice. It also concerns the work of balancing and reconciling the possible conflicts and contradictions amongst those multi-memberships within one identity.
- **Professional identity and its construction are embedded within complex power relations.** An individual is attempted to be produced into a 'normal' and desired professional identity through a complex web of power relations. Facing those attempts by power relations, individuals might be confronted with some inner struggles, but can also feel empowered.
- **Professional identity is negotiated through the interplay of agency and structure.** The discussion about agency and structure examines to which extent professional identity is determined by external contexts or by the will of an individual. The external contexts are multi-layered. For instance, for teachers, they might contain national and organisational policies, teacher education programmes, school management, content nature, colleagues and students.
- **Professional identity can also be viewed as the collective identity of one professional group,** whose characteristics and nature should be identified, and whose unique values and contributions among other professional groups should be recognised.

Drawing upon this analytic lens of professional identity, my initial research question of the pilot study is refined into one overarching research question and four sub-research questions. These questions guide my analysis of data in the main study. Details about

the pilot study and the main study will be discussed in Chapter 4. Here I list these research questions below:

The overarching research question is:

How do Hanban teachers (re)construct their professional identity when participating in their first years teaching practices in UK schools?

Four sub-research questions are:

- *How do issues of pedagogy reveal the professional identity construction of Hanban teachers?*
- *How does neoliberal control influence the professional identity of Hanban teachers?*
- *How does the second language identity influence the professional identity construction of Hanban teachers?*
- *How does the personal life influence the professional identity of Hanban teachers?*

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have explored how identity and professional identity are conceptualised in the existing literature, more specifically, in the tradition of psychological, sociocultural and poststructural perspectives. Also, I have examined how these concepts are applied and developed with nuances in the fields of school teacher studies and second language learner inquiries, which have been identified as of special relevance to my target group of teachers' experiences. Informed by these two activities, I have drawn out an analytical framework of professional identity, illustrating the theoretical position of this study, which views professional identity as an overarching frame that contains cognitive, emotive and participatory aspects.

Therefore, this chapter provides the backdrop for the next three chapters, which connects the current literature and theoretical perspectives to my choice of methodology and my analysis of data.

Chapter 4 Methodology

Introduction

Although I follow the traditional format of covering methodology following a literature review, the relationship between them is not a linear one. It is not the case that a static theoretical frame determined a static set of methods to be carried out in the research context. Rather, the set of methodology I utilised is presented as a dynamic process, where reflections and adjustments were made in response to the complex reality, such as the needs of the participants and the research context. In particular, I conducted a two-stage research procedure, in which the pilot study had significant implications for both the main study and the whole study.

I argue that this research approach chosen is best suited to investigate the complex theoretical construct like identity and professional identity, and to explore a comparatively new context into which few in-depth studies have been made.

The discussion of methodology will start with an explanation on the rationale for locating my study within the qualitative paradigm, adopting an interpretivist stance and appropriating a narrative inquiry position in particular. Then, I will explain the rationale for including a pilot study in the research journey; what, how and why it was chosen; and finally its implications for the main study. After that, I will discuss the rationale for the main study, around the six dimensions below:

- Specific research instruments
- Sampling
- Rapport and trust building
- Power relations between the researcher and the participants
- Ethical considerations
- Data analysis

4.1 The choice of methodology

4.1.1 A qualitative paradigm and its rationale

The main purpose of this study is to explore how professional identities of Hanban teachers are (re)constructed in UK schools during their first years of teaching, and the influences that affect their construction of identity. In their classic methodology book, Denzin and Lincoln usefully summarised the differences between the qualitative and quantitative studies:

Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasise the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. In contrast, quantitative studies emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not process. Proponents of such studies claim that their work is done from within a value-free framework. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 14)

Following from the statement above, qualitative and quantitative methods are suitable for the study of different research purposes and questions. During the process of my study, I don't intend to measure or analyse the causal relationships between variables (e.g. what is the relationship between the frequencies of using first language with the effective Chinese teaching?). Rather, I intend to understand the target group of teachers' lived experience and how they give meaning to the experience. Thus, I would locate my research within the qualitative paradigm rather than the quantitative one.

4.1.2 An interpretivist stance and its rationale

Within the broad qualitative research paradigm, studies might embrace different sets of assumptions about the question, like the nature of social reality (ontology), the nature of knowledge (epistemology) and the relationship between the research findings and the social world. Due to the differences of those assumptions, philosophical stances of studies held can be broadly categorised into three schools: positivist, interpretivist and

critical (Greenhalgh & Russell, 2009). This study substantially draws on the interpretivist stance.

Interpretivism can also be termed as 'anti-naturalism' or 'hermeneutics' (Bhaskar, 1998). It is an umbrella term for various approaches, including phenomenology, structuralism, poststructuralism, social constructionism, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, postmodernism and narrative inquiry (Alderson, 2013; Spector-Mersel, 2010). Although each approach might have its own particularity, all of them stand as criticising and contradicting the basic assumptions of the positivist school. Alderson (2013) usefully summarises seven fundamental assumptions shared by those interpretivist approaches as below:

Interpretivism cautiously treats phenomena as if they are (1) constructed by subjective human perceptions and values and negotiated interactions, (2) within specific social contexts and cultures. (3) Phenomena are contingent, and depend on our individual social selves and perceptions, (4) as if phenomena have few or no essential, inherent qualities and (5) no independent, lasting truth or reality of their own that could transfer interact across time and space. They do not exist 'out there' in the world, but only through the social institutions and cultures that give them meaning. (6) Interpretivism recognises unpredictable human agency, which can be intellectually, morally and pragmatically liberating when it deconstructs ideas of fixed realities, seemingly determined by biology, history, economies or religion. (7) Connections between research data, conclusions, recommendations and later policy-making are questioned as tenuous constructions, instead of being assumed to be self-evident conclusions. (Alderson, 2013, p. 38)

Because of my views on identity and professional identity outlined in Chapter 3, I argue interpretivism is the most suitable stance for me to take. More specifically, Hanban teachers' professional identity is not static but changeable. It is not composed of solid facts that can be separated from their perceptions and values. It cannot be understood independently from its sociocultural and historical contexts. Hanban teachers' subjective understanding of their professional identity is not something for me to

collect. Rather, the research journey entails co-construction of data and my interpretation of the data. Instead of claiming the study un-biased, I acknowledge this study is a value-laden one.

It is clear the study will vary when conducted by other researchers. I, as a researcher, became interested in this specific research question with my own personal history as I discussed in Chapter 1. My personal history with the research topic and the way I establish the relationship with my participants influence how my participants think of me, how they relate to me and what data they construct. Also, due to the complexity of reality, the inquiry is constrained by various elements of the context. Those fundamental assumptions might lead to different conceptualisations at almost each stage of the research journey.

4.1.3 Justification for the choice of narrative inquiry

Narrative inquiry, in my opinion, is the best approach to serve my research purpose. My initial interest in using this specific approach started from the examination of some actual studies into teacher identity and cross-cultural lives (He, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c; Morgan, 2004; Nias, 1989). Those studies set successful examples of how narrative inquiry can be used to investigate teachers' complex experiences. Details about those studies have already been discussed in Chapter 3. An understanding of how narratives are structured and the process of narrative inquiry is important to frame this approach. However, no agreement has been reached among those studies on the exact definition of those terms. In this study, I adopt the working definition of narrative inquiry proposed by Clandinin and Connelly, as they are key figures in promoting narrative inquiry methodology in the field of education.

Narrative inquiry is a way of understanding experience. It is a collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus. (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 20)

Regarding narratives, elsewhere, Clandinin and Rosiek provide a useful definition:

Narratives are the form of representation that describes human experience as it unfolds through time (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 40).

Those two definitions suggest two prominent features of this tradition of narrative inquiry: firstly, it stresses a theory of experience in its theoretical framing; secondly, it emphasizes that the whole research journey needs to be viewed as a collaboration between researcher and participants.

For a theory of experience, this tradition mainly draws on philosopher John Dewey's conception of experience. Dewey's work on experience and its implication in education can be found in a series of books and papers (Dewey, 1938, 1958, 1976, 1981). Nevertheless, I agree with Clandinin and Rosiek (2007) that, his ontology of experience can be well represented by the following account:

Because every experience is constituted by interaction between "subject" and "object," between a self and its world, it is not itself either merely physical nor merely mental, no matter how much one factor or the other predominates. . . [experiences] are the products of discrimination, and hence can be understood only as we take into account the total normal experience in which both inner and outer factors are so incorporated that each has lost its special character. In an experience, things and events belonging to the world, physical and social, are transformed through the human context they enter, while the live creature is changed and developed through its intercourse with things previously external to it (Dewey, 1981, p. 251).

Therefore, Dewey's understanding of experience is not something that pre-exists outside of individuals' perception and their contact with environment. Rather, it is a continuous interaction of one's inner thinking and feeling with their material and social contexts. This understanding of experience has some important implications for me to conceptualise narrative inquiry at the epistemological and methodological level.

At the epistemological level, I do not aim to seek the truthful reality about what has occurred to participants. Rather, I attempt to represent 'a new relation between a human being and her (or his) environment' (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, p. 39), which, in

other words, are the narratives of participants. Moreover, it is through the collaboration between the researcher and the participants that these narratives are generated. This collaboration happens throughout the research journey, from the beginning of data collection to the end of representing findings. For instance, constructing narratives of participants through my voice is one of my ways to collaborate with them. Details will be discussed later in 4.3.6.2.

At the methodological level, by following Deweyan view of experience, this tradition of narrative inquiry guides my attention to temporality, sociality and place during the research process (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006).

Temporality means that narrative inquirers not only pay attention to participants' present experiences, but also trace the influence from and/or to their past and future experiences.

Sociality stresses researchers' attention to both personal experiences (i.e. feeling, thinking and actions) and social conditions (i.e. other people, the environment and sociocultural factors). Also, sociality acknowledges the 'inquiry' relationship between the researcher and participants, through which the research purpose, process, findings and other concerns are constantly negotiated. Consequently, this puts the relationship between researchers and participants at a significant place throughout the inquiry. Elsewhere, Clandinin and Huber (2010) express a similar perspective on this feature of narrative inquiry and view it as a recursive and reflexive process.

Finally, place refers the influence of locations on both the experiences lived and the narratives about the experience constructed.

I find those features make me recognise the narrative inquiry approach is especially adequate to investigate the research questions. First, my research questions intend to gain an in-depth understanding of how a target group of Hanban teachers construct and perceive their professional identities in their first years teaching practices in UK schools. To study these questions, it requires a set of methodologies that place individuals and their lived experiences at the centre. Different from those critical approaches (i.e. Marxist and Feminist), which treat individual lived experience first and foremost as the product of ideologies, narrative inquiry privileges the lived experience

of individuals as its primary source of knowledge (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). This attentiveness to individuals' experiences allows me to explore the complex and evolving experience of individuals.

However, the narrative inquiry's approach to lived experiences is also different from the one in phenomenology, which overlooks or deliberately chooses not to be involved in the discussion of influence from the researcher and the research journey on participants' subjective description of their experience (Van Manen, 2006). Instead, the attentiveness to sociality and place of narrative inquiry discussed previously are helpful to capture and demonstrate the complexity of the research process. In particular, it acknowledges that participants' narratives of their lived experience might be constructed differently if they are approached by different researchers or in different places. For instance, Miss Qian in Narrative 4 articulated this point explicitly during the research journey by saying that she might have constructed different narratives if she was interviewed by another researcher.

Moreover, the research questions inquire into the process of constructing professional identities across geographical and sociocultural contexts, which is characterised as changing, dynamic and complex. Understanding towards the process seems not to be easily gained through conventional ways which typically insist on a static set of research questions, and fixed methodologies for data collection, analysis and presentation. Rather, narrative inquiry provides me with 'an inquiry-oriented way' of thinking about the research journey (He, 2002c), in which the researcher adjusts and negotiates various aspects of research design with the participants and research context.

On the other hand, narrative inquiry can be problematic in its theoretical consideration and in its practicality. Theoretically, with its central attention to the lived experience of individuals, narrative inquiry faces a high risk of 'slipping into self-insulating habits of attention and analysis' (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). To deal with this, I locate the interpretation and analysis of data back into its cultural-historical background (detailed in chapter 2) as well as the academic context (detailed in chapter 3).

In practice, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) remind us that narrative inquiry might demand large input from the participants and face the on-going negotiation of relationship between the researcher and participants. Indeed, my participants led busy and complex lives. At the time of joining my research project, most of them had only recently arrived in UK, and for some of them it was their first time abroad. Adapting to living and working in a foreign country could have been quite daunting whilst participating in my research. My research required large amount of time investment (e.g. attending several interviews over one academic year) and being involved in my research project might not fit in the agendas for their own personal and professional development.

To deal with this, as a researcher, I planned carefully to balance the time for used data construction, limiting the workload for the teachers to a minimum while obtaining sufficient level of data. First, I recruited my participants on a voluntary basis, which allowed the research project be meaningful for them. For instance, some participants explicitly articulated their own reasons of joining the project, such as making their own experience meaningful to others and getting to know more about academic research. Second, to save time for participants, I travelled to locations convenient for the participants for data collection.

Regarding the on-going development of the relationship between the researcher and participants, I find that actively building and maintaining trust between the two parties is of the most importance.

At the beginning stage of study, as a researcher, to stimulate the participants to build trust in me is crucial. From literature, I know theoretically, the cultural background of the researcher and the participants has an influence on the building of research relationship (Schlein & Chan, 2012). My participants and I share the same language and culture (e.g. love of Chinese food), which I believe to be a good starting point to establish the relationship. However, the research process can be delicate and complex. Thus, I consider this issue at the meta level when proceeding with the interaction in both formal interviews, observations and informal social gatherings. And field notes and reflective journals are kept to make the research process as transparent as possible.

Further, as a researcher, it would be easier to engage participants more when knowing more in-depth about the researched topic (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Strauss, Strauss, & Corbin, 1998). My personal experience with the research topic as discussed in Chapter 1 help me to relate to the participants. Also, from the perspective of methodology, this reinforces the importance of conducting a pilot study prior to the main study.

Last but not least, as a researcher, I find it can be helpful to carefully consider ethical issues and actively follow the ethical codes during the whole research process. Especially for narrative inquiry, in which the participants share many personal stories with the researcher, it is important to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality (Clandinin & Huber, 2010). I will elaborate on this point later in this chapter.

4.2 A two-stage research journey: pilot study

As I have discussed previously, narrative inquiry places the lived experience of individuals at the centre and acknowledges its research journey and findings are negotiated dialectically between the researcher and participants. Following the narrative inquiry thinking, this study adopts a two-stage research journey: a pilot and a main study. I spent approximately one academic year each for data collection:

- Pilot study (December 2012 to the end of July 2013)
- Main study (September 2013 to the end of July 2014)

4.2.1 Rationale for a pilot study

The pilot study constitutes an integral part of a two stage research journey and is the point of departure for a recursive research journey. In terms of its role in the whole research journey, I divide it into four dimensions below:

It provides me with a close engagement in the context. At the initial stage of the research journey, narrative inquiry prioritises the knowledge of the participants and researched topic over a set of pre-established theories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Interviews with teachers and their affiliates, observations at school and collection of teachers' artefacts offer me a more nuanced understanding of the issues and

challenges the target group of teachers are facing in their cross-cultural personal and professional lives.

It offers me a platform to reflect on methodological choices and adjust my practice in the main study. There are challenges and pitfalls which occur whilst conducting a research project in practice. For example, as I discussed previously, the long term relationship between the researcher and the participants can be problematic. The pilot study offers me an opportunity to embrace a relatively low risk of conducting research by trying out different ways to deal with those challenges and adjusting my practice in the main study when necessary.

It generates data that could lead to a more iterative engagement with the literature. The pilot highlights to me the conceptual areas that can yield the most promising data. Those emerging conceptual areas enable me to start an iterative literature review with studies which are most relevant to both my interest and the actual data. Before moving to the main study, this iterative literature review ensures that I can build on the existing literature to reinforce the next stage design. It enables me to refine the research questions and come up with sub-questions which can best represent the issues that matter to my participants both as individuals and as a group.

It generates data that can be further analysed in the main study stage and presented in the final thesis. Following narrative inquiry's preference on the holistic lived experience of individuals, the pilot study may generate data that can be applied in the final thesis. In my study, Mr Wang in Narrative 2 is a participant in pilot study. The decision on the inclusion of his data is based on its quality, quantity and representativeness.

4.2.2 Preliminary views on identity and professional identity

As I discussed previously, the analytical frame of professional identity in Chapter 3 is not the original version that influences my initial research design at the pilot study stage. Here I want to make it explicit the set of key views on identity and professional identity which held most initial influence on the research context.

I appreciate they are by no means a thorough understanding of identity and professional identity. However, they were good points to start the research journey at

the moment the opportunity of a pilot study arose (Charmaz, 1995, p. 32). The initial understanding of those concepts provides me with initial perspectives to 'look at data, listen to interviewees and to think analytically about the data' (Charmaz, 1995, p. 27). In return, data from the social world helps me to test and adjust this initial theoretical frame.

This set of key points of identity and professional identity are drawn from influential studies of teacher identity and language teacher identity (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004; Varghese et al., 2005). I list those points as below:

- Identity is not something stable but changeable, and it is in a constant change.
- Identity evolves over time. (Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005, p. 200)
- Under one general identity, there contains personal and professional identities, which are in a constant negotiation of their relations (Alsup, 2006).
- Contextual factors, such as social, cultural and political contexts have a great influence on shaping identity.
- Agency plays a crucial role in identity construction.
- Language is an important media for the construction of identity.

Based on the initial theoretical understanding of identity and professional identity listed above, I frame my initial research interest into a broad research question to start with my research journey:

What influence does UK school Hanban Chinese teachers' initial experience have on their teacher identity construction?

This preliminary research question serves as more of a 'research puzzle' and it is in a 'continual reformulation' with the process of 'search and research' (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 124). As I have discussed previously in Chapter 3, this initial research question is refined into an overarching research question and four sub-research questions in the main study.

4.2.3 Data collection

Three research instruments, namely, semi-structured interviews, observation and teachers' artefacts are identified and utilised for data collection in the pilot study. As all the three instruments are kept in main study, I will discuss the rationale for choosing them later under the main study session.

The pilot study was carried out during the time period from the mid of December 2012 to the end of July 2013, outlined below:

- December 2012 - I attended a workshop held by the RGCI.
- January 2013 - I conducted two online interviews with two participants respectively and one face to face interview with a participant in London.
- February 2013 - I shadowed a participant at a school and conducted an interview with a mentor teacher at school.
- March 2013 - I attended a CPD event held by the RGCI. I conducted the second participant observation at a school and conducted a formal interview with the teacher shadowed.
- April 2013 - I conducted the third participant observation at a school and conducted a formal interview with the teacher shadowed.
- May 2013 - I attended a conference held by the RGCI. I conducted the fourth participant observation at a school. I conducted one online interview with one participant. Also, I attempted to conduct a face to face interview with a participant, however, due to time constraints, this participant had to drop out halfway.
- July 2013 - I conducted a participant observation in a Tai Chi class of one participant. Formal interview afterwards and joined them for a social gathering.

Some informal conversations took place during school visits, events held by the CI or social gatherings with Hanban teachers and their affiliations (i.e. school teachers, staff of CI, Tai Chi class teacher). These informal conversations also expanded my understanding of the context. All formal or informal interviews were conducted in either Chinese or English according to the preference of participants.

Also, I sent out invitations of writing a teaching philosophy and critical incident vignettes to participants. Instructions for how to write a teaching philosophy (attached in Appendix 1) as well as two examples of critical incident vignettes (attached in Appendix 2) were sent out to participants alongside the invitation emails. In order to better understand their personal and professional lives, I asked them to share any artefacts they would be willing to provide, such as blog entries or lesson plans.

As a result, I received three teaching philosophies and five critical incident vignettes. Other forms of artefacts received beyond the original methods included: blog entries, Chinese lesson presentation slides, materials prepared for subjects other than Chinese, discussion in email exchanges, notes during training programmes. I list types and numbers of data received from each major participant in Table 1.

Table 1: Types and quantity of data

	Interview transcripts	Observation field-notes	Teaching philosophy	Critical Incident Vignette	Other artefacts	Total
Teacher A	1	0	1	0	0	2
Teacher B	2	0	0	0	0	2
Mr Wang	5	5	1	5	8	24

The former two participants' data are not presented in the final thesis, thus, I do not give them pseudonyms as Mr Wang. From the table 1, we can see that compared with participant A and participant B, Mr Wang was extremely productive in terms of the quantity of data. Exploring further into the quality of the data, Mr Wang shared more in-depth personal feelings and thoughts with the researcher. Thus, compared with other two participants, he is more productive both in quantity and quality of data. An examination of the influencing factors behind the differences between the three participants suggested that the frequency and quality of time spent when meeting Mr

Wang facilitated better rapport building. And this establishment of personal relationship stimulated this participant's large time input into the research project and contribution of high quality data. I do not intend to exclude influences from the factors like participants' motivation to be involved in the study. However, recognition of the importance of personal relationship building has methodology implications to adjust some aspects of my research practice in the main study.

4.2.4 Data analysis

4.2.4.1 Rationale

The data analysis procedure in the pilot study stage is informed by principles that to a certain extent have some similarities with grounded theory (Charmaz, 1995, 2006; Strauss et al., 1998) .

My choice of this approach has been guided by the exploration of some actual studies on identity development (Charmaz, 1999; Flores & Day, 2006). Specifically, this approach emphasises the analytical procedures of constructing codes and categories from the raw data, building the links between those codes and categories, and relating the theoretical analysis of it back to the related literature through a process of constant comparative analysis (Charmaz, 2006).

Similar to the purpose of grounded theory, this approach also aims 'to develop a theoretical analysis of the data that fits the method and has relevance to the area of study' (Charmaz, 1995, p. 48). This fits the exploratory nature of my study as well as the specific role of the pilot study in the whole research journey, which I have noted previously.

This approach may share one specific challenge with grounded theory however, in that it can be equally criticised for 'dissecting and diluting participants' experience and contexts' (Bailey, 2003; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). To deal with this, I included the narrative mode of data analysis in the main study, which maintains the richness and complexity of their lived experiences (J. H. Kim, 2016; Polkinghorne, 1995). However, those principles are adequate to serve the purpose of data analysis at this stage.

4.2.4.2 What was done and how in the pilot study?

I analysed the interviews and records from teachers, such as emails, teaching philosophy and critical incident vignettes. Interviews were transcribed into written words in a verbatim format. Other forms of data, such as observation field notes, although were not analysed in a systematic way due to the time limit and the main objectives set out for the pilot study, also helped me build an understanding of the whole work. All forms of data from Mr Wang, however, was further analysed in the main study. I will detail the rationale and procedure in the later section of this chapter.

Procedures

Here I set out to talk about what my actions were within the pilot for data analysis. The combination of using the Nvivo software (i.e. the software which is preferred when dealing with large quantities of data by the IOE training course) and traditional pen and paper was utilised during the data analysis. The principle of constant comparative analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss et al., 1998) was applied when I was trying to construct the codes and categories from the raw data.

I analysed the data through the following four steps:

- *Constituting a piece of sample data.* The sample data included a teaching philosophy, an interview transcript and several emails from Mr Wang who was most productive in constructing data.
- *Inviting a second reader to analyse the sample data with me.* The second reader is a Chinese female PhD student in Anthropology in the UK. She was chosen under the following criteria: 1) fluent in both Chinese and English; 2) from a disciplinary background other than Education; 3) capable of engaging the data analytically.

We coded the sample data respectively, trying to 'capture, synthesise and understand the main themes in the statement' (Charmaz, 1995, p. 40). After both of us finished this process, we had a discussion about the similarity and differences of our categories. A mutually agreed result was reached through the discussion. The discussion was audio recorded for further reference.

- *Analysing the rest of data with the categories constructed from the sample data.*
- *Constructing subcategories under each category for each participant.* I will show in Appendix 3 the actual coding of two paragraphs by me, indicating how I constructed subcategories.

This was not a linear activity, because as the process went on, the properties and dimensions of each category or subcategory were constantly added or changed. Some new categories / subcategories were added or names of some were adjusted.

4.2.5 What are the implications for the main study?

Previously I have discussed the relationship between the pilot study and the whole study. The main categories and sub-categories that emerged from analysis of pilot data are presented for each participant respectively in Table 4 attached in Appendix 4. Some excerpts have been selected and listed in Appendix 5 as examples for each category. Having gained the in-depth understanding of the context and hands-on experience of doing research, the pilot study facilitates the refinement of the research design in the main study based on reflection on methodology and findings from data.

I summarise it into five aspects below:

- *Guiding me to adjust my sample strategy and procedures.*

The original sampling strategy (i.e. stratified sampling) was found to be difficult to carry out in practice due to the low response rate. Literature suggests the adoption of the combination of snowball sampling and opportunity sampling (Suter, 2006) as the strategy to deal with the difficulties in accessing a specific group of participants. Regarding to the actual sampling procedures, the evidence from the pilot study underpins the argument that developing both personal and official institutional Guanxi (social relationships and networks) are important for the recruitment of participants (Nordtveit, 2011). I am aware the possible pressure from the institutional power on participants' decision to take part. Thus, when designing the new sampling activities, measures are considered to ensure

that the participants take part in on a voluntary basis. Also, their right of withdrawal from the study at any time should be reassured.

- *Encouraging me to build rapport with participants with consideration of their cultural background.*

Evidence from the pilot study shows that a better interpersonal Guanxi with Chinese participants would have a positive influence on the quality and quantity of data constructed from the participants. Positive evidence from literature of utilising Guanxi to facilitate research can be found from He (2002a), when conducting a narrative inquiry into three Chinese women's cross-cultural lives, she had frequent social gatherings and social interactions with the other two participants. However, I am aware of the potential disadvantages of stressing the Guanxi building in research, such as the larger time and fund input (Alston, 1989) and the need for a more cautious consideration of field leaving strategy. Thus, an interpersonal Guanxi building strategy with Chinese national participants are considered for the main study. I will detail it in the later part of this chapter.

- *Enabling me to rethink interview questions, prompts and probes.*

Following the narrative inquiry, interviewing is a process of active construction of narratives between both the researcher and the participants (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008; Silverman, 2006, 2011). How I, as a researcher, frame my interview questions, prompts and probes have an influence on their construction of narratives. This understanding stimulates me to rethink what to ask to invite stories and how I respond to their answers for elaboration on further details. Categories and subcategories emerging from the pilot data guide me to the direction of asking questions more meaningful to the participants. Also, they are helpful to develop prompts and probes for expanding the dimensions of certain areas. This point will be elaborated later in the main study section.

- *Directing me to adjust my research questions.*

Methodologically, narrative inquiry draws on a recursive research process in which research questions are not fixed. At the time I asked the research question

for pilot study, it was more of a general research puzzle to investigate some guiding research interests (identity and professional identity) for the target group of teachers. However, with more engagement with the research context, I gained a better understanding of what the issues are that matter to this group of teachers. Also, the data from pilot pointed me to the related literature, and the literature continued shaping my understanding of the data. This interactive engagement with literature review and data gave me new insights into the context I inquired into. For instance, data from the pilot study guided me to explore further into the participatory aspect of identity and its relationship with the community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Those concepts, on the other hand, help to explain some struggles of Hanban teachers, which are elicited by boundaries between different communities of practice. This process enables me to adjust my research question and develop some sub-questions to better facilitate my investigation into the context in main study, as I list in Chapter 3.

- *Guiding me to literature review with emerged themes.*

As I have discussed previously, I approach narrative inquiry in a way being attentive to the lived experience while stressing the analysis of such experience within the cultural-historical background and the academic context. Thus, a literature review is not completed at an early stage. Rather, it is completed with the process of data collection and data analysis (Silverman, 2013). Findings from the pilot data guide me into the next stage of a literature review. The categories and subcategories that emerged from the analysis of the pilot study helped me narrow down my focus into the following three themes: identity construction in communities of practice; second language and culture mediated identities and pedagogy as a site of identity struggles. Subcategories such as 'a growing Chinese teacher', 'comparing social norms of Chinese and other culture' and 'comparing pedagogies used in China and UK' underpin my choice of the three themes respectively.

4.3 A two-stage research journey: main study

Having noted the pilot study's implications, the inquiry evolves into the next stage of research journey, the main study. Compared with the pilot study, some parts of the research design are adjusted. I am now proceeding to discuss in detail the rationale and process that I conducted for the main study.

4.3.1 Research instruments

Rationale

In selecting the instruments to investigate the research questions, I draw upon the methodology literature and form a criteria to guide my choice. I present the criteria below:

- Do the methods fit in the theoretical assumptions of the specific narrative inquiry approach?
- Can the methods fit the nature of the research purpose? (Silverman, 2006, p. 276)
- Can the principle of triangulation (Denzin, 1970, p. 291) be realised through the methods to construct 'a more detailed and balanced picture of the situation'? (Altrichter, 2008)
- Considering the practical side of doing research, are the methods feasible in reality with consideration of the limitation of time and resource as a single researcher?

Thus, a set of five research instruments for data collection are identified as the most appropriate in the main study, namely, semi-structured interviews, observation, artefacts of teachers, organisational documents and the researcher's reflective journal. The former three are kept from the pilot study as those are proved to be efficient tools. Two more instruments are added to better serve the research purpose.

Compared with the pilot study, the main study expands its sources of data beyond the target group of teachers. From the methodological perspective, inclusion of other data sources in narrative inquiry can help me as a researcher to uncover stories untold (J. H. Kim, 2016). In practice, additional interviews are conducted with some school

teachers, school leaders and senior leadership team of a CI. Also, organisational artefacts from Hanban and a CI are collected. The successful inclusion of the new data sources in the main study is under the influence of the trust and relationship between the researcher and the related organisations, which have been established through the pilot study stage.

Next, I will argue why the set of five instruments are the best suited methods to investigate the research questions by discussing them respectively.

Semi-structured interviews As detailed in Chapter 3, I understand professional identity as a complex frame which contains cognitive, emotive and participatory aspects. Professional identity, thus, can be accessed through participants' subjective description about their lived experiences, as well as through observations in the natural settings (e.g. classrooms, staff rooms). A definition of an individual's professional identity cannot be merely obtained from questionnaires. Also, observation is largely subjected to the researcher's interpretation. Aspects like cognitive models and emotions might be difficult to be verified. Thus, I agree with Beijaard et al. (2004), written and verbal data constructed by participants are the most promising source of data.

Interviews can be helpful for the interviewees to express their 'interpretations of the world in which they live, and how they regard situations from their own point of view' (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 409). Compared with questionnaires, they can get access to 'things that cannot necessarily be observed or accommodated in a formal questionnaire' (Byrne, 2012). Semi-structured interviews, compared with other types of interviews, are helpful for maintaining focus by using a prepared set of guiding questions, while still permitting expansion of its initial scope (Morse, 2012).

In this study, the interviews are viewed under the constructionist perspective (Silverman, 2013), 'interviewers and interviewees are actively engaged in constructing meaning' (Silverman, 2006, p. 118). Interviewees do not merely answer researcher's questions. Rather, they have their own voice to articulate as narrators. The researcher does not merely take in all the information from interviewees. Rather, the researcher attentively listens to interviewees and responds with the choice of silence, probes or

prompts, in an attempt to inviting further construction of narratives from interviewees (J. H. Kim, 2016).

In addition, I view an interview as 'a social encounter' (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 410) and it is 'part of life itself' (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 409). Thus, I try to interview participants in natural settings such as a café or teahouse. Small talk on our updates are conducted before the formal start of interviews. Field notes and reflective journals on such social encounters are kept for later analysis.

To triangulate the data, interviews are conducted in different forms (i.e. one-to-one, focus group), among different groups (i.e. Hanban teachers, school teachers and leaders, senior leadership team in a CI) and in different periods of time (four times in one academic year).

Personal artefacts are an alternative source of data constructed by participants. Compared with interviews, personal artefacts is data with less intervention or no intervention (i.e. teachers' personal journals) from a researcher (Silverman, 2013, p. 51). This provides alternative forms (i.e. written or visual) of constructing data to some participants if they prefer not to opt for the oral form of expressing themselves. From the pragmatic perspective, this form of data can be constructed without the constraints of the space and distance between the researcher and participants. Personal artefacts I received from the participants include teaching philosophy, critical incident vignettes, personal journals and teaching materials.

Observation Having the participatory aspect in its theorisation, professional identity therefore can be revealed through the actions of individual participants and their interactions with other people. For instance, the pedagogical methods used in classrooms and the English language used when they talk to students are observable and they can reveal aspects of participants' identity and professional identity. Thus, I identify observation as an additional method to study the research questions.

Compared with interviews, it enables the researcher to gain understanding of participants' professional identity in real teaching practice and school life (Schensul & LeCompte, 2013).

However, located in the narrative inquiry approach, which regards the participants' subjective description of their lived experience as the primary source of data, the use of observation is not for purpose of triangulating data and uncovering the truth. Rather it is mainly for facilitating my interpretation of the narrative data constructed by the participants.

On the other hand, observation grants me the access to the situation and environment in which the target group of teachers construct their professional identity. The understanding of their context is important for the process of data interpretation and analysis.

According to the extent to which a researcher is participated in the research context, scholars categorise observation into a spectrum from 'non-participation to active participation to complete participation' (DeWalt, 2002, pp. 262-263; Schensul & LeCompte, 2013). In my study, most of the time I sit inconspicuously as a non-participant at the back of the room and take detailed field notes. However, there are occasions like lunch time and conference, where I act as a participant observer and write field notes afterwards.

Organisational documents is a complementary method to gain data about contexts, where the participants are embedded in (Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006). Moreover, Merriam (1988, p. 118) contends 'documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem'. In this study, the documents I collect from the related organisation include both printed and electronic material, such as guidance for work, training programme leaflets and various evaluation forms.

Researcher's reflective journal Many researchers acknowledge the crucial role of reflexivity in conducting qualitative studies, as the researcher is the principal instrument of the research process (Glesne, 1999; Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1995). The researcher's journal allows me to adopt a reflective position towards the phenomena under study and the research process (Watt, 2007). Although journals are not written at a regular basis, they offer notes on critical moments when I feel the need to write down my thoughts, feelings and actions. I kept reflective journals during the whole research

journey. They were kept in either a laptop or a mobile device out of convenience. They were written in English, Chinese or both. Sometimes they were lengthy paragraphs and, sometimes they were just a few sentences. Through which I constantly reflected on my practice in the research process and sought ways to adjust it where necessary. Here is one example from my journal that shows how my participants influence the way I present the research findings.

I had a discussion with Miss Qian in Narrative 4 on what can be included and what cannot. She made me understand more deeply about how important it was to ensure the anonymity to protect the participants. I think if I present data all in narratives like some research projects do, it would make anonymity difficult. This discussion guides me into the exploration of presenting the findings in ways other than narrating a holistic story. However, some sensitive stories are also quite significant. I might try to discuss those sensitive issues in conceptual abstract ways (4th January 2014, reflective journal).

To summarise, a set of five instruments have been chosen to investigate the research questions. While semi-structured interviews, personal artefacts of teachers, observations, and organisational documents can respectively offer me data about the professional identity of the target group of teachers and the contexts they are embedded in, these different methods can also collectively enable me to triangulate the data. This data triangulation does not aim to find out a pre-existed truth, but to guide me to the areas where disparities between the data from different sources might appear. To explore explanations for these disparities might lead me to some important insights into Hanban teachers' professional identity.

What was done and how in the main study?

The main study was carried out during the period from September 2013 to the end of July 2014, outlined below:

- September 2013 - Invitation letters for participating in the study were sent out through emails by the RGCI.

- September 2013 - Email exchanges were conducted with the initial participants prior their departure to the UK.
- October 2013 - I welcomed new intake of Hanban teachers at the train station with other staff from the RGCI.
- Oct - Nov 2013 - I conducted the first round of interviews with participants. Six face to face interviews were conducted. I also conducted two one-day observation at a school.
- December 2013 - I conducted a one-day observation at a school and during which I conducted two interviews with a Hanban teacher and a local teacher respectively.
- January 2014 - I conducted the second round of interviews with participants. Five face to face interviews were conducted. One was conducted via on-line video-chatting.
- February 2014 - I conducted two one-day observation at two schools and one observation at CPD event held by the CI.
- Mar - Apr 2014 - I conducted the third round of interviews with participants. Four face to face interviews were conducted.
- May 2014 - I conducted a one-day observation at a school. During which, I conducted one interview with a Hanban teacher.
- June - July 2014 - I conducted the fourth round of interviews with participants. Eight face to face interviews were conducted. I conducted an observation at the CPD event held by the RGCI and attended a conference held by the RGCI.

With minimising additional participant workload taken into consideration, requests to write a teaching philosophy and critical incident vignettes were not sent in advance as I did in the pilot study. However, in response to the participants' requests to share more personal thinking and feelings via the written form, instructions for how to write a teaching philosophy (attached in Appendix 1) as well as two examples of critical incident vignettes (attached in Appendix 2) developed in the pilot study were supplied. Also, as I did in pilot study, I asked them to share any personal artefacts they would be willing to provide. At the organisational level, I asked the RGCI to share any available institutional documents, such as Guidance Notes and Performance Evaluation Forms. I

also collected the related documents from Hanban’s official website. I will list types and quantity of data in Table 2.

Table 2: Types and quantity of data

Interview	Field notes on observation	Personal artefacts	Organisational documents	Researcher’s reflective journal	Total
26	10	24	9	38	107

4.3.2 Sampling

The focus of this study is the in-depth understanding of individuals’ experience of professional identity construction as Hanban teachers. Thus, the combination of a smaller number of participants and a lengthy process is chosen over a larger number but a short interview (Kvale, 1996). As I discussed earlier, the stratified sampling technique was identified as the original sampling strategy in order to better represent the researched context, where Hanban teachers have diverse past experience and working conditions (i.e. different type of schools with different history in Chinese teaching). The low response rate in the pilot study suggested me to adjust my sampling strategy into one that combined snowball sampling and opportunity sampling (Suter, 2006) with the help of personal and official institutional Guanxi (Nordtveit, 2011).

In practice, two organisations (i.e. the RGCI and one school) were engaged in the process, eight participants initially agreed to join my study.

One participant from the BC programme was introduced personally by a previous participant (i.e. Mr Wang) in the pilot study and reintroduced officially by her host school.

Seven participants from the CI programme were recruited at a voluntary basis through sending out invitation letters through emails by the RGCI before the participants' arrival at UK. The content of the invitation letter (see Appendix 6) was developed based on the characteristics of Chinese participants reflected in pilot study and related literature as well as professional experience of working with Chinese teachers from a senior leader from the CI. Additionally, senior leadership members of the CI encouraged the participation of the project in emails following the invitation letter. Due to personal time constraints, one participant dropped out in the middle of the study.

As a result, seven participants from the main study and one participant from the pilot study supplied data of high quantity and quality. However, I only selected six of them to be written into individual narratives. Biographical information of the six participants selected will be discussed in Chapter 5. The reason I did not construct individual narratives for the other two participants (i.e. teacher C and teacher D) was because their accounts included much repetition of, while were not as complex as, the stories of the remaining participants. For instance, for teacher C, she worked at the same school as Mr Wang and both teachers shared a similar age, marital status, qualifications and prior job. The major issues that emerged from her stories could find much resonance in the stories of Mr Wang. However, Mr Wang's stories demonstrated more complexity which could not be represented by teacher C's experience.

Not constructing data from teacher C and teacher D into individual narratives is by no means underestimating the value and contribution of them. At the practical level, firstly, their data, together with data from other participants, have helped me to form a better understanding of the group. At the ethical level, their data was treated seriously and carefully analysed. Moreover, when I recruited them into my research project, I did not promise each one of their data would be presented in individual cases. However, I promised that I would share the findings of the study. I still will do so to all the participants, and stay true to the commitments I made to individuals working with me.

4.3.3 Power relations between the researcher and the participants

It is commonly acknowledged by qualitative researchers that the conceptualisation of the power relations between the researcher and the participants has an influence on

the knowledge production (Abell, Locke, Condor, Gibson, & Stevenson, 2006; J. H. Kim, 2016). They problematise the traditional asymmetry of power between the researcher and participants, in which the researcher is viewed as the centre and 'alone contributes the thinking that goes into the project', and the participants 'contribute the action or contents to be studied' (Reason & Reason, 1994, p. 42). Power relations between the researcher and participants are influenced by the types of research, the stages of research journey, as well as the characteristics of the individuals involved.

Considering the types of research, for example, participants in biographical research have more control on the data they construct than their counterparts who participate in a survey or questionnaire. As to the stages of research, Karnieli-Miller, Strier, and Pessach (2009) argue that each stage of the research journey shapes the roles of researcher and participants and their power relations. For instance, at the initial stage of participant recruitment, the researcher has the control over issues such as the way of introducing the study to the potential participants. At the data collection stage, however, participants gain more control over the width and depth of their knowledge on the research topic.

The characteristics of individuals, such as gender, age and professional background, also have an impact. For instance, Pini (2005) reports on the male interviewees' attempt to exert gender power over the female interviewer through a series of strategies, such as presenting themselves as powerful and knowledgeable.

Reflected on my study, at the conceptual level, I follow the narrative inquiry approach and reject the view that the researcher has the power over the participants during the research process. Rather, I see both parties as interacting dialectically to negotiate the research purpose, process, findings and other concerns throughout the research journey.

In practice, I agree with Karnieli-Miller et al. (2009) that power relations are not static, rather, it evolves over different stages of the research. With the lived experience of individuals at the centre of my inquiry, the data collection stage is the time when I felt most of the power tilting towards the participants. Echoing the perspective of Karnieli-Miller et al. (2009), I had the feeling that the whole process was dependent on how

much the participants were willing to share their stories. However, the nature and stage of the research activity also interact with the characteristics of parties involved in the research.

In my study, not much evidence has been identified to support the influences from gender and age on the power relations between the researcher and participants. As a female researcher in my late 20s, I cannot find the significant differences in quality and quantity of the data constructed by participants of different gender or age group (i.e. either younger or older than me). However, I identify that professional background is an important influencing factor.

As a researcher, I have never been a Hanban teacher myself, thus, I am an outsider of the phenomena I am studying at. Participants are the subject experts. It seems that they have the control on what and how much information they want to share with me. On the other hand, the researcher is doing a PhD in a prestigious British university. I am perceived by them to be a channel to articulate their voice in the Chinese language teaching landscape (e.g. Mr Zhou, Miss Zheng), a source of information for applying for a UK postgraduate programme (e.g. Mr Zhou, Miss Wu, Miss Qian) and also a way to gain understanding on the research process (e.g. Miss Qian, Mr Wang). This to a certain degree neutralises the power from the participants.

In dealing with participants' excessive power and control over their lived stories, Karnieli-Miller et al. (2009, p. 283) suggests the researcher must 'court the participant, enhance the sense of rapport between them, and build a considerate and sympathetic relationship and a sense of mutual trust.' Elsewhere, J. H. Kim (2016) articulates a similar view and suggests that narrative inquirers should give up control and empower the participants to narrate their experiences. In practice, I stress the rapport building with the participants during the research process. I will discuss this in detail in the next section.

4.3.4 Rapport and trust building

I recognise the methodological significance of rapport and trust building with the participants, however, I am also aware that this issue can be delicate and complex. Current literature has suggested some techniques of building rapport, such as

conducting multiple and longitudinal interviews (Grinyer & Thomas, 2012), self-disclosure (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2009). However, those techniques have received some criticism in terms of their effectiveness as well as their potential negative influence on participants, such as increasing the participants' vulnerability or distress (Grinyer & Thomas, 2012).

Considering the advantages and disadvantages, I adopted the following ways to build rapport with the primary participants (i.e. Hanban teachers) in the main study.

Firstly, during the official time of meeting, such as interviews or observations, as a researcher, every effort was made to travel to participants. Also, I offered participants tea or coffee every time at the beginning of interviews. Outside of the official time, festival greeting messages and catch-up emails were sent on a regular basis. At the end of the project, a small gift (e.g. a box of English biscuits) was sent to the participants as a way of showing gratitude for their contribution.

Reflecting on the process of rapport and trust building, I identify the shared cultural background and sojourner status of the researcher and participants as influential.

Both the researcher and Hanban teachers are Chinese nationals who are native Chinese speakers. Thus, all the formal interviews and informal conversations are conducted in Chinese. Also, the shared cultural background makes the rapport building easier as the researcher can be viewed as an insider of the participants' home culture.

With a fixed-term contract for up to four years, Hanban teachers are sojourners, who only reside temporarily in the host country (Kinginger, 2013). As newcomers and sojourners in the host country, they do not have many local friends. Thus, the researcher is viewed by them a friend who can gain support in the host country. However, I was aware of the possibility of 'over-rapport', in which the researcher and participants are too close that might elicit greater bias into the study (Goudy & Potter, 1976). So that I was always at the meta-level attempting to build the appropriate level of rapport.

4.3.5 Ethical considerations

The professional ethics code used in pilot study and main study was the Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research proposed by British Educational Research Association in 2011. Ethics approval for the main study was granted by the UCL Institute of Education and it was effective from September 2013.

Informed consent: consent forms were sent out to participants together with the information sheet detailing my research by email. Before the start of each interview and each observation, participants were asked to sign consent forms.

Anonymity and confidentiality: among those ethical issues, the anonymity and confidentiality are of more importance due to the in-depth sharing of complex lives in narrative inquiry, which might contain much personal, sensitive and even critical information (Clandinin & Huber, 2010). J. H. Kim (2016) also reminds us the importance of being attentive to this issue at every stage of the research process.

In the main study, the confidentiality and anonymity of individuals in the project were emphasised to the participants in the recruitment letter and they were reassured to the participants during the research process when participants show concern to such issues. At the writing-up stage, Kaiser (2012) suggests some strategies to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality, including the use of pseudonyms and removing the recognisable features. However, Kaiser also acknowledges the possibility of 'deductive disclosure', where the distinctive characteristics and the experiences might reveal who the participants are.

In the thesis writing, I used pseudonyms for all the names of the participants and institutional affiliations. Due to the distinctive features of three organisations (Hanban, the RGCI, and the BC) in the research, the anonymity can't be guaranteed. However, every effort was made to ensure the anonymity of the individuals. I faced the dilemma of reporting the 'interesting stories' or risking for the possible 'deductive disclosure' in Kaiser's term. As the interesting stories were usually rare experiences with distinctive features. To deal with this dilemma, I prioritised the anonymity of participants while trying to maintain the uniqueness of stories. For example, I used the strategy of blurring certain identifiable features through the technique of abstraction.

In addition, one of my concerns was whether the power of institutional afflictions would have an impact on Hanban teachers' participation of this research as well as their answers provided. To deal with this challenge, participants were reassured throughout the study that they could withdraw from the research at any time. All the audio records would be stored in the researcher's personal laptop with a PIN lock and the participants' names would be anonymous so that no one would be able to identify who said what. All the data would only be used for research purposes.

Data storage/security: all the recorded interviews, field notes of the researcher's, personal records from participants, documents from organisations and reflective journals of the researcher's were kept in computer files respectively and all files were locked with PIN in the researcher's personal laptop.

Leaving the field: due to the nature of narrative inquiry, it requires a close relationship between the researcher and participants. When leaving the field, to maintain or not to maintain this relationship should be carefully considered. I adopted the strategy of respecting the needs of participants. I stayed being friends with them and responded to their request for help when necessary. Due to the temporary nature of their job, some of them left the UK soon after their participation in the project. Occasional emails or mobile message exchanges were conducted.

4.3.6 Data analysis

Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014, p. 12) define data analysis as 'three concurrent flows of activity: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification.' This definition reflects the general approach shared by qualitative researchers towards the data analysis. However, with three general categorisations of data analysis activities, each study entails its various steps and complexities (Creswell, 2007). Following this perspective, data analysis is not a linear process. Rather it proceeds in an iterative and continuous manner.

Five actual studies were referred to when I tried to decide the strategy of data analysis for the main study (Alsup, 2006; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011; Davey, 2013; Flores & Day, 2006; B. Norton, 2000). The decision of including these five studies is based on firstly they are highly cited and influential studies in the related fields. Secondly, all of

them explore the development of identity construction over time. Those studies provide me with insights into successful examples of carrying out data analysis for inquiries into identity construction.

Due to the changeable and complex nature of identity, all the five studies followed an 'emergent, inductively grounded approach' (Miles et al., 2014, p. 15) towards data. However, those studies have its variations in the actual steps and methods of displaying data under the influence of the research questions, theoretical and analytical framework, methods for data collection, numbers of participants and the degree of nuances for each participant's story. Those elements of research design also inform my choice of the principles and actual steps for data analysis (Holstein & Gubrium, 2016).

I found the data analysis approach applied in Norton's study of special relevance and inspirational, as both studies possess the in-depth understanding of nuances of a small numbers of participants' experience (i.e. five participants). B. Norton (2000) engaged in the data analysis by starting with the construction of the stories of individuals', attending to the complexity and particularity of each individual's experience. She then analysed the recurring issues across the stories of individuals, with a focus on the production of gender and ethnicity within a larger social contexts.

Before I proceed into the discussion of specific steps of data analysis process, I would like to spend some time on clarifying the theoretical position I adopt related to data analysis (Josselson, 2006).

- Data analysis is not limited within a neat stage named 'data analysis'. Analysis of data starts before my departure for data collection to the completion of the final report. The researchers' decisions on which data to collect constitute an integral part of the data analysis.
- Data analysis is not an objective activity. Data analysis contains two interwoven aspects: description of the data, and interpretation from the researcher. Thus, I do not claim a single right way of interpreting the meaning of data. However, I agree with Chase (2003, p. 92) that, when I consider the

data analysis methods, I need to ‘avoid being too descriptive on the one hand and over-interpreting on the other hand’.

With consideration of my research design, several principles were drawn out from the critical engagement with data analysis literature on both qualitative research in general and narrative inquiry in particular. Those principles guided the actual practice of data analysis.

- *Attending to of all the evidence* (Yin, 2014). On the one hand, all types of data should be analysed to gain a holistic picture of the experience of participants. On the other hand, I do not intend to identify a single truth by evaluating and analysing the data. However, if there is some discrepancy happens between different sources of data, I should find explanations behind it.
- *Addressing the most significant areas of the phenomenon under study* (Yin, 2014).
- *The combination of inductive and deductive approaches to data* (Holland, 2001). This principle is closely linked with the previous principle. To identify the most significant areas of the data is an inductive process. To interpret the data under the influence of the research questions and analytical framework is a deductive process. Both inductive and deductive approaches are simultaneous and are difficult to be separated.
- *The combination of narrative mode of analysis and paradigmatic mode of analysis* (J. H. Kim, 2016; Polkinghorne, 1995). This inquiry values the holistic, richness and particularity of individual’s lived experience embedded in a temporal context. It also attends to the general characteristics shared by a group of people, in an attempt to understand the individuals in a broader framework. Those two aspects can be achieved through the combination of the two modes of analysis.

Having stated the general principles that have guided my data analysis, now I am proceeding to detail what steps I followed for data analysis and the rationale behind it. The organisation of those steps briefly reflect the chronological relationship among them. However, I acknowledge that those steps sometimes happen simultaneously and are interwoven with each other.

4.3.6.1 Interview transcription

With 26 audio recordings of interviews (from 30 minutes to 90 minutes each), I started by transcribing all the interviews verbatim. I appreciate verbatim interview transcripts allow me to get access to both the details and the holistic pictures of each participant's constructed experience. Also it allows me to go through different sections concurrently. I am aware of the possible pitfall that verbatim transcriptions might present much redundant or repetitive information (Gillham, 2000). However, considering both sides, and in particular the advantages of having both a detailed and holistic view, I decided to conduct verbatim transcription.

4.3.6.2 Constructing individual narratives

This study investigates the case of the experience of a group of Hanban teachers collectively, when they work in British schools for the first years. The discussion of the case draws on narratives of 6 individuals (Yin, 2014). Through the research instruments discussed previously, I gained rich data for each individual Hanban teacher in this study. I started by creating an individual file for each participant, in which all types of data generated by this participant was collected.

Then, I analysed and presented narrative of each individual through three major steps: coding, constructing the narrative and constructing the commentary. Separating the narrative and commentary, allows the strength of the former to present contextualised and nuanced information while the latter helps to establish explicit links with broader social and academic contexts. The attempt of separating both helps to demonstrate a clearer procedure of how I construct stories and how I interpret the meaning of stories.

Next, I discuss the three major steps respectively.

1) Coding for categories and subcategories

I used the same coding strategy of the pilot study, as detailed in 2.4.2, to start the first phase of my data analysis process. As I discussed earlier, data analysis from pilot study has generated a group of categories and subcategories as well as contributed to a refined but still tentative theoretical framework. Following this approach, I did not try to impose the tentative conceptual framework onto the data, however, I acknowledged

the influence of both conceptual framework and research questions in the process of coding. They have guided my directions for coding, although not constrained my coding. With the increased knowledge of the data, the theoretical framework evolved and developed correspondingly (Miles et al., 2014).

2) Constructing the story of each participant

Within narrative inquiry, different methods are used to represent the research findings. Different methods may reflect researchers' interest in different aspects of narratives, such as its content, structure or performative nature Elliott (2005). There is no single best solution to all situations. It is important to make a purposeful choice about the specific method, with consideration of the research purpose and the characteristics of the data (Ely, 2007).

Firstly, to achieve the research purpose, this study primarily focuses on the content of narratives. Thus, in this thesis, I write lengthy descriptive sections (6 stories, 6-10 pages each). This method offers a more nuanced understanding of the experience of the target group of teachers, which cannot be expressed through numbers, tables or abstract statements. Compiling a narrative is an act of analysis. The work has to be well considered and it is the role of the researcher to create the stories.

Secondly, the written voice chosen for this thesis is another important decision. First person and third person are often used as approaches to story writing for narrative inquirers (Bignold & Su, 2013). Some researchers argue that compared with stories written in the third person, first person stories are more powerful in attracting the audience. While third person stories, although have long been used in academia, tend to be distanced and dry (Ely, 2007). I acknowledge their viewpoints, however, in this study, I choose to construct third person stories, as I find this is a useful approach. I will explain below why I make this decision, with no intention of justifying it as the single best way:

- It is easier to introduce the contextual information within which the participants' lived experience unfolds.
- It is more natural to construct stories in a way that signals their links to the cultural-historical background and academic context.

However, at the same time, although using third person voice, efforts are made to construct stories not in a distanced and plain way, but in an engaging way.

During the process, my first challenge was selecting from a rich body of data, the appropriate anecdotes and extracts required to organise into one story. Taking Narrative 1 for example, I wrote a 2,500 word narrative out of 60,000 word interview transcripts. The consideration of narrative genre was helpful for me to select and focus on certain parts of the data (J. H. Kim, 2016).

With a focus on the development of the target group of teachers' professional identities, as well as the relationship with historical, social and cultural contexts, I find data analysis principles of two narrative genres can offer some useful guidance. These two narrative genres include bildungsroman and life story (J. H. Kim, 2016). According to Kim, different genres of narrative inquiry require the researcher to focus on different aspects of the data. Below I include a discussion on her suggested recommendations for researchers, which have shaped my data selection and data representation strategy.

I am aware that Kim's understanding of Roberts' (2008) accounts on bildungsroman is just one interpretation. However, I find her recommendations for researchers offered some practical guidance. She suggests that researchers should focus on:

- The idea of an inner or spiritual journey of personal growth;
 - The tension between the ideal and the reality;
 - The importance of context in which the protagonist's personal journey takes place;
 - The role of enhancing the Bildung of the researcher and the reader;
 - The importance of questioning, dialogue, and doubt in personal journey;
 - and
 - The elements of striving, uncertainty, complexity, and transformation.
- (J. H. Kim, 2016, p. 210)

The recommendations above tend to encourage researchers to focus on aspects of data that support the construction of personal growth and identity development stories.

In the case of my study, they are helpful for me to construct the narrative of Hanban teachers' professional development.

On the other hand, although narratives of growth and development allow for discussion of challenges and difficulties, they may risk romanticising the participants' stories and overlooking the complexity of their lives, under the influence of broader contexts (Munro, 1998). To deal with this pitfall, I find Munro's suggestion is helpful, as she says that the researcher should:

Attend to the silences as well as what is said, that we need to attend to how the story is told as well as what is told or not told, and to attend to the tensions and contradictions rather than to succumb to the temptations to gloss over these in our desire for 'the' story. (Munro, 1998, p. 13)

By identifying the most significant and striking areas of the individual's story with the help of the techniques mentioned above. I faced another challenging activity in configuring the data into a coherent story. Through this process, I tried to create stories 'by integrating events and happenings into a temporally organised whole with a thematic thread' (J. H. Kim, 2016, p. 197). Spence (1986) termed the process of making the discrete and even fragmented narratives and events into a coherent whole as narrative smoothing. Spence cautions the problematic nature of this process,

By failing to provide the background information and context surrounding a particular clinical event, by failing to 'unpack' the event in such a way that all its implications become transparent, the author runs the risk of telling a story that is quite different from the original experience. (Spence, 1986, P213)

This required me to interpret the lived experience of the participants within broader contexts (i.e. cultural-historical background and theories) and construct stories with consideration of both. Also, I saw this process as an opportunity to make the personal stories of the participants meaningful to a larger group of audience (i.e. policy makers, teacher educators and researchers) and to stimulate the narrative imagination among them (Nussbaum, 1997).

As a result, the narrative of each participant is organised around 4 to 5 titles. The first two titles are shared by all the participants. The first title is 'Chinese provision in the host school'. This title details the local context of the Chinese provision in the host school. The second title is 'motivation'. This title provides description of their career decisions on applying for the job, staying in the job and finally leaving the job.

Beyond the first two titles, the remainder of the titles are descriptions of themes emerging from an iterative analysis of data and the theoretical framework. Those themes are descriptive to reflect the particularity of each participant's experience. Thus, they vary between different participants. Within each theme, the participant's experience is narrated following a chronological order to make explicit the changes in their feeling, thinking and action over a period, if any.

Extracts from the interview transcripts were used in constructing the narratives and I took it as a helpful way to preserve the voice of the participants. All the Chinese extracts were translated into English. The bilingual extracts are kept in Appendix 7. The process was guided by the principle that the original meaning should not be misrepresented in translation. It followed the steps below:

- All the Chinese extracts were firstly translated by me, as I understood the context around the study and information about the participants.
- Draft bilingual extracts were sent to a bilingual expert, and changes were made where necessary.
- I read the changes and discussed with the bilingual expert about the places where I disagree.
- A final version of the bilingual extracts was decided.

3) Constructing commentary after each narrative

Commentary provides interpretation for the narrative of individuals. Through commentary, I tried to make explicit links between the narratives of the individuals with my research questions and the existing knowledge. It is an iterative and continuous process of interpreting the data through the lens of the theoretical framework, while adjusting this theoretical framework in response to the data. This process highlights

how my research reflects, differs from and expands upon current knowledge of the related areas.

The commentary is organised with the same number of titles as the descriptive themes in the narrative section. Compared with those conceptual themes, titles in commentary are more abstract and conceptual. Thus, different individuals sometimes even share the same commentary titles. Moreover, the ordering of the themes within each commentary does not indicate the differences in their significance. Rather, they are parallel themes of equal importance.

Furthermore, the existence of a well-established provision of Chinese teaching and learning in the host school was a consideration in the grouping of the six narratives. The host schools of the first three participants have such a provision, whilst the latter three participants' have not. This factor has a direct influence on Hanban teachers' construction of effective professional identities, which I will elaborate on in Chapter 5 and 6. Within each subgroup, all the narratives are considered in parallel.

In attempting to identify such influencing factors, I also tried to group the participants based on their gender, age and prior work experiences, however, no direct, isolated influences are evident. The inquiry suggests that each participant is influenced by multiple factors together. I understand this is affected by the small number of participants and the sampling strategy of this study.

4.3.6.3 Constructing analysis across narratives

Analysis of individual narratives helps to gain understanding of the particularity, nuances and the complexity of individual's experience. Analysis across different narratives helps to understand the general features and common characteristics of a group's experience. The principle of constant comparative analysis (Charmaz, 1995, 2006; Strauss et al., 1998) discussed previously was used to compare and contrast commonalities or differences across different narratives. This method was used as soon as I started constructing the individual narratives, for analysing the changing and developmental nature of individual's experience as well as its relationship with other participants' experience.

Also, constant comparative analysis was intensely used at the time when I started to construct the cross-narrative analysis chapter. This objective of the cross-narrative analysis was to identify the general features and common characteristics shared by the particular professional group. Although merely investigated into a small number of participants, the in-depth understanding of their experience allows me to achieve this objective. This method allows me to identify the similarities, as well as the differences across the experiences of different individuals.

To identify a set of recurring and striking themes was an iterative process between data and existing knowledge. On the one hand, I tried to identify the recurring themes shared by the experiences of different individuals, through constantly comparing different narratives. On the other hand, I attempted to tease out the themes, which can specifically expand our current understanding of the target group of teachers. As a result, five themes are finalised. I will discuss in detail in Chapter 6.

In summary, to develop my arguments, I first presented my participants lived experience within narratives of individuals. The construction of each individual's narrative is guided by two general titles and some additional descriptive titles, which vary from individual to individual. Second, in my use of the theoretical framework of professional identity, I connected their lived experiences to theories and vice versa. Finally, I drew out reoccurring and striking themes out of the cross-narrative analysis.

4.4 Summary

In this Chapter, I have provided a detailed account on the methodology adopted in this study to address the research questions raised in the previous chapter. It highlights how my theoretical understanding of professional identity influences the choice of research approach and instruments to generate the data, and what my theoretical considerations and actual steps are to interpret and present the meaning of the data. I argue this set of methodology is the best suited to investigate the research questions under the practical constraints of being a single researcher with limited time and resources.

This chapter sets the scene for Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, in which I construct the narratives of individual participants, and show how I interpret the meaning of their lived

experiences with facilitation of the analytical framework and the broader background information.

Chapter 5 Narratives of individual Hanban teachers

Introduction

As a professional group, Hanban teachers share several common conditions. For instance, all of them were born and lived in Chinese society, and educated in the Chinese educational landscape. All of them received pre-departure training from Hanban and all work and live in a second language environment. However, every Hanban teacher is an individual with their own unique personal biography, preferences and future aspirations.

As constituent parts of the UK educational landscape, British schools also share some common conditions. As I have discussed in Chapter 2, for instance, they collectively face the move of teacher professionalism from the traditional to the new. However, each one of the schools is unique. They have their own histories, current practices and future visions.

Thus, when a group of Hanban teachers enter different UK schools, it is not surprising that they have some shared conditions as well as individual specific ones. In this chapter, I present six narrative of individual Hanban teachers. For each narrative, I first construct a story about the Hanban teachers' past, present and future, highlighting the interesting and recurring incidents and themes. I then link those stories back to the existing literature and attempt to interpret the meaning of those stories. This interpretation process is guided by the objective of addressing the research questions articulated in Chapter 3. As a result, each narrative answers the research questions with two to three themes, I present the matrix in Table 3 below. The details of what theories have been applied for data analysis of each theme are shown in Table 5, which is attached in Appendix 8.

Table 3: Matrix of themes

	Theme 1	Theme 2	Theme 3
Narrative 1 Mr Zhou	Hanban teacher: an ambiguous identity	Identity struggles under performativity	(Re)constructing pedagogical identity
Narrative 2 Mr Wang	Investment in identity	(Re)constructing pedagogical identity	Identity as a resource of subject knowledge
Narrative 3 Miss Wu	Investment in identity	(Re)constructing pedagogical identity	Identity struggles under performativity
Narrative 4 Miss Qian	The gap between the past and present Hanban teacher identity	The role of the local Chinese teacher in shaping professional identity	
Narrative 5 Miss Li	The role of an experienced Hanban teacher in shaping professional	(Re)constructing pedagogical identity	
Narrative 6 Miss Zheng	Second language identity constructed in British communities	Professional identity (re)construction in British communities	

5.1 Narrative 1: Mr Zhou

5.1.1 Narrative

This narrative captures three interviews conducted with Mr Zhou, two one-day school visits to Pleasant Grove School and a collection of three teaching materials during the academic year 2013-2014.

5.1.1.1 Chinese provision in the host school

Pleasant Grove School is a secondary school and sixth form centre located over two campuses in Southern England, with previous accreditation as a Specialist Language College. Although the specialist schools programme ended, language teaching has been maintained in the current curriculum. Students are offered a variety of MFLs, i.e. Chinese, French, German, Italian and Spanish. It is compulsory for students to study two languages in Years 7 and 8. Among all the subjects, Chinese is a relatively new provision, with the teaching of Chinese at GCSE level starting only from 2012. At the time of this study, the first examination year had not yet passed. The school showed its commitment to developing its teaching of Chinese by planning the provision of A-level Chinese from late 2014.

As a CC, the school had two Hanban teachers. Three years ago, the number was reduced to one by the CI due to the limited outreach potential to other schools of Hanban teachers. In the host school, Hanban teachers usually work alongside one local Chinese teacher who is officially employed by the school.

5.1.1.2 Motivation

At the time of participating in this study, Mr Zhou is in his early thirties and single. It is noticeable from Mr Zhou's narratives about his experience as a Hanban teacher that his career decisions on applying for the job, staying in the job and finally leaving the job have been largely influenced by personal reasons.

In 2010, following his graduation from one of the top universities in the field of TCSL in China, Mr Zhou is deployed as a Hanban teacher in Pleasant Grove School by the CI. His motivation for applying for the job, initially, appears to stem from an affection for the British culture. For example, he notes:

Actually, it mainly started with my love of English football. Then getting to know the British culture. Then I immediately decided to come when this opportunity came to me, without giving a second thought on other things. (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.1)

Having long been attracted to the UK culture, this job opportunity appeared to be a precious chance to immerse himself in and experience the British culture first hand. Upon arriving in the UK, he settles in quickly with the comfortable accommodation provided by the British host family, particularly appreciating the home-cooked food prepared each dinner time by the hostess: *'My hostess cooks very delicious food.'* (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.2)

Beyond the initial period of settling in, he gradually gains a feeling of integration into the local community through the establishment of a stable social network (i.e. host family, colleagues and other local friends). He forms a close relationship with the host family, as illustrated by his reference to the host and hostess as his 'British parents'. He regularly visits the local church and sometimes goes to the pub with colleagues or watches football matches with the partner of the local Chinese teacher, as he reflects in the first interview. The satisfaction with the living environment and strong emotional bond with locals help him to establish himself in the UK and continuously immerse himself in the culture, if not specifically committed to his job. As this extract from the interview conducted with Mr Zhou illustrates:

Plus the environment here is good, (as well as) having good living standard and great food, so I love living here or I would not have stayed here for four years. (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.3)

From the end of 2012, he starts to contemplate his future plans after the current job contract ends. He considers the possibility of taking the PGCE route to a permanent teaching role in the UK. However, it appears that the lack of job satisfaction and consideration of the broader career trajectory sway him from the intention to stay longer in Chinese teaching in UK schools. This is evident in the analysis of the interview transcript:

Certainly. There are not as many challenges. In a way that even if you do your job perfectly, students might only beat the same level as first graders in China. Right?

It was like one of the teachers in the past, a classmate of mine, said, 'You'd better go back to China. If you stay in the UK for another several years, you might not know how to teach in China. Because it is too basic here. Once you are back in China, you will start to compare and contrast the synonyms. Hahaha...' Because in China, your students are in a higher level. You will think about those questions. It is not necessarily that the students would ask, but you need to think about those questions. You will be lazy here. Because you know your students are not capable of asking such questions. Sometimes you will just forget. (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.4)

In the extract above, he shares his struggles of whether to stay and become a permanent Chinese teacher in the UK. His comparison between his current students in the UK and past students in China highlights the gap in language proficiency level, which makes it difficult for him to gain the same sense of satisfaction from teaching. Although spoken through the voice of the fellow Hanban teachers, he conveys his worries that the current level of teaching might limit his performance in the future as the longer he stays on in the UK, he fears there would be greater possibility of losing the capacity of teaching in a more advanced level in China.

In addition, the option of going back to China seems to be further supported by the consideration of his family role. Only until the end of 2013 does he make up his mind regarding leaving the UK for good. As an only child, he becomes more concerned about his responsibility of taking care of parents as they grow older. This is reflected in the following interview:

In thirty years time my parents will turn ninety. So they are already more than half way there. Suddenly, I feel very... Actually if you look at my past thirty years. Since I started university, I had seldom been with...and that time spent with my parents have been very limited. Yes and so to speak, I have been considering for myself for more than thirty years, being so selfish for more than thirty years. I should be considering for them now. So I am very determined. (Interview, 5 July 2014, see Q1.5)

5.1.1.3 Changing roles as a Hanban teacher

It is evident in the examination of Mr Zhou's interviews that he has formed a strong personal belief in the role of the teacher in past teaching experiences in China. He seems to attach great significance to teaching activities and the learning outcome of students. His understanding of a good teacher appears to be a teacher who can facilitate *'the constant progress in students' level of language proficiency.'* (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.6)

During the first one and a half years, Mr Zhou perceives his professional roles as a Hanban teacher as one involving several aspects; supporting the learning of individual students in the local Chinese teacher's class; teaching the enrichment class in his schools and teaching in the adults' Chinese club. At that time, students attending those courses do not have to sit exams, therefore for him, such courses are merely *'having fun'* rather than *'the real deal'*. (Interview, 2 January 2014)

For a period, his practice in the classroom seems constrained by the nature of the role of Hanban teachers. For example:

We do not have the UK teacher certificate. We are not qualified teachers and without certification. So theoretically, we are not able to have classes with students by ourselves. I remember my first year here, hmmm, my line manager at the time followed the procedure accordingly. If the local teacher could not attend, I would help her teach several classes. Then, when I was teaching, they would send another qualified teacher to the class. (Interview, 5 July 2014, see Q1.7)

For Mr Zhou, he feels his opportunity of teaching in the classroom is limited by his lack of UK teacher certification and the management style of the line manager, who tends to strictly follow the school policies regarding teaching. To what extent he can be engaged in teacher's classroom practice is also influenced by the style of the local teacher, as reflected in his interview:

Like the previous local teacher, she probably did not feel secure. If I was to help her on behaviour management, sometimes she would feel unhappy and thought that I had challenged her authority. (Interview, 5 July 2014, see Q1.8)

That is, as a TA to the local teacher, his decision about whether he should engage in the practice of behaviour management is not based on whether the situation of the classroom requires it. Rather, it is heavily influenced by the needs and willingness of the local teacher. He seems frustrated by those limitations on his roles, which can be seen from the way he separates himself from the other school teachers by referring himself as an '*temporary staff*' and '*temporary teacher*' (Interview, 2 January 2014). However, his frustration about the perceived insignificance of his work can be temporarily soothed only by linking his practice to that of fellow Hanban teachers, as he notes,

Probably when I first arrived, I worked as a very ordinary Hanban teacher, the kind who promotes the language and promotes culture. Of course I never had the chance to teach the children, like those teachers who were simply playing around with them and teaching them nursery rhymes. (Interview, 2 January 2014, see Q1.9)

For Mr Zhou, his understanding of the ordinary role of a Hanban teacher under Hanban's policy objective is strongly related to leading the children to play games and singing songs, which is very different from his understanding of serious teaching and learning. From the end of 2012, however, he starts to engage in teaching practice which he regards as more serious. He notes,

Then from the second half of my second year, I started to get involved in the GCSE exams and going from school club class and taster class to the class for exams is, if I am to put it simply going from 'having fun' to 'the real deal'. (Interview, 2 January 2014, see Q1.10)

He seems content with the change in the Chinese provision of his host school, as indicated from the phrase 'the real deal' he uses to describe the GCSE Chinese teaching. Teaching for exams matches his understanding of what serious teaching contains. Accompanied by this change, he then is allowed to participate in behaviour management and lecturing of the whole class. According to him, this is influenced by a different management style adopted by the new line manager, as well as the unsuitability of the local teacher to teach at the GCSE level.

By 2014, He begins his fourth year in Pleasant Grove School. The former local teacher has been replaced. It is evident that his role now contains: supporting in the local teacher's Chinese class; teaching the NVQ class alone and teaching the adults' Chinese club. Concerning his relationship with the new local teacher, it is noticeable from school visit field notes that their interaction is demonstrating an equal and cooperative work relationship. It is also evident from his interview:

For example, the local teacher at my current school. If I help her with behaviour management, she feels very happy. This can reduce her (work or pressure) ... This way then she can relax. She can concentrate on the teaching aspect. (Interview, 5 July 2014, see Q1.11)

That is, he and the local teacher work collaboratively on different aspects within the classroom. He finds his support work meaningful, in the process of helping the local teacher to reach the best learning outcomes of students. Having found in school the possible roles which could match his ideal of a good teacher, he seems to no longer accept the roles prescribed by Hanban and shows the intention to challenge and change this definition for the better, as he remarks,

If I have the opportunity to give suggestions to Hanban, my suggestion will be that there is no need to spend money in leading the children to play around. It is a waste of money and very ineffective. Agreed? (Interview, 2 January 2014, see Q1.12)

5.1.1.4 Numbers of students, grades of students or mainstreaming Chinese

It is noticeable from the analysis of his interview that he feels multiple, and at times, competing expectations and demands from three different organisations. Working as a Hanban teacher, those three organisations are Hanban, Pleasant Grove School and the CI.

Mr Zhou perceives that Hanban prescribes the objective of teaching as increasing its influence through enlarging the number of Chinese learners, as he remarks,

Probably, to the people above, they simply want a figure - how many people are learning Chinese. But to those at the bottom, what we want to see is students' attitude towards Chinese, whether they really want to learn Chinese, and their final

grades. Probably, people from above and from below have different points of view. (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.13)

He chooses a pair of antonyms 'the above' and 'the bottom' to refer to Hanban and Hanban teachers respectively. He contrasts his own teaching objective against what has been prescribed by Hanban. He immediately tries to reconcile the contrast between two opinions by offering an explanation. That being, the difference in perspectives is evoked by their different positions within the CI system. However, his attitude towards the grades of students shows some resonance with the objective of teaching prescribed by Pleasant Grove School. Pleasant Grove School appears to assess the performance of teachers against the grades of students. It is evident from school visit field notes that the examination grades of different school subjects are ranked and displayed in a big electronic board. It is also clear from his interview:

Luckily, this GCSE class has achieved some good grades, achievement at last. Now the school has clearly indicated that they would start the A-level Chinese next year. Definitely next year it is going to happen. (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.14)

That is, Mr Zhou perceives the future school curriculum is heavily influenced by the grades students can achieve in current exams, which are directly related to his teaching practices. The word 'finally' he uses in the interview indicates the relief from the pressure he has faced when teaching for good grades.

Finally, he perceives the objective of Chinese teaching prescribed by the CI as '*making Chinese a mainstream subject*'. (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.15)

He seems uncertain about whether the current practice in schools can meet this objective, he remarks, '*It feels like many schools have started Chinese all together, but cannot all be doing well*' (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.16).

Facing the varied demands from three organisations requiring him to teach for different indicators and targets, as an experienced Hanban teacher, he seems to be able to reconcile the possible conflict and tensions among them. As a teacher based in the host school, he seems to view the demand from Pleasant Grove School as most important. Following this is the Hanban objective and finally the CI; as he remarks:

Therefore I think I should still focus on the good students, letting them continue their learning and enabling them to become better and better. What I want is not how big the number is this year. What I want is a certain number of people, not necessarily a large number but who could continuously advance their language learning. This development should focus on depth rather than breadth. (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.17)

5.1.1.5 Ke Ban University model v.s. Pleasant Grove School model

Mr Zhou became familiar with the Ke Ban University model through an MA programme and teaching practices in his part-time jobs. It is clear from his interviews, that his perception of the Ke Ban University model contains four major principles: a friendly, teacher-student relationship; teach Chinese completely through the medium of Chinese; thorough lecturing on grammatical points and sufficient drill time for students. He seems to worship the model as the standard way of teaching. This is evident in an interview where he describes his initial attitude towards the teaching method used in MFL classrooms in Pleasant Grove School by remarking,

At that time, I still had the deep-rooted opinion from China. The grammar-translation method was too outdated. (Interview, 2 January 2014, see Q1.18)

Thus, when he gets the chance of teaching individually, he starts teaching using the Ke Ban University model. However, this model appears not to work in Pleasant Grove School. It is clear from his interview:

Actually it was constantly hitting the wall, constantly hitting the wall. Initially I taught entirely using the Ke Ban University model. Also, when I organise the teaching in class, as long as I feel students can understand this sentence, I will speak in Chinese. But I found that it did not work at all! That is, I realised that I couldn't do Chinese teaching entirely in Chinese. Even just the most basic stuff, students still couldn't understand. (Interview, 2 January 2014, see Q1.19)

Mr Zhou uses the metaphor 'constantly hitting the wall' to describe the occasions where his existing teaching model is repeatedly challenged by the reality of school, which elicited his frustration. This concerned the situation where his belief in teaching only in Chinese cannot work, based on the responses from students. With regard to the

other principles in the Ke Ban University model, he teaches with a strong belief in a friendly teacher-student relationship. Students, however, respond with bad discipline in class. He tries to explain the grammatical points, as he did before, but students respond with incomprehension. The persistent feeling of 'hitting the wall' makes him realise the importance of searching for a new model of teaching, which suits the requirements of Pleasant Grove School.

According to his narratives, it seems the school is lacking a sufficient formal support system for his constant professional learning. Pleasant Grove School offers a very short induction period where he can gain access and observe the classes of other teachers. CI provides some occasional guidance during the initial induction period. However, teachers in Pleasant Grove School appear very supportive. For example, many teachers allow him in for class observation beyond the induction period. Through trial and error as well as lesson observation, he gradually becomes knowledgeable about the model that works in Pleasant Grove School, as is reflected in the vignette:

Actually about the classroom management, there was an anecdote, which made me change a bit. Probably from the beginning, I just started from one extreme, which was the Chinese way, then, after realising it did not work. I moved to the other extreme of being extremely strict. Until one day, it was also in the first year. I went to observe the class of the head of our department. He taught French. His class of Year 9 was also very disturbing. And most students in that class, at that time, also went to Chinese class. So I knew it was a disturbing class. However, in his class, the discipline was much better. I could not say 'good', but was much better than in the Chinese class. It might be because he was the head of the department. Right? Head of the department. Another reason might be that, for example, during one of his management, there were several girls, who kept stroking their hair. Then the head said, 'Do not do this in front of me. You are insulting me!' Because he was bald. Hahaha...Then the whole class started laughing. It was also very relaxing. Well, I felt then that actually you could use different approaches towards different people. You can be relaxed. (Interview, 2 January 2014, see Q1.20)

Initially, he tried to treat his students the same way he did in China. The bad discipline in class made him change his approach completely, by adopting an extremely strict

style. However, the class observation showed him how behaviour management was used by the local teacher, which could be very relaxed. Through the combination of trial, observation and reflection, he developed a new understanding about how to manage students' learning in Pleasant Grove School. He saw that methods can be flexible in response to the characteristics of individual students and specific situations.

Having gone through the difficulties of learning to teach in Pleasant Grove School, which had different contextual characteristics from China. He makes a plea for refining the knowledge base of Chinese teachers from China, as he suggests:

I also want to mention some of my ideas. Especially until this year, when I have been in this school for four years. Having taught four years in the UK, I am almost on track now. Um, I really hope someone could do research into the area of Chinese Teaching as a Foreign Language. Because, in China, Chinese as a Second Language has been very mature. However the existing experience in TCSL could not work here at all. The methods are completely different. The students are completely different. (Interview, 27 November 2013, see Q1.21)

5.1.2 Commentary

Linking the narratives of Mr Zhou back to the existing literature, I find it is powerful to answer the research questions specifically under the three themes below:

- Hanban teacher: an ambiguous identity;
- Identity struggles under performativity;
- Reconstructing pedagogical identity.

5.1.2.1 Hanban teacher: an ambiguous identity

The narratives of Mr Zhou reflects the conflicts within his identity, in particular, the conflicts on what proper practice his role indicates (R. W. Simon, 1992). The differentiation among the ideal self, actual self and ought self proposed by Lauriala and Kukkonen (2005) is helpful to analyse the conflicts. Actual self is the one that is perceived of or revealed in current practice. Ought self is the one which is expected by the external context and others as an objective. Ideal self is the one that is set up as an objective to become by individuals. Thus, the conflicts within Mr Zhou's role is twofold: first, his ideal role as a Hanban teacher does not match the actual role in the initial

stage; Second, the ought role as a Hanban teacher which is expected by significant others sometimes disempower him.

The professional identity as a teacher Mr Zhou embodied when he first arrived at the UK landscape had been formed under the particular influence of his study experience in the MA programme, his teaching experience in China and his learning experience in the pre-departure training programme (Erikson, 1950). For him, the ideal role of a teacher, despite the varied context he works in, contains two layers of meaning. The first layer is that a teacher plays the pedagogical role according to Blatchford et al. (2012, p. 125). Here, the pedagogical role refers to teachers' engagement in 'interactions with an instructional purpose'. The second layer is that a teacher continuously improves the language proficiency of students.

During the first one and a half years, the actual role he perceives from his practice contains both the teaching role as a teacher and the supporting role as an assistant. However, this initial teaching role could not match his ideal of facilitating the continuous progress of students' language level. This conflict causes the frustration in him. However, he exerts almost no agency to change the actual role. This is influenced by his perception of his marginalised status in the school community through the limited roles suggested by the significant others (i.e. his line manager, local Chinese teacher and students). For example, both his previous line manager and local Chinese teacher insist that he is not supposed to be engaged in the activities of behaviour management. He responds to the conflict by categorising school teachers into two binary groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), permanent and temporary, and he identifies himself as a member of the 'temporary staff' and 'temporary teacher' group. By perceiving himself as a member of Hanban teachers, who commonly share the roles and responsibilities with him, his frustration is soothed, albeit only temporarily.

It is interesting to note his actual role and ought role are not static but change over time. His actual role interacts dialectically with the ought role suggested by the school's Chinese provision, related policies and his significant others. Compared with previous colleagues, the current colleagues tend to position him with a role with more responsibilities. This can be explained from the personal styles. However, I would argue that the changes of Mr Zhou's professional identity also influences what

responsibilities they would grant to him. With time, his participation in the school community grows, and Mr Zhou adapts from a newcomer to an old timer (Wenger, 1998). Simultaneously, his knowledge and competencies develop. His changed professional identity earns more trust and recognition from the significant others. Thus, at the later stage, Mr Zhou's actual role expands. He feels content and meaningful about his current role. His agency grows accompanied by this changed identity. He is no longer satisfied with the acceptance of the collective identity of Hanban teachers, but tries to exert his agency and influence this social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

The dynamics within Mr Zhou's role over time reflects ambiguities of the professional identity as Hanban teachers. The first ambiguity lies in the boundary between local Chinese teachers and Hanban teachers. It is unclear about the extent to what a Hanban teacher should be involved in teaching and behaviour management and how this role should be similar to or different to the role of a Chinese teacher. This vague distinction between the identities of Chinese teacher and Hanban teacher echoes the blurred boundary between the identities of teachers and TAs in a broad sense, as suggested by Blatchford and his colleagues' study into the experience of the support staff in UK schools (Blatchford et al., 2012).

As one specific type of the support staff, however, the identity of Hanban teachers has its own distinguished characteristic, the most prominent feature of which, is its affiliation with Hanban. Thus, compared with other types of support staff, this adds up a second ambiguity of their identity. That is, the ambiguity of dual membership. It is unclear the extent to which a Hanban teacher belongs to the Hanban community and to the host school community. Mr Zhou's narrative suggests the danger of marginalisation in one community due to his membership in the other community. Also, this dual membership oftentimes puts conflicting requirements on the construction of his identity. I will elaborate on this point in the proceeding section.

5.1.2.2 Identity struggles under performativity

The second emerging theme in the narratives of Mr Zhou reflects his struggles in reconstructing the meaning of his work under sometimes competing policy objectives from different organisations due to the dual membership contained in the identity of a Hanban teacher. To unpack this aspect of struggles in Mr Zhou's professional identity

construction, I find Ball's notion of performativity and Wenger's notion of identity as a nexus of multimembership are of special relevance.

Definition of performativity has been discussed in Chapter 3. Performativity requires the practitioners keep working for external 'targets, indicators and evaluations'. It is not something intrinsically bad. It can work well if it matches the inner meanings practitioners assign to their practices. Otherwise, it might cause struggles and resistance. Such struggles and resistance are reflected both in their subjective feeling of 'uncertainties, discomforts and refusals' and in their practices of 'critique, vigilance, reflexivity, and of writing' (S. J. Ball & Olmedo, 2013).

This is helpful for me to understand the condition Mr Zhou faces. He is required to work towards indicators and objectives such as the grades of students, students' enrolment and the mainstreaming of Chinese. Coming from the Chinese educational landscape, which emphasises the results of examinations, Mr Zhou does not feel a major conflict between the first indicator and his own meaning of teaching, as I discussed previously, 'to continuously transform the language proficiency of students.' However, the encouragement of competition in students' grades amongst different school subjects elicits the feeling of uncertainty and discomfort in Mr Zhou, as is reflected in his use of 'luckily' and 'finally achieved'. Also, he demonstrates a strong sense of resistance to the latter two indicators and targets as it is more difficult for him to relate them to his own meaning of teaching. Mr Zhou's doubts on the prescribed identity of Hanban teachers and active reflections on the type of teacher he wants or does not want to be, demonstrates what Ball calls the 'care for themselves'. It is noteworthy that, different from many first year Hanban teachers in my study, Mr Zhou is in his fourth year's deployment. Being an old timer, his changed professional identity in the host school community grants him a stronger agency to bring the power relations he is located into light (Wenger, 1998).

Compared with British counterparts' struggles and resistance discussed in Ball's studies, Mr Zhou also has to deal with the struggles raised by the conflicts within his Hanban teacher identity, which contains a nexus of multimembership (Wenger, 1998). According to Wenger, identity should be conceptualised as a nexus of multiple trajectories, which are all inextricably connected and at times they can help to build

upon each other, whereas other times they might end up in conflict. Mr Zhou struggles to meet the requirements from the differentiated objectives which are prescribed by two different memberships he perceives the Hanban teacher identity contains, its membership in both the host school and the CI. Within the CI, further, he perceives the submembership in both Hanban and the UK partner university. Those differentiated objectives are trying to drag him into different directions of time and effort in his practices. He exerts his agency to make reconciliation among the seemingly distinguished objectives and his own meaning of teaching. Through a period of alliance, compromise and refusal, he adapts his own meaning of teaching and reach the sense of peace within his identity as a Hanban teacher.

5.1.2.3 (Re) constructing pedagogical identity

The third emerging theme in the narratives of Mr Zhou is his reconstruction of pedagogical identity. In this study, I use pedagogical identity in a sense that stresses the aspects of teacher's professional identity, which are related to one's pedagogical actions. As discussed previously, his actual role in the school community contains both a teaching role and supporting role. It is worth noting that he did not reference often the process in which he constructed his supporting role in interviews. Munro (1998) cautions the narrative researchers that we should pay attention to 'what is missing' as well as 'what is said'. I interpret this missing account as strongly influenced by the pre-departure training, where almost all the training was preparing them for the whole class teaching role. Thus, Mr Zhou might take the supporting role as an additional rather than essential part of his job.

Next, I examine the process he reconstructs the pedagogical identity. Compared with the other participants, Mr Zhou is the only person who had both the learning and teaching experiences in the directly related subject field (i.e. TCSL). The pedagogical model proposed in the MA programme is primarily based on researchers' experience in Chinese teaching to foreign adult learners in China, where the official language is Chinese. The ideas and beliefs of this model have been reinforced by Mr Zhou's successful application of them in his previous teaching experience as well as the ideas and beliefs promoted by the pre-departure training programme. Thus, facing the

different teaching practice in the host school, he initially demonstrates a strong sense of 'resistance' to adapt into it (Block, 2005).

However, his confidence in his existing way of teaching has been challenged by the complex school reality. The students respond with disciplinary issues in the classroom. This stimulates his constant feeling of frustration, as is reflected in his metaphor of 'hitting the wall'. The tensions he faces share much similarities with those preservice teachers and new teachers in their early years of experience, where the gap between theory and practice has been widely acknowledged (Flores & Day, 2006; Hauge, 1999). He then changes his strategy from resistance to embrace, by actively learning the teaching practices in the new landscape.

The context of Mr Zhou's professional learning, however, is different from Wenger's apprenticeship model, where a mature system of practices has been established (Wenger, 1998). The Chinese teaching in Mr Zhou's host school at the day of his participation in is still in the process of establishment. Also, the existing CPD opportunities still seem inadequate. Thus, it primarily relies on Mr Zhou's exertion of agency to conduct his professional learning.

His strategy combines both an individual's learning while doing and class observation of some experienced local teachers. It is distinguished from the new teachers whose learning at work mainly stems from their isolated classroom teaching (Flores & Day, 2006). Further, it differs from the preservice teachers whose learning in schools are often closely guided and supported by the mentor teachers (Izadinia, 2015). Mr Zhou's professional learning strategy locates the collaborative working relationships at the centre (Flores & Day, 2006; A. Williams, Prestage, & Bedward, 2001).

5.2 Narrative 2: Mr Wang

5.2.1 Narrative

The narrative represents four interviews: three with Mr Wang, one with a school senior leader; field notes for three school visits and one Tai Chi class visit as well as artefacts from Mr Wang, including one teaching philosophy document, four critical incident vignettes, one training note and two lesson presentations. All the data collection was carried out from December 2012 to July 2013.

5.2.1.1 Chinese provision in the host school

Greenville Spring School is an independent, co-educational, boarding and day school for 11-18 year old students located in South East England. According to the interview with a senior school leader, Greenville Spring School is boarding an increasing number of students from mainland China and Hong Kong, whose native languages are Chinese or Cantonese. Those students are facing the cultural difference and challenges of learning in English, especially the terminologies in a certain subjects.

The school has not employed a local Chinese teacher. Therefore, a CLA has been applied every year from the BC. For the school, the most important job of this Chinese assistant is to support the learning of the group of Chinese students. Greenville Spring School shows its interest in provide Chinese teaching to those who want to develop Chinese speaking. Thus, Year 7 and 8 students are provided the Chinese taster class. Also, Tai Chi and Cultural Awareness lessons are provided to improve the understanding of China and Chinese culture for the whole school population.

5.2.1.2 Motivation

Mr Wang is in his early thirties, married, with his wife working in the UK before his arrival. He was a high school English teacher in the Northeast China before he joined the Greenville Spring School. In the middle of his teaching career in China, he spent one year working as a translator in a foreign country but returned to school afterwards. He continuously tries to explore the possibility of growth personally and professionally. In the Teaching Philosophy, he attributes the driving force behind his restless searching to a complex sense of mission, as he explains:

Well, this driving force of continuous exploration should come from one's unconscious sense of duty. Actually, this mission is complex. It might come from one's pursuit of ideals, the love for teaching, or the needs for family life and the desire to improve etc. (Teaching philosophy, 23 December 2012, see Q2.1)

The opportunity of working in the UK seems to be one such chance where he can carry out such an exploration. In the interview, he further explains the motivation behind the job application:

I heard about the situation in the UK in the past. Likely some of it was just my imagining, but I wanted to prove it. Anyway, this was my way of thinking. Another might be the mentality of getting gilded as I mentioned earlier. That was the experience I had, no matter what I want to do in future, it would be quite convenient. one could consider it as a kind of credential. That was my thought indeed. (Interview, 14 July 2013, see Q2.2)

At that time, for him, he is curious about the UK. Also, he regards the work experience in the UK as an investment into his credentials for future career development. His curiosity seems not to be the same as Mr Zhou's interest towards the British culture. It appears more to be a curiosity about to what extent the work experience can be used as a stepping stone for his future development, as he remarks:

That is, I might be a bit mundane, or practical. This is a characteristic of mine, to make a living first. Interest is certainly not the most important thing. But I will definitely do it with devotion. By doing it with devotion, I will cultivate the interest. That is one of my characteristics. (Interview, 30 April 2013, see Q2.3)

He settles in UK quickly, with a nicely prepared house and free meals provided by the Greenville Spring School. The workload at the school is light and contains: teaching Chinese taster classes and a Tai Chi class; supporting Chinese students in the classroom of other subjects; English language tutoring to Chinese students. However, he perceives the work other than Chinese language and culture teaching as 'extra' to his role expectation (Interview, 11 March 2013). The behavioural management of students' appears a challenge for him, however, he keeps learning from his practice

with the support from the related colleagues at school, as is reflected in the Critical Incident Vignettes. He finds he feels less nervous and uneasy when face the leaders at school, compared with in China (Email, 25 April 2013).

In terms of the leisure time activities, for him, without the pressure to build and maintain relationships with friends and relatives such as he did in China, he enjoys a simpler social life. This allows him more time to learn broadly, such as attending Tai Chi classes, reading ancient Chinese philosophy and learning academic writing. For example, he notes:

Especially for the ancient Chinese philosophy, such as the Book of Changes, the Tao De Jing, those stuff. I just feel those things themselves are quite interesting. That is like, of course, 'removing the grass while hunting the rabbit', to my current and future job, if I do job that is related to TCSL, they must be related. Right? Including the Tai Chi, the set I am learning. In the long run, anything that makes money helps, So this is to achieve many things at one stroke. (Interview, 14 July 2013, see Q2.4)

He uses the Chinese idiom 'remove the grass and hunt the rabbit' to describe the situation where learning the knowledge of traditional Chinese culture interesting and useful for his future job. Also, the spare time gives him a space to reflect on '*himself and perspectives of himself*' (Interview, 14 July 2013). Until the final interview, when asked about his future plan, however, he seems to give up his original plan of striving for a good position back in China, as he notes:

Not now, now I am very calm, very calm. I do not pursue those things anymore. Anyway, of course, if the school asks me to do something, as long as it is within my capability, I would definitely do it as a sort of contribution. But I will not be devoting my energy simply to land myself a certain role, this and that. I will not do it. Just let it be. (Interview, 14 July 2013, see Q2.5)

That is, after one year in the UK, he seems to feel more peaceful and be content with his life. He appreciates his next plan as to '*apply for another job opportunity through the CI programme and come back to the UK*' (Interview, 14 July 2013, see Q2.6).

5.2.1.3 Wu Style Tai Chi V.S. 24 Forms

Mr Wang starts his teaching of Tai Chi in Greenville Spring School by teaching students the 24 forms of the simplified Tai Chi routine. This is what he learnt from the training in China. However, he perceives that students are not interested in imitating the routine and become distracted easily in his Tai Chi class. From the field notes, students seem not happy about just copying his demonstration of the gestures. Rather, they sometimes chase after each other in the playground when become distracted. The opportunity of learning Tai Chi with a 'fifth generation master of Wu style Tai Chi' in the UK arises (Critical Incident Vignette 2). Although he has to travel at least one and a half hours by train every week to attend the class, he still finds it a rare opportunity for him to learn, as he notes:

After coming here I realised what a great opportunity this was having a master like him. It felt real. Very rare opportunity! (Interview, 14 July 2013, see Q2.7)

For him, he understands the teaching of his Tai Chi master as authentic to the traditional Tai Chi. It appears very different from the 'superficial gestures and movements' he learned from his past training (Interview, 14 July 2013, see Q2.8).

It is clear that Mr Wang's later teaching of Tai Chi has been greatly influenced by the teaching of the Tai Chi master. The language he uses in his class is affected, as reflected in the field notes:

Sometimes he used metaphors like 'standing like a bicycle' and 'Lotus hands'. This reminded me of Mr Wang's Tai Chi class I observed before, he also used such metaphors in explaining the gestures to his students. (Field notes, 14 July 2013)

The pedagogy he uses in the class is also under the influence, as the field notes record:

After showing the actions to the whole class, the master asked students to play the actions one by one with him, and by doing this, he could correct students' errors. After that, he asked students to work in pairs and practice the actions he taught just now. During this period, he came to observe each pair and correct their errors... This teaching method reminded me of what I

observed from Mr Wang's Tai Chi class. He preceded his lesson in three steps: showing the actions by himself; inviting one student to practice with him and letting students working in pairs. In the later interview with Mr Wang, I've checked with him if he also thought his teaching method of Tai Chi was influenced by his master. He said yes and commented that his master's method was a good way to engage students. (Field notes, 14 July 2013)

For Mr Wang, his students are more easily engaged when he uses the teaching methods learnt from his Tai Chi master, as this method is more capable of guiding and focusing students, as reflected in the interview:

R: So can I understand it this way that the choices you made on what to teach and how to teach at that time were influenced by your master?

Mr Wang: Yes. Especially how to use. In the past, children were not interested in the set of routine I taught them. But since I started learning with the master, who told them how to use. They became especially interested in this and started acting more outward immediately with each other. (Interview, 14 July 2013, see Q2.9)

Apart from the pedagogy, his motivation towards learning Tai Chi and traditional Chinese culture appears to change, as is reflected in the interviews, as he remarks:

That is practice by myself, and then to attend the exam of CIs and perform a bit, and say that I have a talent. But now it is absolutely different. Now I only want to learn it well, truly well. For example I mentioned those ancient classics. That is to say having an interest is the most important thing. So my works with CIs and TCSL are just something that I do in the meantime. (Interview, 14 July 2013, see Q2.10)

That is, he understands his interest is a more important factor which motivates him for the continuous learning of traditional Chinese culture. This interest makes him not satisfied with merely mastering some basic gestures. Rather, he is motivated to gain a deeper understanding. Moreover, his understanding on the mission of promoting Chinese culture also has changed.

I only taught the routine, they were the simplified 24 Forms. kind of like gymnastics. That was my feeling. Actually many foreigners like practicing Tai Chi very much. But many people just learn this one type. It only takes a few days in learning the routine. Some teachers do not teach other things. So I have a lot to say about the issue of Chinese culture and tradition. We are not able to carry this big mission. I think at least to me. First of all we should increase our understanding of China and do it properly. Otherwise, we will lose face when going aboard. Really losing face! (Interview, 14 July 2013, see Q2.11)

That is, he feels the inadequacy of his knowledge on Chinese culture. In this case, the simplified 24 Forms he mastered and taught in the past, for him now, seems no longer sufficient for the long term teaching of Tai Chi course. The feeling of inadequacy even challenges his confidence as a teacher. Thus, he views it as an urgent task to learn more about Chinese culture before he goes out to promote Chinese culture. Later in the same interview, he reaffirms his interest and intention of continuous learning of Tai Chi with his master.

5.2.1.4 Insider experience as subject knowledge

Being born and having lived in China as a Chinese seems to provide Mr Wang some insider perspectives on contemporary Chinese culture. His personal experience, sometimes, can be used as valuable resources for the teaching of Chinese culture.

According to the artefacts and interviews, he is invited by a Geography teacher to join his class for discussion of the topic: China's One Child Policy. The Geography teacher values his insider perspective as it can be used as an alternative to the perspectives purely from a Western viewpoint. Mr Wang perceives that students are holding some misinterpretations towards this specific Chinese policy. For example, he mentions that some students have such misunderstanding that '*the Chinese government would kill many children after they are born*' (Interview, 11 March 2013, see Q2.12). He understands that such misunderstanding is largely influenced by students' sociocultural context, the British media portrait of China for example. Thus, when he is confronted with challenging views from students, he tries to respond with patient explanations, as he notes:

This misunderstanding is by no means an attempt to belittle our culture. Just to view it as a misunderstanding. Then if you can explain it in a clear way, they would find it easy to accept. (Interview, 11 March 2013, see 2.13)

According to him, he tries to tell them his actual experience of living under this policy, such as having a younger sister who is twelve year younger than him. Through his own story, he tries to show them his insider perspectives on the parts where in their teaching material he finds as ‘misunderstanding, prejudice and even purposefully misguidance’ (Critical Incident Vignette 5). In the meantime, however, he also ‘*frankly admits China today are facing many issues and challenges*’ (Critical Incident Vignette 5). Students and the Geography teacher respond with applause at the end of his talk.

His living experience in China is often referred to when trying to explain some specific phenomenon in China. For example, once he tries to explain to his students the historical reason behind the Chinese thinking of ‘*preferring boys over girls*’, as he notes:

This touches the issue of ‘preferring boys over girls’. If your English is not good enough, then, do not try to explain, or you would not be able to explain it clearly. But I think if you are well prepared, it is quite interesting to explain this. But when you face this issue, many people feel this seems a cultural dross of our Chinese culture, which cannot be brought out. Actually that is not the case and there must have been some sociocultural explanation behind it. Because China in the past, especially in the ancient times, UK as well, they did not have a pension system in the ancient society. So people raise their sons to support the elderly, or have their daughters married in to other families and taking in others’ as daughters in law. Isn’t that logical? They would find it reasonable, and they would try to understand us. (Interview, 11 March 2013, see Q2.14)

For him, the explanation towards such cultural stereotypes takes good command of English as well as the in-depth understanding of students’ of cognitive habits.

5.2.2 Commentary

Linking the narratives of Mr Wang back to the existing literature, I find it is helpful to answer the research questions specifically under the three themes: investment in

identity, reconstruction of pedagogical identity and identity as a resource of subject knowledge.

5.2.2.1 Investment in identity

Mr Wang's motivation of becoming a Hanban teacher is complex. Different from the foreign national language teachers in Block's (2005) study, who are largely motivated by their personal love of English language, Mr Wang's strong desire to work in the UK can be understood through the notion of investment in Norton's (2000) term which is manifested in Mr Wang's decision to come. His decision of coming and teaching in the UK is a deliberate choice underpinned by his belief that it is an opportunity for him to gain access to symbolical resources (i.e. English language and UK education system) and material resources (i.e. salary) in the UK. Ultimately, through identity construction, he might gain enlarged access to the symbolic and material resources (i.e. promotion, increased income and other job opportunities) back in China.

Mr Wang's assumption is informed by the sociocultural context of China. Education or work experience in western countries is regarded as a valuable credential in the eye of many Chinese employers. Especially in recent years, phrases such as 'candidates with overseas experience would be considered first' ('有海外经验者优先') can be often seen in recruitment advertisements in both educational and non-educational jobs. Thus, Mr Wang appreciates the value of UK work experience as a crucial ladder in his career trajectory.

However, there has been a change in the focus, which can be observed, of this investment over time. Initially, he focuses on gaining the 'credential' (i.e. adding working experience in a Western country to his C.V.). He cares more about how much value this credential can be claimed in his upward mobility in the career ladder. Such credentials, according to Bourdieu (1990), 'define permanent positions which are independent of the biological individuals' (1990: 132). Thus, it does not automatically result in the refinement of his professional identity.

Gradually, the difficulties in teaching, in particular, the disciplinary issues of his students make him realise the necessity to develop professionally. His focus, thus, shifts to professional learning by utilising both symbolic and material resources

provided for him, such as the educational opportunity of an authentic Tai Chi course and sufficient spare time. During the process, not only his perceptions of the subject knowledge and appropriate pedagogy have been reshaped and reconstructed, but also the sense of meaning he attaches to this professional learning. He still holds the utilitarian view towards his professional learning, in which he organises the ‘curriculum’ of his own learning under the consideration of their utility in his future teaching practices. However, he gradually discards the desire to advance his career. Instead, he feels content with his current position.

5.2.2.2 (Re) constructing pedagogical identity

Upon arrival to the UK landscape, the pedagogical identity that Mr Wang embodies, is formed historically under the influences of his experiences in the prior stages of his life (Erikson, 1950), including experiences as a student, as an English teacher in China and as a Hanban trainee (pre-departure training programme). All the experiences are under the Chinese educational landscape, where, as I discussed earlier in Chapter 2, is still primarily influenced by Confucianism, stressing ‘a traditional teacher-dominated, knowledge-based transmission mode of teaching’ (Zheng, 2010). The central task for teachers is to transmit a set of pre-constructed subject knowledge through lecturing and students’ note taking. Being granted the autonomy to teach in the Greenville Spring School, Mr Wang’s teaching approach in the Tai Chi class at the initial stage was primarily an enactment of his Chinese pedagogical identity.

In this, he tries to organise the demonstration of the ‘gestures of 24 Forms’, in a way which bears resemblance to lecturing, as well as asking students to copy his gestures, which is similar to note-taking. However, the students, with their learning history in the British landscape, challenge his Chinese pedagogical identity by responding with persistent disciplinary issues. It works as the catalyst for him to adapt his existing pedagogical identity.

However, without a formal supporting structure for professional learning within the school, he exerts his agency and organises his own learning by drawing on the symbolic resources outside of the school community. Such as the participation in a Tai Chi course. This course, firstly, exposes him to a teaching approach which is very different from his. For example, the Tai Chi master focuses more on connecting the

abstract knowledge with the practical usage of it, as well as encouraging the scaffolding between learners. Instead of adopting a critical stance towards the differences as demonstrated by Block's (2005) participants, rather, Mr Wang is keen to take on the dispositions of teaching in the UK landscape. He immediately starts trying out some of the teaching methods utilised by the Tai Chi master in his class.

The Tai Chi course also provides him an opportunity to develop his ideas about what to teach, which constitute an important part of his professional identity. It is interesting to note that the pre-departure training programme suggests the 24 Forms as the legitimate subject knowledge of Tai Chi, as is reflected in the interviews. However, 24 Forms is merely a simplified and standardised version of one school of the traditional Tai Chi. It intends to represent the essence of the traditional Tai Chi superficially through 24 routinized movements. The school reality makes Mr Wang feel that the mastery of this artificially simplified version is inadequate for teaching and learning. His feeling echoes some researchers' remarks on Hanban teachers' lack of in-depth knowledge of Chinese culture (H. Zhu & Li, 2014). The instructor of the Tai Chi course is believed to be the fifth generation master of Wu style Tai Chi. He is perceived by Mr Wang as a chance to learn an authentic version of Tai Chi.

5.2.2.3 Identity as a resource of subject knowledge

As a Chinese national, Mr Wang has gained his personal knowledge about China through previous experience living in China for more than thirty years. When other local teachers and students ask questions about China, he responds with references to his historically accumulated personal knowledge. One such example as illustrated in detail previously is that he tells his personal story of having a sister twelve years younger than him as response to students' misunderstanding towards China's one child policy. Trying to elicit the meaning of this part of narratives, firstly, I see the unique contribution foreign national language teacher/assistants make to the learning of UK students through providing an 'up-to-date perspective on their own culture' (Rowles 1998: P3).

A close examination of the interaction between Mr Wang and his students in such incidents suggests that Mr Wang consciously appropriates specific fragments of his personal knowledge not in ways that respond to the neutral questions students raise

about China, but in ways that impede the stereotypes students hold towards China. Morgan's (2004) notion of identity as pedagogy serves as a way to theorise this interaction.

I borrow this notion and adjust it to 'identity as a resource of subject knowledge', which I believe better theorises the nature of this incident in Mr Wang's narrative. Different from Morgan's proactive performance of his identity in different occasions (i.e. before class, in class and in lunch) and in different pedagogical forms (i.e. informal discussion and formal discussion), Mr Wang primarily acts in a responsive position via formal discussion in class. Thus, the pedagogy aspect is not as prominent as in Morgan's narrative. Rather, when forming the content of response, he considers the characteristics of his students, in particular, their native English speaking ability and preference of 'reasoning'. The understanding of students' characteristics has been gained through his prolonged participation in the practices of this specific school community.

Therefore, the prominence of Mr Wang's narrative is more about the close relationship between his identity and the formation of subject knowledge. Similarly, Xu and Connelly (2009) explicitly articulate the relationship between teacher identity and teacher knowledge, 'when a teacher responds to a student or designs a particular lesson, their actions and plans are based on the totality of their experience. They respond holistically as persons'.

It is worth differentiating that the subject knowledge Mr Wang teaches here has been drawn from 'teacher knowledge' rather than 'knowledge-for-teachers'(Connelly & Clandinin, 2000; Xu & Connelly, 2009).The former focuses more on the personal level. It refers not only to the knowledge teachers learn from formal training programmes, but also to the explicit and tacit knowledge they learn from the lived experiences. The latter refers to the knowledge and skills taught explicitly to teachers in all forms of pre-service and in-service teacher training programmes. In forming the subject knowledge in this incident, Mr Wang utilised the explicit and tacit knowledge he has learnt from his lived experiences both in China (e.g. having a younger sister himself) and in the UK (e.g. students' characteristics and the common portrait of China in British media), in school and in the society at large.

5.3 Narrative 3: Miss Wu

5.3.1 Narrative

This narrative captures four interviews conducted with Miss Wu during the academic year 2013-2014.

5.3.1.1 Chinese provision in the host school

Sun Valley Academy is an 11-18 mixed academy located in Southern England. Students are offered a variety of MFL subjects, i.e. French, German, Spanish, and Chinese, however the teaching of Chinese only started in 2012. In both Years 7 and 8, Chinese is offered as taster classes to all the students. From Year 9, students are offered the choice of continuing the study of one of the language choices available. At the time of this study, the school had not started the teaching of Chinese at GCSE level, however, it has been planned to commence in the autumn term 2014. In the interviews, Miss Wu conveys her initial surprise at the fact that Chinese provision is merely at the early stage. For her, the senior leadership team in Sun Valley Academy are welcoming the Chinese provision. However, teachers of other MFL subjects perceive the introduction of Chinese teaching as a challenge as it will compete for the students with them.

Sun Valley Academy is still in the process of gaining a CC status. It hosts two Hanban teachers, one from the BC programme and one from the CI programme. Those two Hanban teachers are currently responsible for all the Chinese teaching in Sun Valley Academy as the school has not yet employed a local Chinese teacher. Miss Wu, as a CI teacher, is also responsible for the regular outreach activities to three other schools in the local region. She finds her work '*particularly hectic*' (Interview, 16 November 2013).

5.3.1.2 Motivation

At the time of participating in this study, Miss Wu is in her late thirties, married with one son. It is noticeable from Miss Wu's narratives about her experience as a Hanban teacher that her career decisions on applying for the job, staying in the job and future plans have all been largely influenced by personal aspects.

Miss Wu became a middle school English teacher in China ever since she gained her BA in English Education. At the age of thirty, she has already attained the professional title of Senior Secondary School Teacher and thus, for years, she has experienced a conflict in searching for a new direction in her career development, as she remarks,

Speaking of myself, I have already gained the professional title of Senior Secondary School Teacher, and at the age of thirty, I already knew what I would be doing when I am fifty. That is if I need some changes. That is how I should change towards the direction and how to position myself. Truly to be honest, I have been confused for years, besides doing my own job well. (Interview, 16 November 2013, see Q3.1)

For her, the opportunity of working in UK schools seems to be a chance to experience something different and an opportunity of self-improvement. Although, she understands the recruitment process can be competitive and challenging, requiring much effort and endeavour, she takes it as an opportunity to set herself up as an example for her son, as she notes in response to my question about the reason why she decides to come to teach in the UK:

On the one hand, I indeed just want to be a role model for my son. Also at that time, although I accidentally saw the announcement from the school and I felt it was very far from me, I wondered if there might be some possibility if I really tried. Because I really wanted to have this experience...then, besides, I just want some self-improvement. It is also a challenge to myself. (Interview, 16 November 2013, see Q3.2)

In 2013, she successfully passed through the recruitment process and was deployed as a Hanban teacher in Sun Valley Academy. However, as is reflected in the pre-departure email exchange, she has the mixed feeling of sadness, concern and guilt towards her family, especially her son. She expresses her feelings of guilt for not being able to be there for him at the crucial stages of his academic and psychological development and the first few months seem difficult for her. As reflected in the interviews, regarding her work, she finds the workload in both the host school and outreach schools particularly heavy (Interview, 16 November 2013). Without a well-established Chinese curriculum in the host school or the support from an experienced

Chinese teacher, she feels that teaching preparation both difficult and tiring (Interview, 16 November 2013).

Furthermore, regarding her daily life, she feels her quality of life has significantly declined due to the basic living condition of her flat and the simple food she usually eats (Interview, 16 November 2013). She finds it difficult to integrate into the local people although she has tried hard, as her low English language proficiency leads to a lack in confidence in both work and life.

Despite all the difficulties, however, she always seems willing to make the most of the experience and try to make use of the learning resources this experience can offer (Interview, 4 January 2014). For example, she actively seeks opportunities to learn English, such as through the online chatting applications, where she finds some local language partners. Through attending the church services, she makes friends with a local family. She even enrolls in an academic English course. For her, she enrolls in the English learning programme as the first step to gain a UK qualification in future when opportunity allows. However, she appears uncertain about this plan with the continued concern stemming from her role as a mother, as she notes,

*At present, I can only say I will wait and see. I have a child back home. So at present I am not sure if I would stay here for two or three years.
(Interview, 4 January 2014, see Q3.3)*

By the third interview, however, she seems to change her view and sees the potential of bringing her son along to the UK. She views the educational opportunity in the UK as a better stepping stone to enable her son to study at a good university. By recognising this importance, she expresses her determination to stay in the UK, as she notes,

For example, on the matter of attending schools, I probably will try many things, and as long as he comes here and studies here, I will find a way to stay here with him until his graduation from high school. I said it was as if mom put up a ladder for you, if you take this ladder, then, you can reach a certain height. However, if you do not take this ladder, someday, you had to make yourself a ladder to reach that height. (Interview, 12 April 2014, see Q3.4)

Through the metaphor of 'ladder', she demonstrates an understanding of the link between her work opportunities in the UK and her son's access to higher education. In the final interview, when asked about the future plans, she reaffirms her desire of staying in the UK for the maximum duration of her contract if the policy allows. For her, she hopes to stay in the current position to continue her work of introducing China to the UK whilst at the same time, experiencing more of the British culture. Otherwise, when she goes back to China, she plans to change her job.

5.3.1.3 Seeking ways to attract students' interest

Before being deployed into the Sun Valley Academy, Miss Wu taught English in China. On coming to the UK, it is the first time she is required to teach Chinese as a foreign language. Before her departure to the UK landscape, she has already understood the importance of attracting students' interest due to the characteristics of British students, as is reflected in the pre-departure email exchange. Upon arrival at the Sun Valley Academy, Miss Wu seems to be surprised by the underdevelopment of Chinese curriculum. She finds there to be a lack of lesson planning material and resources or support to enhance her teaching. Without the guidance from an experienced local Chinese teacher, she and the other Hanban teacher from the BC programme work collaboratively to determine more effective ways to deliver Chinese teaching through hands on practice.

In Sun Valley Academy, her workload contains teaching the taster classes in Year 7 and Year 8 as well as supporting the teaching of the BC teacher in Year 9. She seems not content with just transmitting the knowledge of Chinese language to students. She perceives a more important task for her is finding the approaches that can stimulate students' interest in Chinese and China, as she notes,

Ah, I think, the deepest feeling is that, I am thinking about the ways to attract the attention of students in class every day. To keep them interested in Chinese and China. This is the most important task for me. Because it is comparatively easy to transfer the Chinese knowledge, like how I taught them a Chinese character today, or teaching them Pinyin tomorrow. To teach them Pinyin, or to teach them a sentence is easy. But how I, or in other words, to present in ways that would let them learn and let them learn to use, and make them willing to learn the next lesson with me. These are

the most important things I am considering. I am thinking about this question every day. (Interview, 16 November 2013, see Q3.5)

She attributes her rationale behind this task to her personality, the need for recognition and the passion for making her home country understood by other people, as she remarks:

Firstly, from a personal perspective, as a teacher, first of all, I am comparatively dedicated to my work. Since I have decided to do it, I should do it well. Otherwise, I wouldn't do it. Isn't it? Then, it is to let the students and other colleagues in the school to accept me as a decent person. It is the recognition from everyone that I wanted. On the other hand, that is, from a country's perspective, I feel I really am patriotic. Ever since I came here, I also have been having this strong wish, that is, to let others understand China, understand our culture, and even to become really interested in our country. Then in future they might even go and travel there, or even to live and work there, these are all possible. I have a strong wish. So I am thinking, if more students get to know about China at a young age and when they grow up, their direction of development might incline more towards China. This is broadly speaking. These are two major reasons. (Interview, 16 November 2013, see Q3.6)

In the second interview, it is evident through a comparison between her past students in China and current students in the UK that her understanding of the characteristics of British students are growing. This insight reaffirms the importance of making the teaching interesting and its effect in maintaining classroom discipline, as she notes:

In addition, I feel, comparatively speaking, the motivation and initiative of children here are not as good as domestic children... to children here, you have to think about how to attract their attention all the time, how to maintain the teaching, how to make them sit there quietly and not disturb others. This tends to be the most important task in classroom teaching. Also, it takes considerable amount of time and effort. (Interview, 4 January 2014, see Q3.7)

She continues to proactively look for any possible ways to make her teaching more appealing to students. Without a formal learning system in school, she tries to learn from lesson observation and reading related teaching guide books. When the school accommodates a PGCE Chinese trainee, she tries to seize the opportunity and learn from the trainee, as she notes:

I find so many things worthy of learning through observing his class. Well, after all, I and the BC teacher have not observed any Chinese classes taught by a local teacher ever since we came here. This is actually a big problem. But those PGCE students, I think when they receive the training, their tutors must have some requirements for them, requiring them to teach in a certain model. It must contain some standards within. So I feel very eager to observe their class, wanting to observe the local standard and the way of teaching. (Interview, 12 April 2014, see Q3.8)

For her, lacking an experienced local teacher as a role model, she views the PGCE trainee's Chinese class as a key resource for her to learn the local practices of Chinese teaching.

5.3.1.4 Seating for learning V.S. seating for photos

It is clear from the interviews that Miss Wu is entitled to freely arrange the seating plan of the students in her UK class, whereas this was a privilege available only to class teachers in China. In her narratives, she described two incidents where she has changed the sitting plan of students.

In response to my question about the methods she uses to maintain the discipline of the classroom, she introduces the first method was to change the seating plan of students, she notes:

The first week of my teaching, I asked students to sit however they wish to. Later I found out that if they were asked to sit wherever they wanted to, they tend to sit next to their friends. So that they can talk and play around with each other. From the second week, then, I arranged a seating plan for them. Everyone had a fixed seat. In the process of arranging the seats, I deliberately put those students who were very active to the front, where they would be more close to me. Or I just let him sit alone. Those diligent

and quiet ones were allowed to sit next to each other. In addition, the quick learners and slow learners were arranged to sit together, so that they could help each other. It was through arranging the seating plan to reduce the opportunity of them talking to their friends in class. (Interview, 4 January 2014, see Q3.9)

For her, instead of giving students the freedom to sit wherever they wish to, she has designed a seating plan which has been designed with the consideration of both controlling discipline and promoting cooperative learning amongst students with varied learning capacity.

The second incident emerges from her response to explain why she feels so tired by her work, as she illustrates:

At that time, every one of us is required to contribute to Hanban, like writing news. So sometimes I will think about how to take some pictures from things meaningful. When taking photos, you know, it is very troublesome here. You need to get consent from students. You need to explain to them in which media those photos are to be used, such as website or newspaper, etc., and explain it to them. Under this situation, many children are willing to be known by others about what they do. They are willing to cooperate. Some of them will reject directly. Then, we will let those who rejected sit on the other side. Also, I need to inform the tutor beforehand. I feel it is really troublesome. (Interview, 13 July 2014, see Q3.10)

Hanban teachers are expected to write news articles regarding to their teaching experience for Hanban as part of their regular workload. Photos are viewed as illustrative of these events. The consideration of the seating plan in this incident merely depends on whether the students agree to their photos been taken and used by Hanban. Through the cooperation with the local tutor, she separates the students who had agreed on their photos been taken from the group who did not. This extra work of explaining to teachers and students, as well as rearranging the seating plan seems to be a task she does not enjoy and appears to be very tiring for her.

5.3.2 Commentary

Linking the narratives of Miss Wu back to the existing literature, I find it is useful to answer the research questions specifically under the three themes below:

- Investment in identity;
- Reconstructing pedagogical identity;
- Identity struggles under performativity.

5.3.2.1 Investment in identity

Similar to Mr Wang in the Narrative 1, Miss Wu's decisions on coming to the UK and staying in the job are largely influenced by her desire of an 'investment in identity', a notion which stresses learners' long-term objectives to enlarge their access to the symbolic and material resources through investing some time and effort in the (re)construction of their identities (Norton, 2000). Thus, I label this emerging theme with the same title as in Mr Wang's narrative. However, her investment covers two domains, that is, investment in her own identity and investment in the identity of her son.

An analysis of Miss Wu's narratives about her lived experience shows that she seems to be dedicated to her work and have strong commitment to personal and professional growth and development. This strong inner force brings much purpose into her life and greatly influences her current and future decisions of actions (McAdams & McLean, 2013).

This can be seen from the fact that although she has gained the highest professional credential for a secondary school teacher, she still feels restless in the search for a new direction in her career. For her, as is reflected in the interviews, by investing a period of time working in the UK, she can access the educational resources available in the UK landscape.

Furthermore, although without an established supporting system, she actively exerts her agency for professional learning as a teacher and English language learning. Overall, her investment in the reconstruction of professional identity is perceived by herself as a way to provide her access to a new, better job in future.

However, the investment in her own identity is intertwined with the consideration of the investment in identity of her son. Sometimes, she views those two aspects of investment as mutually constructive. For example, the objective of setting herself up as role model for her son encourages her to apply for the job and further encourages her to participate in the extremely difficult recruitment process. Conversely, she often views those two aspects as contradictory, as exemplified by her conflicting desires to stay a long time in the UK and her missing role as a mother back home in China.

With her time in the UK growing, she then attempts to exert her agency to reconcile the conflicts between the two aspects of investment. She seeks to find a way to continue her professional development and be a mother simultaneously, eventually settling on a plan to bring her son to the UK for study. This change of plan is further developed through her recognition of the value that an educational experience from the UK would provide in her son's future access better resources at the Higher Education level. The investment in the identity of her son encourages her to stay as long as possible in the UK.

In comparison to French nationals, who have free movement between their home country and the UK (Block, 2008), Miss Wu's investment is highly enabled or restricted by Hanban's policy. During her participation in this study, the Hanban policy saw significant changes to the length of the contract. First, the length of each term was shortened from three years to two years. Later, it extended the maximum number of terms open to Hanban teachers from one to two. In responding to the change, she demonstrates her feelings of uncertainty towards her future plan. She feels a lack of agency to deal with such external changes at the policy level.

5.3.2.2 (Re) constructing pedagogical identity

Miss Wu seems to be aware of the importance of attracting students' interest in her teaching before her arrival at the UK landscape. Her preconceptions about the UK and the practices outlining her conduct are informed by the pre-departure training. As I discussed previously in Chapter 2, the pre-departure training, especially the top-up training which has specific focus on the UK schools context, provides a broad impression on the nature of teaching Chinese in UK classrooms. For example, one key belief is that students' interest should be considered when doing the lesson planning,

which is in stark contrast with the teacher-centred teaching in the Chinese landscape (Pratt 1992, 1999).

In Miss Wu's case, she has been made aware of the necessity to reconstruct her pedagogical identity through pre-departure training. However, in reality at the school, she still does not have confidence in the ways to enact this idea. This suggests that the pre-departure training may not be sufficient for the establishment of a sense of identity of an effective Hanban teacher (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). Similar to students and inexperienced teachers, Miss Wu is also in need of developing 'more specific knowledge structures relating to classroom action' (Calderhead & Robson, 1991). This echoes Lave and Wenger's emphasis on the role of participation in the actual practice for the formation of identities (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

With the prolonged participation in the UK landscape, she becomes more knowledgeable about the educational culture which is underpinned by the belief of learner-centredness, as presented in students' freedom of choosing to learn Chinese and by students' behaviours in and outside of the classroom. Learner-centredness is one of the fundamental principles promoted by the National Curriculum, as captured in the section on Inclusion (Department for Education, 2013). In Block's (2005) study, the four French national teachers also notice this aspect of educational culture difference between the UK and their home country. They respond with resistance and criticise the learner-centredness as being 'spoon-fed'. In contrast, Miss Wu embraces it and demonstrates enthusiasm to adapt her teaching practices towards this principle.

Without an established Chinese provision in the host school, there are no local Chinese teachers and Miss Wu is granted a full teaching role. This allows her an opportunity to learn professionally when teaching as Mr Zhou does in Narrative 1. Without any official structural support for her professional learning from the host schools, she exerts her agency to actively seek additional learning resources, such as doing lesson observations with her colleagues.

To interpret her enthusiasm in adapting her practices towards the belief of attracting individual students' interest, it is useful to look at recent studies reporting the Curriculum Reform in China and the policy objectives of Hanban. The Curriculum

Reform is planned to be implemented through in-service teacher training, in which the belief of 'learner-centredness' has been stressed and promoted (Zheng, 2012).

However, such belief is difficult to be carried out in the actual teaching practices in Chinese educational landscape as it conflicts with other important sociocultural factors, such as the existence of the National Higher Education Entrance Examination, Gao Kao (Chen & Day, 2014; Zheng, 2010).

However, through the top down implementation of Curriculum Reform, this thinking has been portrayed by the official discourse as something more advanced than traditional approach of 'teacher-centeredness', which all school teachers should adapt into. Thus, when Miss Wu comes across the 'learner-centredness' in UK educational landscape, there occurs no educational cultural shock as felt by those French counterparts (Block, 2005).

Another crucial factor is Hanban's policy objective. Under its influence, she has developed a personal sense of mission to cultivate students' understanding and interest in learning Chinese language and about China. Miss Wu's sense of mission can be interpreted as elicited by the web of power relations she is embedded in.

Hanban's policy objective has been stressed in many aspects of the operations of the system, from the criteria for teacher recruitment, the pre-departure training programme curriculum, the Guidance Notes for Hanban Teachers, to the evaluation forms of their work performance (i.e. Form 1, Form 2 and Form 3). Hanban teachers have been well informed of the requirements on what kind of teacher subject they are expected to be (Foucault, 1982). Miss Wu has obtained the knowledge of what a 'normal' Hanban teacher should be and do (Foucault, 1972, 1980). One of the Hanban prescriptions is the emphasis of teachers' accountability for promoting Chinese language and culture among their students. From this sense, it is important for her to attract and maintain students' interest of learning.

However, there are sometimes struggles and resistance towards this 'normal' identity, which I will discuss in detail in the following section.

5.3.2.3 Identity struggles under performativity

Comparing the two incidents related to students' seating plan referred to by Miss Wu, it is interesting to note that in the first incident, her major concern behind the practice of changing the seating plan is how to better support the learning of students. The rationale for this practice is her consideration of the individual characteristics of students, such as whether they are quiet or active, as well as whether they are quick or slow at learning. Being given the freedom to teach independently in the classroom, Miss Wu takes up the accountability and initiative to try out ways she believes would improve the current situation.

In the second incident, however, the consideration behind the practice of changing seating plans is whether an individual student agrees to have his or her photo taken. The need of reporting her performance is provisionally prioritised by students' needs. Those photos are to be used in the news articles which might be published online in the related websites of Hanban. The publication of news articles from the practitioners contributes to the construction and maintenance of the institutional 'impressions' of Hanban (S. J. Ball, 2003) .

The participation in the practices for the institutional impression management has some costs. Firstly, it distracts Miss Wu from the time and effort which she can spend in her core task in supporting teaching and learning. Secondly, she faces what S. J. Ball (2003) calls as 'values schizophrenia', which refers to the condition where the individual teachers sacrifice their personal 'commitment, judgement and authenticity within practice' for 'impression and performance'. In the case of photo taking, Miss Wu has to change the original seating of her students, temporarily prioritising the rigours of performance over students' needs.

However, this type of dilemma, tension and sacrifice does not happen occasionally. It is suggested from the interview with Miss Wu that Hanban teachers are required to meet an annual quota of the publication of three news articles. Also, not all the news articles they submit can be counted as part of the quota as articles have to undergo a process of selection before final publication. Thus, to meet the targets, Miss Wu has to constantly spend time choosing and planning the parts of her work that she believes to be of reporting value.

Furthermore, Hanban teachers are encouraged to compete with each other and achieve beyond the required targets. For example, as is reflected in the field notes, Hanban teachers are evaluated and ranked according to their 'performative data' and the results are presented publicly in the CPD event organised by the CI (S. J. Ball, 2003). The 'performative data' includes indicators such as the number of news articles published and the number of students taught. This constant pressure of competing reinforced Miss Wu's discomforts and unease drawn out by the 'values schizophrenia' and clearly justifies her reports of feeling tired towards work. This constant feeling of tiredness might lead to the psychological 'burnout' of teachers (Maslach, 1982), which has been identified as an important factor that leads teachers to leave the teaching profession (Schamer & Jackson, 1996).

Compared with Mr Zhou in Narrative 1, Miss Wu also demonstrates the struggles in her practices. However, she articulates fewer doubts towards the 'normality' of the practices (Foucault, 1972, 1982). Rather than reacting irresponsibly to the practices required, she works hard to be compliant with targets that have been set for her. This can be understood through her peripheral identity in the school community, as she is still in her first year working as a Hanban teacher (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). This peripheral identity grants her less agency to act differently.

5.4 Narrative 4: Miss Qian

5.4.1 Narrative

This narrative represents four interviews with Miss Qian, two field notes on school visits and seven artefacts received from the participant, including six journals and one email response detailing her thoughts prior the arrival at UK.

5.4.1.1 Chinese provision in the host school

Located in Southeast England, Oak Grove Academy is an academy for students aged 11 to 18. Together with the other three schools, it is run by a trust, whose governing body is comprised of both local business people and members of the local community. According to the interview data, Oak Grove Academy provides students with the choice of French, Spanish and Chinese at the GCSE level. The Chinese provision is stable and well established with continuous development resource. However, the fast growth of Chinese teaching seems to make the other MFL teachers feel threatened about their jobs.

Oak Grove Academy employs one local Chinese teacher and hosts one Hanban teacher sharing one CC with another school in their trust fund. Miss Qian is based in Oak Grove Academy but is also under the management of the line manager of the CC. According to the interview data, the line manager mainly takes care of the administrative work, such as issuing her a school pass. However, it is the local Chinese teacher who is responsible for her annual performance review meeting.

5.4.1.2 Motivation

Upon graduation with a BA in Chinese Linguistics, she applied for the job of teaching Chinese in Merryland through the CI programme. The overseas teaching experience seemed to be a positive one, as reflected in her interviews. However when the opportunity of working in the UK arose, she applied for the job but was uncertain she could be selected as she perceived the recruitment process as extremely competitive. The work opportunity was appealing to her as she thought the salary was good and her life abroad would be well looked after by Hanban. Also, she took the work experience as an opportunity for professional and personal development. For example, professionally, she was expecting to learn the '*heuristic model of teaching*' in the UK, which she perceived as very different from her current teaching model of '*cramming*'

(Pre-departure email, 23 September 2013). Personally, she was hoping to broaden her horizon through making new friends and travelling around the UK.

As a result she is deployed into Oak Grove Academy as a Hanban teacher. She perceives the role as someone who carries a mission, which is not only teaching Chinese, but more importantly to promote Chinese culture and enable contemporary China be better known to others. This role makes her feel that she should act in a more cautious way, as she notes:

We are going with a mission. So we should pay more attention to our image, speech and behaviour. (Pre-departure email, 23 September 2013, see Q4.1)

She seems to settle into the UK life quickly, particularly with the accommodation that the school finds for her. She expresses her particular love for the good environment of the countryside and she quickly becomes friends with the school driver and his partner by the second month. In the interviews, she describes the times where they invite her home to celebrate Christmas and to help her with English language learning. Regarding to the work, her main job is to work alongside the local Chinese teacher to support in the GCSE class. Despite this, she has difficulty in becoming an integral part of the school community from the very beginning according to her interviews.

When asked about her future plans in the last interview, she expresses her intention of staying in the job for another year and plans to apply for a postgraduate programme afterwards.

5.4.1.3 The gap between the past and present experience

It is evident in the examination of Miss Qian's interviews that she constantly compares her current experience in the UK with her previous experience as a Hanban teacher in Merryland. The gap between those two experiences brings her much unease and frustration.

Being deployed into a small town in Merryland allowed her many opportunities to interact with the locals outside of school. She perceives the people of Merryland as being very hospitable and forms a close relationship with them. For example, she notes the story of learning the local language with her '*neighbour*', '*colleagues*', '*students*'

and even strangers, such as *'the elder aunt works at market'* (Interview, 30 October 2013). However, compared with them, she is surprised at finding the British as being comparatively cold, as she notes:

People here are completely different. Different from those in my home country, different from those who live in Merryland. Completely different. How could they be so indifferent! (Interview, 3 January 2014, see Q4.2)

The hospitality of the locals in her previous host country makes her feel the difficulties in accepting the situation in her current host country where people do not show her the same degree of hospitality. She tries to find an explanation to cope with the feeling of disappointment, for example, she notes:

But within our circle, the Hanban teachers, there must be some who get along really well with the locals. If they do not teach at GCSE level and probably are the only Chinese teacher in the whole school. Then they might have more contact with the locals, and some people, just like the way I get along with the people of Merryland. When I was in Merryland, it was a super enjoyable experience, and that where ever you go, there will be someone giving you a lift. Basically, I think there are some Hanban teachers like that. (Interview, 3 January 2014, see Q4.3)

That is, she tries to attribute the difficulty she experiences in integrating with the locals as directly related to the nature of Chinese teaching at her school. She assumes that some Hanban teachers who work as the only Chinese teacher in the host school might have the same special treatment as she did in her previous experience. At that time, she was the only Chinese teacher in the whole school and it was only in the second year of providing Chinese teaching. She was responsible for the teaching of five grades, thus adding many responsibilities and a very heavy workload. Despite this however, she finds her work meaningful and worthwhile. She perceives that Hanban teachers are welcomed and needed by the local school community, as she notes:

When I was in Merryland, all teachers welcomed Hanban teachers warmly. Although it was 'free' for them. But once one Hanban teacher was deployed into the school, for them it was like opening a window towards China. So

although sometimes it required hard work, I still felt content. (Journal 5 May 2014, see Q4.4).

She uses the metaphor 'opening a window' to describe her role as a Hanban teacher. She understands that the importance of her role has been acknowledged by the local school community. That is, through her, they can get to know more about China. However on the other hand, the learning of Chinese language is also equally valuable and encouraging, as she notes:

Students were very good, really. There was one student who was learning with me. The first year when he was learning with me, the former teacher said that they didn't have much of an impression of him. In the second year. Wow, he spoke Chinese really well. But did not enter the top three. Because the top three are people who have been to China. You see, in only one year, he got a second prize, and participated in the Chinese competition. At that time, Chinese belonged to the Foreign Language Department. The head of the department was very cold. Anyway, he seldom talked to anyone and he was later focusing on cultivating the boy and increasing the influence of Chinese, because he won a prize. (Journal 5 May 2014, see Q4.5)

That is, she feels proud of her student who wins a prize in the Chinese language competition. Also, her sense of being rewarded can be identified from her narratives on the school leader's changed attitudes towards Chinese teaching.

The glorious memory of working as a Hanban teacher in Merryland has encouraged her and she 'carries the hope of doing better' in her UK experience (Journal 5 May 2014). However, the reality is that she is not given as much responsibility as previously, and is required only to support in a local Chinese teacher's class. The relationship with the local teacher seems subtle to deal with.

Other school teachers appear to be busy with their own life. She feels she does not receive enough support as she needs. For example, she notes:

Because when I first came, everything did not go very smoothly. Actually it was very painful. Because I was not able to do anything. I had to deal with

everything by myself...Ah, I was so lonely. When I first came, the local teacher paid little attention to me. (Interview, 3 January 2014, see Q4.6)

For her, without sufficient support and guidance from the local teachers, she feels lonely and finds it difficult to know how to carry out her work. Due to the constraints of her role, she is not even allowed to participate in certain teaching activities.

When asked about whether she was participating in the classroom management, she said, according to some relevant policies, the local teacher told her that she was not supposed to 'shout at' students. She feels she had better not to manage students. In case not dealing it well and something unhappy happens, she feels it will lose face of Hanban teachers as one of them. (Field notes, 27 Feb 2014)

That is, although only being asked not to 'shout at' students, she is afraid of doing something inappropriate and damaging the image of Hanban teachers. She chooses not to participate in the sensitive work of behaviour management altogether.

The feeling of loneliness at school continues. She seems not to perceive herself as part of the school community, as reflected in the field notes:

Because after all I am a Hanban teacher, I will not be very much involved into the school system. (Field notes, 27 Feb 2014)

That is, by recognising the difference between her role and the rest of the school staff, she deliberately separates herself from the rest of the school community. The high level of involvement, achievement and recognition in the previous experience forms a big contrast with the sense of marginalisation, insignificance and loneliness in the current experience. The contrast urges her to search for reasons behind, as she remarks:

However, I realised, it is not that easy being in the UK. Is it because of the difference between countries? Is it because that UK is more powerful than us and that our culture is difficult to be accepted and not being taken seriously? Otherwise it must be the way in which Hanban is doing things. Does school just neglect this kind of free service? But what is the better

way to pass on the charm of Chinese culture? (Journal, 5 May 2014, see Q4.7)

That is, she tries to find explanations for the difficulty in her personal experience from the elements beyond personal, from the institutional and national levels. She tries to refer to other resources for explanations and traces some viewpoints from the pre-departure training programme, as she notes:

He said that you were going to Europe, although it has some of the best countries, people of those countries did not pay much attention to you at all. It felt as if they looked down upon you. Actually, I was very surprised when we were sitting in the audience. (Interview, 23 May 2014, see Q4.8)

Before coming to the UK, she finds it surprising to hear of the difference between the expected level of attention and what was conveyed to her by the pre-departure training. However, having now spent time in the UK, her personal frustration now finds resonance with it. During the CPD events organised by the CI, she tries to share her frustration with the fellow Hanban teachers, as she notes:

That is there is not an identity or status for you. They do not treat you as an equal. Some people or someone said, 'well, I think you take this too seriously'. I think probably it is me taking this too seriously. But I think I am not the only person feeling this way. (Interview, 23 May 2014, see Q4.9)

Without a satisfactory answer, however, she expresses her intention to explore the explanations and solutions through enrolling in an academic degree programme. For example, as reflected in the research journal:

At lunch time, Miss Qian shared with me much about her ideas and plans of her personal development...She wants to apply for a PhD programme. At the moment, she hopes to continue with the same research topic as I am doing. (Research Journal, 27 Feb 2014)

5.4.1.4 Relationship with the local teacher

During the first interview, the way Miss Qian describes her teaching gives the impression that she and the local Chinese teacher are equally paired up to teach in

Chinese class, as suggested by the words and phrases she chooses, 'teach together', 'negotiate', 'paired up' (Interview, 30 October 2013). With confidence in her professional knowledge and experience, she sometimes questions the practice of the local teacher, for example:

At least we know how to teach. Look at our local teacher, she learned English as a major. She has not taught the consonants, vowels or tones. She did not teach. So my best student, who is about to sit the A-level examination, even he does not know how to pronounce. He usually misses some part. (Interview, 30 October 2013, see Q4.10)

For her, it is because of the educational background of the local teacher that she decides not to teach Pinyin (Chinese phonetics). This influences the accuracy of students' pronunciation. Thus, she actively makes suggestions to the local teacher and hopes to adjust the teaching practice, as she notes:

I told her, 'well, us and them have not learned consonants and vowels yet. But I can, so we should teach them'. She would then say, 'well, sure'. Then she asked me to look for some materials. She said this year has already been half term. Next semester we could teach them slowly. (Interview, 30 October 2013, see Q4.11)

The local teacher seems happy to accept her advice but delays the time to carry it out. At the same time, she feels, 'all sorts of frictions' between her and the local teacher, which elicits her 'painful' feelings (Interview, 3 January 2014). In the second interview, she describes the incident when she tries to communicate with the local teacher openly and both of them, subsequently search for the best way of cooperation, as she notes:

We would try it again next week. If it works, that is great. If not, then we will adjust. Actually she is also searching for a way. Actually, both of us are searching. (Interview, 3 January 2014, see Q4.12)

Later when I pay a visit to Oak Grove Academy, it is evident from the field notes that Miss Qian adopts a supporting role in the classroom, in which she does not have much control over what she is required to do.

I noticed that the local teacher was almost completely accounted for dominance. Miss Qian was only doing very small share of supporting work, including: collecting and sending out students' folders and teaching materials; helping out individual students, such as students with Special Educational Needs or students with disciplinary problem; switching off the computer for the local teacher after class. (Field notes, 27 Feb 2014)

That is, whilst her role should contain both administrative activities and teaching activities for individual students, her actual role makes her feel very limited in the teaching activities that she can participate in. Thus, she feels marginalised in the school community, as she remarks:

Hanban teachers neither can criticise students or scold students as other teachers, nor can they arrange things in the classroom as they wish. It feels like a marginalised person, but also the special kind who is in the collision of two cultures. They need to teach Chinese well, promoting Chinese, and also integrating it into the environment, and having a better communication with the students. (Journal 4, 2nd April 2014, see Q4.13)

That is, she does not take the limitations in the teaching activities personal. Rather, she attributes them to her identity as a Hanban teacher. She separates her role as a Hanban teacher from her role as a TA. She articulates the feeling of uneasiness between two conflicting requirements on her from two 'cultures'.

Until the last interview, when asked about the content of her work, she seems to demonstrate complete obedience to the will of the local teacher, as reflected in the interview transcript:

There is a local teacher, so the content of my work basically is to help her to do things, to do some chores. I will do whatever she asks me to do...So I feel I am there to serve her as soon as I arrived at school. (Laughing)
(Interview, 11 July 2014, see Q4.14)

For her, she yields control of the content of work to be obedient to the will of the local teacher in the local school. However, she recalls that the role assigned by Hanban includes outreach activities to schools nearby, which is in conflict with the intention of

the local teacher. Personally, she seems excited about the opportunity of doing some outreach activities as she views them as a chance to broaden her horizon. Facing the conflict among three parties, she demonstrates her willingness to follow the arrangement of the line manager, as she notes:

Regarding myself, I do not know yet if I am going to the primary schools nearby. It is because this year the local teacher wishes that I can stay at the school and help her. But Hanban has some requirements. Also, going out may expose me to different school environments which will certainly enrich my experience. I feel a mixture of happiness and concerns. I will wait and see what my line manager says when I come. (Journal 18 July 2014, see Q4.15)

When asked to do some reflection on her first year experience, she expresses her intention to make some changes to better the relationship between her and the local teachers, as she notes:

Then, I think, I need to be more considerate here. Because why do other people need to consider for you, right? ... Some times, it was really my fault. So, and also, I realise, many people, although older than me, such as the local teacher, but how should I put it? Everyone needs to be looked after. So I hope I can correct myself a bit. (Interview, 11 July 2014, see Q4.16)

5.4.2 Commentary

Miss Qian's subjective experience in the UK educational landscape, as is shown in the narrative part, highlights much disappointment and frustration. Linking her narratives back to the existing literature, I am going to unpack her negative emotions through the discussion of the two themes below:

- The gap between the past and present Hanban teacher identity
- The role of the local Chinese teacher in shaping professional identity

5.4.2.1 The gap between the past and present Hanban teacher identity

There seems to be a gap in the role of the Hanban teacher (R. W. Simon, 1992) required between Miss Qian's previous and current host schools. The first dimension of the gap lies in the differences in the amount of responsibilities the role of the Hanban teacher entails. The former assigns her with a role as the only Chinese teacher of the school, who is responsible for the establishment and development of Chinese provision in five grades. With recognition and respect from the old timers, she gradually developed into a key member in the school community (Wenger, 1998).

The memory about the previous experience Miss Qian carries with her is mainly about how much her expertise in Chinese language and culture has been recognised and respected and how successful her students are in learning the language. She also harbours the same expectations in her role in the current host school. However, the school reality surprises her with a peripheral identity as a support staff in the local teacher's Chinese classroom. She is primarily assigned clerical roles and the occasional pedagogical roles by the local teacher (Blatchford et al., 2012), without a legitimate role to allow her to teach the whole class independently as she did in the previous experience. Miss Qian perceives the reduced role in the current host school as lack of recognition of her expertise and skills.

The second dimension of the gap lies at to which extent the school role matches her personal meaning of the Hanban teacher, which is informed by the Hanban's policy objectives, as are enacted in the pre-departure training programmes and institutional practices. Miss Qian has formed a sense of professional identity, in which she views herself as a representative of Hanban community in the host school community, with an emphasis on the mission of promoting Chinese language and culture. The previous school community accepted her and her teaching with a welcoming attitude.

Professional identity the school community assigned her was in congruence with her personal meaning. Good learning outcomes of students and the expansion of Chinese provision made her see the realisation of her mission in reality. Thus, her personal meaning of Hanban teacher has been reinforced by the successful experience and she has developed a strong sense of identification with Hanban community, as is reflected in the pre-departure email exchanges.

She embodies the strong sense of mission when she commences her work experience in the UK school community. However, her perception of the insignificance of her role in the current school can no longer match her personal meaning of a Hanban teacher. Moreover, as a newcomer to the school community, she is granted little agency to change the situation.

Although she has attempted to negotiate with the local teacher and take on more pedagogical roles, it seems that the local teacher responds with little changes. Here appears an absence of 'negotiability' in Miss Qian's identity construction and reconstruction and it contributes to her formation of an identity of 'non-participation' and 'marginality' in the host school context (Wenger, 1998). As Wenger suggests, 'identities are fundamentally constituted by processes of both identification and negotiability' and he reminds us that neither of the aspects should be neglected (1998, p. 197). 'Non-participation' is drawn from the framework of community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). According to Wenger,

We not only produce our identities through the practices we engage in, but we also define ourselves through the practices we do not engage in. Our identities are constituted not only by what we are but also by what we are not. To the extent that we can come in contact with other ways of being, what we are not can even become a large part of how we define ourselves. (Wenger, 1998, p. 164)

Although the Hanban teacher identity contains dual membership in the host school community and Hanban community, facing the marginalised status in the host school community, Miss Qian adopts the strategy of forming a strong sense of belonging to the Hanban teacher community. Wenger (1998) proposes three differentiated modes of belonging: engagement, imagination and alignment. By engagement, Wenger refers to 'active involvement in mutual processes of negotiation of meaning' (1998, p. 173). For example, Miss Qian attends the CPD programme of Hanban teachers and actively shares her understanding of the experience. By imagination, Wenger refers to how one views himself / herself as a member of a large number of people who share the same work profession and connects him / her personal working lives with the working lives of others. In Miss Qian's case, she keeps referring her own difficulty and frustrations at

work to the conditions of Hanban teachers in the UK and even to European countries. By alignment, Wenger refers to organising one's 'energy and activities in order to fit within broader structures and contribute to broader enterprises' (1998, p. 173). In Miss Qian's case, she always remembers her mission of promoting Chinese language and culture learning towards more students and schools. As is reflected in her persistent intention of carrying out outreach teaching in schools nearby.

Having perceived that the collective identity of Hanban teachers primarily contains negative value in the UK educational landscape, Miss Qian attempts to make some positive changes of it (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Her strategy is to engage with the academic discourse, which can be a powerful instrument for practitioners to make invisible the conflicts in their daily professional lives (Pachler, Makoe, Burns, & Blommaert, 2008).

Furthermore, the gap between Miss Qian's past and present experiences of working as a Hanban teacher suggests that there does not exist an undifferentiated and unified Hanban teacher identity. There may not be a set of practices which would suit the requirements of every school context, as is indicated by the majority curriculum of the pre-departure training. I argue that Hanban teacher identity needs to be recognised as a situationally constructed identity, which takes a negotiation of personal experience with a community's 'regime of competence' to construct (Wenger, 2010).

5.4.2.2 The role of the local Chinese teacher in shaping professional identity

Compared with the other participants, Miss Qian is the only person who has started her UK Hanban teacher experience by working alone with a local Chinese teacher, who is also a native Chinese speaker. As is emerged from the varied sources of data, the local teacher plays a significant role in shaping Miss Qian's identity as a Hanban teacher, among many other structural factors. However, here I would focus on the discussion of the influence from the local teacher.

Through the interaction with the local teacher, Miss Qian's perception about the relationship between her and the local teacher has undergone some changes, from viewing them as teachers who are equal in the classroom to struggling for her voice as teacher and to the virtually conforming to the supporting role.

Miss Qian's initial perception on their equal roles is informed by her past experience in Merryland and pre-departure training (Erikson, 1950). Initially, she arrives at the host school with the perception that she would play the role as a teacher who can teach independently in the classroom. The school reality is, however, that there already is a local teacher, so that she assumes that they will teach equally and collaboratively in the classroom.

Miss Qian's struggles for her teacher's voice and finally submitting to the supporting role can be analysed with the help of literature examining the relationship between the student teacher and the mentor, which reflects the interaction between a newcomer with an expert old timer in a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). Izadinia (2015) conducted a longitudinal study over a period of one year into the professional identity formation of seven student teachers, with a focus on the impact from the mentoring relationship. The participants' experiences have been categorised into both positive and negative sets. According to Izadinia, the participants' negative experiences are primarily influenced by three elements:

- Student teachers' lacking of freedom to try out their teaching ideas;
- Student teachers' lacking respect to their mentors as role models;
- The distant relationship between the two parties.

Influenced by negative experiences, participants' confidence as a teacher tend to decline. In Miss Qian's case, with the confidence in her command of subject knowledge and teaching approaches, she criticises a certain practice of the local teacher, such as on the issue of whether they should teach Pinyin. She actively makes suggestions to the local teacher. However, the local teacher delays making changes or granting Miss Qian any freedom to really try out her ideas. Wenger (1998, p. 203) contends that where the negotiability is absent, where the prior experience of an individual might 'become irrelevant because it cannot be asserted and recognised as a form of competence'. The professional identity Miss Qian has developed from her past experience, through both the teacher training and teaching practice became irrelevant as it is not recognised or valued by the local teacher. Thus, she has started forming an identity of non-participation in Wenger's term. Similarly, Patrick (2013) also asserts that

lacking the freedom to try out ideas about teaching might cause tensions on the formation of professional identity.

Regarding the second element mentioned above, Miss Qian sometimes questions the professional practices as the local teacher has a non-Chinese language related first degree. Thus, she does not regard her as a role model. Koerner (2002) identifies that a mentor's demonstration of good examples and practice constitute an important resource of professional learning. Not being able to view the local teacher as a role model in a way hinders Miss Qian's professional learning in the new school community. Lastly, Miss Qian feels that the local teacher provides her little attention, support and guidance overall. It is not surprising that she constantly has the feeling of loneliness, pain and marginalisation, as Draves (2008) asserts that a good relationship between the mentor and the student teacher plays a crucial role in determining whether the practicum can be successful or not.

Through an analysis of Miss Qian's experience with the local teacher via the lens of the three elements, it presents us a clearer picture of the process that Miss Qian gradually loses confidence as a teacher and becomes negatively conformed to her marginalised role as a support staff.

It is not myself as a researcher to criticise the local Chinese teacher for not offering sufficient emotional support and professional guidance as those good mentors provide (Izadinia, 2015). After all, she is not a mentor or even a line manager to Miss Qian, so she does not officially have management responsibilities on her. I would attribute the dynamic interaction between them to foremost the blurred boundary between the collective identities of the local Chinese teacher and the Hanban teacher, which echoes the blurred boundary between the identities of teachers and support staff in the UK in recent years (Blatchford et al., 2012), as I have discussed previously in Narrative 1. It is obvious that the local teacher and Miss Qian have two different perceptions on the role of the Hanban teacher. The former perceives it as that of a support staff to her classroom and the latter initially perceives it as a full teaching role. The former's perception is reinforced by her prior experience of working with other Hanban teachers and, the latter's perception is reinforced by the pre-departure training and her prior work experience in Merryland. The daily interaction between them informs a process of

negotiating the meaning of the Hanban teacher role contains in the school community. However, as a newcomer to the community of practice, Miss Qian is granted little agency to shape this meaning. Echoing the recommendation proposed by Tinsley and Board (2014), I call for training developed specifically for the local teachers on techniques of managing and working with Hanban teachers.

I propose the second influencing factor, at risk of over analysing, as I haven't interviewed the local Chinese teacher. An interview was scheduled but cancelled at the last minute due to lack of availability. I suggest that the little professional guidance the local Chinese teacher offers to Miss Qian is informed by her fear of her own professional position in the host school might be challenged. Different from the local teacher who is paid by the school, Miss Qian as a Hanban teacher is fully funded by Hanban. Through the school practices, if Miss Qian becomes as competent as her, the local teacher might fear the school will use the free Hanban teacher rather than employing her out of the consideration of funding. This type of fear is not completely a paranoia. H. Zhu and Li (2014) identify the major motivation for the UK schools to establish CCs is out of the pragmatic considerations. This type of fear has been shared by many local Chinese teachers as is reflected in one heated group discussion in a major national forum of Chinese teachers in the UK (Teacher forum, May, 2013). Due to the ethical consideration, I am not here to provide any actual extracts.

5.5 Narrative 5: Miss Li

5.5.1 Narrative

This narrative captures three face to face interviews and two interviews conducted via email exchanges with Miss Li during the academic year 2013 - 2014.

5.5.1.1 Chinese provision in the host school

Heritage Grammar school is a selective secondary school and sixth form centre located in South East England, with the accreditation as a language college since 1995. Chinese was introduced into the curriculum in 2009. Students are offered the choice of learning an Oriental language (Japanese or Chinese) in Year 7 and the choice of learning a European language in Year 8 (French, German, Spanish or Latin). All the language teaching in secondary level prepare students for their GCSE exams. In the sixth form, students are offered the opportunity of continuing their Chinese learning in studying Ab Initio level, Standard Chinese IB or FLAW (Foreign Languages at Work) courses.

The Chinese team consists of four local teachers and two Hanban teachers. One of the local teachers works as the Head of Chinese. He also works as the CC Manager, supervising the work of Hanban teachers. According to the interview transcripts, Hanban teachers work collaboratively with local teachers. Their main responsibilities are to teach the speaking class independently, alongside the progression of a Comprehension class taught by the local teachers. The CC Manager holds work meetings with Hanban teachers on a weekly basis. He also cares about building good relationship with the Hanban teachers. For example, he invites them home for dinner during Christmas. Besides their work in the host school, Hanban teachers are also occasionally engaged in activities which support Chinese teaching and learning around the local schools.

5.5.1.2 Motivation

At the time of participating in this study, Miss Li is in her early forties and married with a child. In China, she works at a Teachers Training College, responsible for English teaching to Senior High School students (15-18) and training English teachers who work in Junior High School (12-15).

Having led a group of English teachers to participate in a training programme in 2011, Miss Li's impression of British people changed from a stereotypical image of cold and detached, to the image of that they are very warm. She is interested in knowing more about the British people as well as increasing her English language level, in which she studied in the university, as she notes,

So I think to become a Hanban teacher is the best way. Because I can retain the job in the home country, as well as coming here and getting to know more about other people. Then I can improve my English more. After all, one who is learning a language would always prefer to come to the country of the target language and experience it by himself. (Interview, 29 October 2013, see Q5.1)

For her, what attracts her to the opportunity is that becoming a Hanban teacher makes it possible for her to retain a job in China while gaining the exposure to British culture and English language. However before the departure to the UK, she feels apprehensive about the experience to come. Professionally, she does not feel confident that she is competent enough to work in a foreign country. Personally, she is concerned about the situation that she will be far away from her family, as she remarks:

Very uneasy, on the one hand, I doubt if I can do the overseas job well. On the other hand, I am concerned about the family in my home country. As to the former, I am very confident about the classroom teaching. The major worry is whether I can communicate well with the British colleagues. The latter might be the area I need to deal with well, where I might also need most help with from CI. (Pre-departure email, see Q5.2)

For her, the major concern lies in whether she could form a good working relationship with her British colleagues rather than the teaching aspect and, she expresses her need for support from the CI. According to the interviews, the initial feeling of loneliness seems to be lessened with her workload becoming heavier after the first month. She finds her actual role in the host school is different from either the role she imagined herself or the role described by those experienced Hanban teachers in the pre-departure training. For her, she imagined that she would come and teach the Comprehension class. Her imagination was challenged by the experienced Hanban

teachers' introduction about the job role. However, the school reality as she perceives is that she is deployed to teach the Speaking class independently, which makes her feel lucky. In the school, she works closely with the other Hanban teacher, who has been there for two years. She gets used to her work quickly with support and guidance from her, as she notes:

So, if I have doubts, we would discuss. To deploy teacher, one new, one old. If without this Miss Liu, I would not have been able to get used to this in a mere two to three weeks, I would have needed two months or three months to realise the problems. Because the feelings I have now are the feelings she had before. Then she will tell me what she did and I will be dedicated to learning from her. (Interview, 5 Jan 2014, see Q5.3)

However, an unfamiliarity with the new role, a lack of English proficiency and an unfamiliarity with the Educational concepts still make her feel a level of difficulty of working in the UK landscape, she feels '*distressed*' and sometimes even '*painful*' (Interview, 29 Jun 2014). Some of the ideas she holds firmly from past teachings in China, have been severely challenged in the current teaching practices, such as the question of the use of first language (L1) and target language (TL) in the instruction.

She soon gains the feeling of '*everydayness*' (Interview, 29 Jun 2014) in her work and life. When asked to reflect on the experience at the end of the first academic year, she expresses her excitement and happiness about learning the new knowledge she has gained from the UK experience, even though some of her long-held viewpoints are completely challenged and subverted. When asked about her future plans, she expresses her willingness to stay in the job until the fulfilment of her three year contract. She is very much interested in learning more about the British education system, in which she finds valuable knowledge to bring back into both her own teaching and teacher training practices.

It is evident from the interviews that she has limited social contact with local people from the beginning to the end of the first academic year. During the year, her family visits her in UK and in sharing a flat with the other Hanban teacher, they also form a close personal relationship. However after one year, she still does not feel integrated into the British society.

5.5.1.3 Questions of the use of L1 and TL

It is reflected in the interviews that when she first starts her English teaching in China, she understands that the school believes in teaching TL in the TL. For example, the model class which is used to exemplify good teaching follows the belief that English should be taught completely in English (Interview, 29 Oct 2013). She agrees with this idea and holds it as an important principle underpinning her teaching practice, as she notes,

For example, for the beginners in the junior high school, it is certainly to teach them all in English. When you reach a higher level, when you lecture grammatical points, you might need to use Chinese instruction, because if still using English, it will only be more troublesome. So generally speaking, we would use Chinese to lecture the grammatical points. But for other parts, we basically only use English. Using English as much as possible. (Interview, 29 October 2013, see Q5.4)

For her, in practice, she attempts to teach TL completely in TL except for the situation when she needs to explain the grammatical points. It is reflected in the pre-departure email exchanges, however, that Miss Li's long held beliefs in foreign language teaching, in particular, the use of L1 and TL in instruction, has been challenged by the British Chinese teaching practices, which are introduced by those teachers who have worked in the UK before in the pre-departure training programmes. For her, what challenges her most is whether the learning outcome would be weakened if the TL input is greatly reduced. This elicits her confusion and she wishes to find answers in her actual teaching experience.

Having been in the Heritage Grammar School for one month and engaged in the teaching for one week, she recognises the necessity of using English during the instruction, as she remarks:

Indeed, I have to use English to organise the classroom teaching. Otherwise it will be rather difficult. I think, this is also, the main area I should work on if I want to continue working here. That is how to increase the Chinese input but at the same time to organise the classroom teaching well. (Interview, 29 October 2013, see Q5.5)

She attributes the reason for the necessity of using English to the characteristics of her current students as they become distracted easily. She then recalls her teaching with the previous cohort of students, as she notes,

We taught the beginner year all in English. Students still got high spirits and they would follow ideas of the teacher. (Interview, 29 October 2013, see Q5.6)

Also, she has not yet given up the hope of teaching all in TL. However, the teaching context makes her afraid of trying out the approach she really wants to use. This dilemma evokes persistent confusion in her, as she notes,

So one of the points of confusion I come across is, with those students, that is, if I teach all in Chinese, in fact I am still afraid of trying out, because I worry if I try it out, and it turns out that the students' academic pressure is rather high. But I very much hope I can teach all in English, /all in Chinese. Because you can stimulate their mind to understand and to think through body languages and the surrounding environment. Rather than teaching them in English/ Chinese directly. But now, it seems, at least from our line (of the practice), he advocates more about organising the classroom teaching in English and organising the content knowledge in Chinese. But I think the time is a bit wasted. After all the amount of Chinese displayed there is a bit too little. (Interview, 29 October 2013, see Q5.7)

At the time of the second interview, when asked about her understanding of this issue, she seems to develop a better understanding of the rationale behind using L1 in instruction. She perceives the close relationships among using English, keeping students interested and retaining students. Also she understands more about the situation that using English would facilitate students' understanding of Chinese culture. All those factors make her realise the underlying thinking of 'departure from the students' perspective' (Interview, 5 January 2014). With this realisation of the importance of using English in Chinese classroom, however, she feels a lack of English proficiency, as she notes,

Another issue is that my English level is still lacking. Because in the classes here, it seems that students' English is different from our usual English. In

particular, I found the children's English here is different from our everyday English, and especially different from the English in our home country. So I think if I really want to communicate smoothly with students, then, I might really need to improve my English level. Next the direction of my endeavour might be to improve my English level. This English level does not refer to the English we learnt in my home country, rather, it is the English that students use. (Interview, 5 January 2014, see Q5.8)

For her, she differentiates the English she learnt in China, everyday English and the English students use. She finds that the English students use is an area she needs further learning. So she sometimes turns to her students for help, as she notes,

So like myself, sometimes, I would deliberately ask students for help. Such as 'how do you say this'. The words they taught me might be different from what we learnt from the text book back in school. But if you could communicate with the students in the language they speak, they might feel less distanced with the teacher. (Interview, 5 January 2014, see Q5.9)

For her, she perceives students as valuable resources for English learning and, she understands that the more she speaks their language, their relationship will become closer. The third interview has been carried out through email exchanges, when asked about her understanding of this issue, she further emphasises her acceptance of the idea that English is vital in the teaching and learning of Chinese culture in the host school, as she notes. However, her urge to try out the teaching of TL in TL is persistent until the final interview which has been conducted at the end of the first academic year. She still lingers around the possibility of trying out the approach at the primary school level. Nevertheless, she fears trying it out as it is against the common practices in the UK, as she notes,

For all those years' teaching, it is only this year in the UK that I feel I cannot teach TL in TL. I still feel it is something rather confusing. But because the whole environment here is like this. I still do not dare trying it out easily. It is very true. (Interview 29 June 2014, see Q5.10)

5.5.2 Commentary

5.5.2.1 The role of an experienced Hanban teacher in shaping professional identity

Compared with other participants, Miss Li's host school has a well-established system of Chinese provision. Two Hanban teachers are deployed to work collaboratively with four local Chinese teachers. Different from the common case of a blurred boundary between the identities of teachers and TAs as identified in Blatchford and his colleagues' study (2012), there appears a clear boundary between the professional identity of local Chinese teachers and the Hanban teachers. Hanban teachers are mainly responsible for the Speaking class as supplementary to the teaching of the local teachers. Regarding the issue of the 'supervision and management' of the support staff raised by Blatchford and his colleagues (2012, p. 17), local teachers offer regular instructions on the content Hanban teachers are expected to deliver. Also, they seem to be very supportive for the provision of all kinds of advice on teaching. The CC manager, who is one of the local Chinese teachers, holds weekly meetings with two Hanban teachers and offer them with feedback on their practices. The other experienced Hanban teacher, working side by side with Miss Li, models the effective identity of a Hanban teacher.

This well-established structure of Chinese provision at the institutional level resembles Wenger's model of 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998). A newcomer learns when they participate in the practices, which contain the interactions with the old timers. This structure has a strong forming force in shaping the professional identity of Miss Li as a Hanban teacher. I acknowledge all the structural factors that influence Miss Li's professional identity construction as a Hanban teacher. However, here I will focus on the discussion of the role the experienced Hanban teacher had in shaping her professional identity.

Miss Li is not the only participant who works with the second Hanban teacher in the host school. However, only she works with an experienced one. This person has worked in the host school as a Hanban teacher for two years and she can work effectively. As is reflected in the interviews, this teacher plays a significant role in the professional life of Miss Li. Their relationship, in my opinion, is very similar to the

relationship between a preservice teacher and a mentor teacher as Miss Qian and the local Chinese teacher in Narrative 4 (Izadinia, 2015). Current literature has acknowledged the crucial role of mentor teachers in shaping the professional identities of preservice teachers. The nature of the mentor-mentee relationship influences a mentee's formation of a sense of confidence, agency and voice (Patrick, 2013; J. Williams, 2010).

Outside of school, Miss Li shares the same flat with the experienced Hanban teacher and they have formed a good personal relationship. In school, they work closely with each other. For example, they even plan lessons together. At times when she meets difficulties and confusions, she goes to her for support. The experienced teacher responds with both professional advice and empathy. A mentors' provision of professional and emotional support has been identified as a key aspect of mentor-mentee relationship (Izadinia, 2015; Rajuan, Beijaard, & Verloop, 2007). Having experienced the similar transition process from the Chinese to the British educational landscape, the experienced teacher is in a strong position to appreciate the complex feelings Miss Li has. Pitton (2006) reminds us of the necessity of the mentor teacher to acknowledge the stress mentees have and support them emotionally.

Izadinia (2015) suggests that student teachers in the friendly and supportive relationship with the mentors tend to be confident of experimenting their own ideas in the classroom. It is interesting to note that, however, Miss Li adopts the strategy of 'being dedicated to learn' from the ways of the experienced teacher. This can be understood as Miss Li's perception of her marginalised status as a newcomer in the school community, as is reflected in her discussion of the fear of trying out alternative ideas of teaching. However, discarding her own ideas without trying them out makes Miss Li's experience constant inner conflict and confusion. I will elaborate on this point in the following section. This echoes Patrick (2013) assertion that lack of freedom to experiment with the teaching ideas that new teachers harbour, might draw out inner tensions.

In summary, the experienced Hanban teacher has provided professional and emotional support for Miss Li, which is helpful for her to adapt into the Hanban teacher role within a short period of time. However, instead of forming a more personal Hanban teacher

identity, Miss Li has constructed a Hanban teacher identity more like an assigned identity (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2002). This leaves her some unexamined or unreconciled conflicts between the past and current professional identities.

This can be understood from the style of the guidance from the experienced Hanban teacher. Without considering the possible individual differences between her and Miss Li, such as their prior professional experiences, her suggestions are primarily based on her personal experience and do not pay sufficient attention to Miss Li's personal characteristics, as Izadinia (2015) suggests that the major task for mentor teachers is to facilitate the exploration and construction of personal teacher identities of preservice teachers. As a researcher, my role is not to criticise the approach adopted by the experienced Hanban teacher. After all, she is not a mentor teacher but a supportive colleague and she has not received any formal training to be a mentor. However, in addition to develop training for the local teachers in terms of how to manage and work with the Hanban teachers, as suggested by Tinsley and Board (2014), I propose that the experienced Hanban teachers can also be encouraged and better prepared to support the new Hanban teachers.

5.5.2.2 (Re) constructing pedagogical identity

The second emerging theme in the narratives of Miss Li is her reconstruction of pedagogical identity. Following Erikson (1950), Miss Li's pedagogical identity upon arrival has been constructed under the influence of her prior phases of life. In particular, Williams's (2010) notion of 'expert novice' is helpful for us to understand the tensions and struggles in Miss Li's identity construction as a Hanban teacher under the influence of her previous lived experiences. Williams uses the term expert novice to refer to the professional identity of the student teacher who is in the process of changing from another profession into teaching by enrolling in a teacher education program. Williams tries to use this term to capture the 'tensions and at times dissonance between career changers' identities as 'old-timers' (experts) in other communities of practice and as 'newcomers' (novices) in teacher education' (2010, p. 642). In Miss Li's case, although she does not switch from outside of teaching into teaching, I would argue that the complexity she has to face during the transition from her previous teaching position in China into becoming a Hanban teacher in another

sociocultural and educational landscape can be as much as those career changers. Being an English teacher and teacher trainer in the previous communities of practice in China, she has constructed a strong pedagogical identity. This previous expert teacher identity has great influence on her current reconstruction of pedagogical identity, as is reflected in her discussions on the use of L1 and TL.

Current literature around the discussion of the use of TL/L1 in Foreign language classrooms tends to treat it as a pedagogical issue that concerns the classroom discourse. Here classroom discourse refers to the context that 'oral interaction between teachers and their students and between students themselves that takes place in a classroom' (Thoms, 2012, p. 8). The pedagogical choice of teachers on their use of TL/L1 is commonly recognised as influential on the learning outcome of language learners. There witnesses a shift in the debate, from the emphasis on the maximum usage of TL instruction, to the promotion of a more in-depth consideration on the role of L1 in developing foreign language skills of the learners (Pachler, Evans, Redondo, & Fisher, 2014).

Miss Li strongly questions one strand of the belief concerning the use of L1 and TL in Chinese classrooms in pre-departure training programmes, as it is different from her belief and practices in her past experience. Miss Li's doubts echo the resistance to the alternative ideas in teacher education programmes of those career change student teachers (James, 1997). However, as a newcomer to the teacher education of Hanban teachers, she lacks the agency to completely discard the alternative idea. Rather, she decides to find the answers to this dilemma in the actual teaching.

Through the prolonged participation in the teaching practice in the school community, Miss Li's personal understanding of the current teaching context grows. The established Chinese provision structure provides Miss Li a legitimate role to teach independently, where she can learn professionally when doing. This established structure resembles Wenger's model of 'communities of practice', where the newcomer can learn through the interaction with the competent old timers (e.g. local Chinese teachers and the other experienced Hanban teacher). She comes to understand the current belief and practice promoted in the school community. As time passes, she has theorised the explanations to the current practice, which is based on her growing

situational knowledge about the school community. At the later stage, her theorisation grows into a more abstract level, which includes the understanding of the predominant educational philosophy.

The use of TL and L1 is not just a matter of the technique that is being used. It reveals Miss Li's understanding of 'how to be' a teacher in the classroom. Miss Li's learning on this matter reveals her identity construction journey in becoming an effective practitioner in the new setting. Both being a novice and a support staff to the local Chinese teacher, she lacks the agency to teach in the way she really wishes to. The practice she conducts needs to support her to form workable relationships with the members (e.g. students, local teachers and line managers) of the school community. Thus, she conforms to the practice promoted by the old timers, however, there are persistent inner struggles and resistance until our last interview. This can be understood through the discrepancy between her past expert teacher identity and the Hanban teacher identity which is required by the current school community.

Miss Li's past expert identity does more than just making her resistant to the new ideas in the new setting. It also has positive influence by granting her strong belief in self-efficacy. According to the social cognitive theorist Bandura (1977), self-efficacy perception refers to a person's estimation of the extent to which one can successfully conduct the performance required to bring out the results. He proposes that self-efficacy perception is a powerful influencing factor in one's choices on the type of activities to be engaged in, the amount of effort to put in and, the extent of time to persist with, under the situations of challenges. He asserts 'the stronger the perceived self-efficacy, the more active the efforts' (1977, p. 194). Mastery experiences, among four sources for the sense of efficacy, is commonly recognised as the most potent source (Bandura, 1986, 1997). In the field of teaching, mastery experiences can be defined as 'a sense of satisfaction with one's past teaching successes' (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2007, p. 945).

In the case of Miss Li, an expert teacher in past communities, she has gained ample mastery experiences, which enables the formation of her strong sense of efficacy. This strong sense of efficacy enables her to be proactive in dealing with the challenges, planning ahead her actions and be persistent in carrying out the actions. For example,

she is quick in identifying the need of developing her second language identity soon after entering the host school. Moreover, she understands the issue does not only concern her language proficiency, but also concerns the distanced relationship with her students under the influence of her 'foreign' way of English speaking. She then identifies that learning English from her students can help to improve her English language as well as to facilitate the relationship building with her students. Thus, she actively seeks help of English from them.

5.6 Narrative 6: Miss Zheng

5.6.1 Narrative

This narrative represents three face to face interviews and one interview conducted via email exchange with Miss Zheng during the academic year 2013 - 2014.

5.6.1.1 Chinese provision in the host school

Maple Park Academy is a mixed comprehensive secondary school and sixth form centre located in the West of England. For MFLs, students are provided the choice of French, German, Spanish, Italian and Chinese. All pupils in Year 7 study both French and Chinese. Year 8 and Year 9 continue with French lessons and are offered the choice of Latin, Spanish, German, Italian or Chinese as a second MFL subject. Students whose mother tongue is not English are offered the opportunity of entering for GCSE during KS4, such as Chinese. At the end of Year 11, other pupils who study Chinese will be assessed via the 'Asset Languages' Scheme.

According to the interviews, at the time of participating in this study, the school Miss Zheng works in has established its CC for five years. Due to the formal CC manager taking maternity leave, the local Chinese teacher, who is a non-native Chinese speaker, works as the manager on an interim basis. Two Hanban teachers are deployed in Maple Park Academy. The two work alongside the local teacher in the host school. Miss Zheng is also deployed for the outreach teaching activities in the local schools and Chinese community schools.

5.6.1.2 Motivation

Miss Zheng is in her late 20s and newly married. Different from the other participants, Miss Zheng is the only person who has received education for a degree in the UK. Enrolled in a '3 + 1' programme for her undergraduate study, she spent the last year of university in the UK and gained a UK bachelor's degree. Upon graduation, she stayed for one more year in the pursuit of a Master's degree. Following the graduation, it was difficult for her to find a job in the UK due to the changes in student visa policy, as reflected in the interviews. Thus, she spent two years working in a higher vocational college, being responsible for the teaching of English Listening for students who were aged 18 to 20.

She is excited and surprised to find that Hanban programmes could provide her with the opportunity of returning to work in the UK. When asked about why she chooses to work here, she emphasises the familiarity with the environment and how it offers the opportunity to fulfil the sense of 'non-official ambassador' gained from her previous UK study experience. Also, she views this overseas work experience as valuable for her future development both professionally and personally. Before the departure, she felt nervous about the journey ahead, as she does not have a good understanding about the reality of British local schools. However, she holds the belief that 'a teacher should love students and love education, then they can have positive influence on students', which has been inspired by her high school English teacher (Pre-departure email exchange, see Q6.1).

Upon arrival in the UK, she seems to naturally integrate into the local life. She stays with a local family, with which she has gradually formed a close relationship. As reflected in the interview, they have family dinner together every day. She is also engaged in doing housework with the family, such as joining in on the monthly house cleaning. In her leisure time, she actively participates in various kinds of social events that she is invited to, such as gatherings with the host family's friends, dinner with the school teacher's family and the celebration of a baby first month with a local Chinese family. She even has started preparation for taking her driving license test during the year of participating in this study.

Regarding her work, she finds her good command of English gained from her previous learning experience helpful for her daily duties. However, she still feels the necessity to learn and grow professionally in the new educational context and she is enthusiastically engaged in doing so. This point will be elaborated in the proceeding stories. She additionally has to report her work to the line manager at school, the CI and the college back in China,

Whilst she plans to stay and work as a Hanban teacher for one more year, she seems not very sure about where to work in future. However, the area she would like to work at is in the teacher training, as she notes:

So my orientation is that, if in future, whether at home or abroad, if I could have some development in the teacher training, it will be very good. Also, I want to gain more experience. Because after all it has only been three

years since I started teaching in 2011. Three years' experience is still relatively shallow. (Interview, 19 July 2014, see Q6.2)

5.6.1.3 Prior UK study experience

It is evident from the interviews that two years' experience of studying and living in the UK has provided her with English proficiency and a certain familiarity with the British society. She seems very confident about her command of English, as she notes:

I feel I have some advantage in this aspect that I have studied here. That is when communicating with people, I feel through my listening and speaking, I can express myself very clearly. Also I can understand very clearly what the teacher wants me to do. (Interview, 30 November 2013, see Q6.3)

For her, her English proficiency can help her communicate well with the local teacher. She also uses this advantage to help the other Hanban teacher at school who sometimes finds difficult to understand the expectations from the line manager in their group meetings.

Also, compared with the other Hanban teacher, it seems that the local Chinese teacher tends to ask her more for support when necessary due to her better command of English. According to the interviews, for example, the line manager would naturally turn and ask her for help when he does not know how to say a certain Chinese word in classroom. When the headmaster needs a native Chinese teacher to do a presentation in a school teacher assembly, the line manager recommends her to do it.

As to the British culture, the previous study experience seems to help her to identify some cultural 'do's and don't's' – to the point that she keeps all the tips she has learnt when interacting with the local people. For example, she notes that she has developed an understanding of etiquettes such as respecting people's privacy by not asking their age, job or salary, which are more openly discussed in China. When asked whether she would act the same when she is in China, she replies,

In fact, a lot of the times after going back to my home country, actually, whether it is here or in China, to get along with the colleagues or to get along with people, you only need to be kind and sincere with people, and where we can help we should help more. This should be the most basic

principle when getting along with people. (Interview, 29 March 2014, see Q6.4)

For her, although she adjusts her actual practices in different countries, she always tries to act according to the same principle whether in China or UK, that is, being kind, sincere and helpful. When probed on the reasons why she believes in this principle, she refers to the influence from her mother. As she firmly believes the Buddhist thinking of *'the good is rewarded'* (Interview, 29 March 2014).

According to the interviews, she also worked as a volunteer for teaching Chinese language and culture. She taught in the language centre of her university for taster classes and also supported a local Chinese teacher to deliver a Chinese taster class and Chinese New Year activity in a school near her university. She came across the incidents like where some students attacked China's one child policy and she perceived it as the result of their partial view. Thus, she saw the importance of offering her insider views and gained the sense of 'non-official ambassador', as she remarks:

When I was teaching Chinese here, I felt if you could, if you could do just a little bit, to let one person or several people to know something about China, to know something about our culture and language, in fact, it can solve many issues, because, we are kind of like the 'non-official ambassador'. (Interview, 30 November 2013, see Q6.5)

For her, this experience helps her gain a sense of meaning that is higher than itself, that is, through the teaching of language and culture, she could help eliminate students' misunderstandings towards China and facilitate a deepened communication between the two countries. However, this informal teaching experience, mostly in the university setting, does not allow her to gain sufficient expertise of teaching and working in a school setting. This point will be elaborated in the next section.

5.6.1.4 Professional learning as a Hanban teacher

The familiarity with the English language and culture from the past experience appears to help her settle in quickly. However, she still finds it necessary to keep learning English and British culture, especially the educational culture.

She continues learning and improving her English. For example, she finds it very helpful chatting with the host family in the family dinner every evening, specifically, learning local expressions. Staying with the host family also seems to be a valuable opportunity for her to observe language usage among family members. For example, she feels surprised when she first observes the frequent use of 'thank you' and 'sorry' among family members. For her, family members are so close that they do not need to say such phrases, which she feels distances the relationship.

Within the school setting, she is prepared to embrace the differences in Chinese and British educational culture and learn more about how to work in the new teaching context, as reflected in the pre-departure email.

The pre-departure training programmes seem to help her form some initial ideas about teaching in the UK schools. The actual teaching experience in Maple Park Academy, however, provides her a platform to try out those ideas and reflect on them. For example, the programmes offer her some ideas about the characteristics of the British classroom which she soon finds resonance with in practice (e.g. a student-centred classroom). She differentiates the difference between knowing those ideas in mind and implementing those ideas in practice, as she notes,

At that time, she gave us very useful suggestions. But you had not reached the stage, and you had not tried out how to teach. So the ideas only stayed at the stage of 'knowing'. It was only 'knowing'. You had not used this knowledge in practice. I feel now I am really using the knowledge.
(Interview, 29 March 2014, see Q6.6)

However, there are also incidents as narrated in the interviews suggesting the gap between the theory and reality. For example, like Miss Li in Narrative 5, she also reflects on the use of L1 and TL in the instruction, as she remarks,

During the Shanghai training, what we received more was, they also would tell us, each expert, or when we were doing the trial teaching, that we should speak Chinese as much as we could. But I feel this is to a certain degree or under a certain preconditions. If you speak too much Chinese, some students can't understand them all. One must consider this. I think this needs a certain accumulation of experience until you know which part

or what Chinese you can speak more, or that as soon as you say it they can understand. (Interview, 30 November 2013, see Q6.7)

That is, she reflects on the principle 'use as much Chinese in the instruction' suggested in one of the training programmes. The teaching practice makes her realise the limitation of this principle and expand this principle by adding in a more nuanced understanding.

She appreciates the class observation of local teachers' as an important approach to learn about teaching in the new setting. For example, she tries to select those classroom activities that enable students to actively participate in local teachers' classes and use them in her own teaching. Another example is that she attempts to imitate the technique of counting down from three to one as a way to maintain the discipline of the classroom. However, she adjusts the technique by counting down in Chinese. She sees the value of those practices as students have already been familiarised with them.

Other Hanban teachers seem to be another important resource for her to learn from. For example, she proposes the idea of establishing a Chinese library through learning the practice of another Hanban teacher. She develops the idea by chatting with Hanban teachers in a CPD event.

Actual interaction with the British colleagues offers her sometimes a different understanding of the relationship with colleague to her imaginations. She talks about an incident that makes her feel the cultural differences in the colleague relationship in the final interview when asked about things she does not enjoy during the past one academic year. According to the interview, the incident goes like this:

The local teacher Lily invited Miss Zheng to her class to teach Chinese paper cutting. Later, Lily invited her to her home for cooking Chinese food with her two children and neighbours all together. Recently, however, she was going to leave the Maple Park Academy for good. Getting to know the news of her leaving, Miss Zheng prepared a box of chocolates and a card for her. When Miss Zheng went to Lily's office, she was not around, so Miss Zheng left the gifts on her desk and sent her an email. However, she replied her email by asking why Miss Zheng was giving her a gift, she

thought she did not deserve it. Miss Zheng felt a bit disappointed at her response as she thought their relationship had already been close enough for sending gifts. Later, when Lily opened the card and read what was written, where Miss Zheng was expressing the gratitude towards her invitations in the past. She then understood Miss Zheng's action and sent her the second email saying thanks to her kindness. (Adapted from Interview, 19 July 2014)

Although she understands there were some misunderstandings in the whole incident, she still feels a bit disappointment, as she notes,

That is to not have expectation, do not expect too high that foreigners would form a very good relationship with you. In other words, if you send other people gifts, do not expect any returns. I think this is, err...err...this is the cultural difference as I discussed earlier. Between them and you. (Interview, 19 July 2014, see Q6.8)

5.6.2 Commentary

Compared with other participants, Miss Zheng has the unique study experience of two years in the UK prior to her current experience of working and living in the UK as a Hanban teacher. Thus, her narratives are particularly powerful when used to answer the research question from the view of illustrating the influence from the UK study experience on her professional identity construction as a Hanban teacher. I am proceeding to examine this point from the two themes below:

- Second language identity constructed in British communities: with an attempt to explore the links between the UK study experience and her second language identity, and how this second language identity influences her current professional identity construction as a Hanban teacher.
- Professional identity (re)construction in British communities: with focus on the interplay of internal and external forces in shaping her professional identity.

5.6.2.1 Second language identity constructed in British communities

Miss Zheng spent her last year of undergraduate study in a UK university, followed with an extra year of study in a Master's programme. Wenger's (1998) theory of

'communities of practice' has been utilised by many researchers who are interested in the investigation of the study abroad experience (Kinginger, 2013). They conceptualise learning not only as an individual's cognitive process, but also as their social participation in the host society. Learning happens not only in the classrooms, but also in various communities in the host society, such as in host families and workplaces. In Miss Zheng's case, her learning in the UK study experience was not constrained by the knowledge acquisition of a specific discipline within the university curriculum, but extended to various communities simultaneously in and outside of the university. Such as her participation in the voluntary teaching practices in the language centre of her university. In summary, prior UK study experience provided Miss Zheng access to knowledge of a specific discipline, development of English competence, participation in Chinese teaching activities as well as a familiarity with cultural practices in the British society (Miller & Goodnow, 1995).

However, those four aspects of learning were not mutually exclusive. Through the process of learning in various British communities, various aspects of competence were developed and self-confidence was enhanced. I identify Benson et al.'s theorisation of second language identity is helpful to interpret the changes in Miss Zheng, which accompany her UK study experience.

Within Benson et al.'s (2013) definition of second language identity, three dimensions of identity, which are under the influence of second language learning, are emphasised. They are identity-related language competence, linguistic self-concept and second language-mediated personal competence.

Firstly, Miss Zheng's English language proficiency was enhanced as well as her sociopragmatic competence. According to Holmes and Riddiford (2011, p. 377), sociopragmatic competence refers to 'the ability to accurately interpret and appropriately express social meaning in interaction' and the 'ability to analyse the sociocultural dimensions of social interaction in order to select appropriate forms'. Accompanied by the changes of her linguistic and sociopragmatic competence, her sense of confidence was formed, where she develops a sense of faith in her ability of communicating in English with interlocutors and forming workable relationships with other members of the second language community. Archangeli (1999) also highlights

the positive influence of the study abroad experience in students' self-confidence and their inclination to communicate in the second language. As to the second language-mediated personal competence, Miss Zheng's narrative stresses her enhanced knowledge of the British cultural practices and the comparatively high level of intercultural sensitivity. However, different from the participants in Benson et al.'s study, who mainly participated in an educational programme, Miss Zheng's part-time teaching experience gives her some additional non-linguistic outcomes, such as the sense of cultural ambassador and intercultural sensitivity in relation to school professional culture. Thus, at the end of her UK study experience, Miss Zheng has formed an effective second language identity.

This second language identity is a prerequisite Miss Zheng brings into her current Hanban teacher experience, it seems to facilitate her professional identity construction in many ways. First of all, it enables her to smoothly communicate with local people, both in and outside of school, and form a good relationship with them.

Also, she develops the sense of 'non-official ambassador', which prepares her for the Hanban teacher role. Through the anecdotes in her part-time teaching experience during the UK study years, she starts to view herself as someone bigger than an individual but as a representative of China. Moreover, she perceives the meaning of her teaching practice as going beyond teaching language and culture, and to tackle misunderstandings to enable the communications between different nations. As Block (2009, p. 171) reminds us that when difficulties are met during the study abroad experience, students might develop 'an enhanced sense of national identity'.

It is interesting to note that Miss Zheng's personal sense of 'non-official ambassador' is in congruence with the 'normal' Hanban teacher identity prescribed by Hanban policy objectives (Foucault, 1972). Miss Zheng's reinforced sense of cultural ambassador enables her to actively engage in all types of activities which provide her a chance to introduce Chinese language and culture to the locals.

However, the prior UK experience does not allow for the formation of an effective professional identity as a teacher, although Miss Zheng occasionally engaged in the practices of British school communities. Nevertheless, this experience makes her

highly sensitive about the possible differences lying between the British and Chinese school communities. It is interesting to note that this sensitivity is not shared by every participant. For example, Mr Zhou in Narrative 1 arrives at the host school with the presumption that his existing pedagogical identity can work well in the immediate context. This awareness and sensitivity of differences exempts Miss Zheng from experiencing the constant feeling of frustrations, which are invoked by the recurring unexpected difficulties as Mr Zhou has gone through, and prepares her to seek ways to learn and reconstruct her pedagogical identity immediately after entering the host school.

5.6.2.2 Professional identity (re)construction in British communities

The prior UK study experience has enabled Miss Zheng to form an effective second language identity, which facilitates her (re)construction of the professional identity as a Hanban teacher (Erikson, 1950). However, to become an effective Hanban teacher is a complex process, so embodying an effective second language identity alone cannot guarantee the successful construction of a professional identity. Miss Zheng's current professional identity (re)construction is under multiple influences, such as her schooling experience, Hanban's teacher training and situated learning through participation in school practice (Wenger 1998).

Through interviews, Miss Zheng articulated her strong belief in teachers' love of education as well as dedication to students, and traced the influence from the significant others (i.e. a high school English teacher) in her schooling experience on development of this belief. The concept of substantial identity (D. Ball, 1972; Nias, 1989) is helpful to interpret this part of data. Miss Zheng's high school teacher sets her an example that a good teacher is someone who is committed to education and students. When she officially becomes a teacher herself in China, this belief turns into a substantial dimension of her self definition as a teacher. She enacts this belief in her previous teaching experience in China and embodies it into the current British school experience. This substantial identity, as an inner force, empowers her to actively learn and adapt the ways of teaching and the ways of relating to her students.

Hanban's pre-departure training programme and CPD events are another important influence shaping her professional identity construction. For her, the pre-departure

training programme is helpful to form some broad impressions on the nature of teaching Chinese in UK schools. However, it seems not sufficient to facilitate her construction of an effective Hanban teacher identity, as is reflected in her articulation of nervousness prior the arrival at the UK. Regarding the CPD events, she finds the sharing of experiences with other members of Hanban teacher community as helpful for her to view her as a member of the Hanban teacher group as well as learn from the group.

At the school level, like the most participants, there is no formal system to facilitate her professional learning. It predominantly relies on her agency to plan the learning in the school community. She has the opportunities of teaching in the host school, outreach schools and the community school, in which she can learn as a teacher while teaching. In addition, she learns from the old timers through class observation as Mr Zhou does in Narrative 1.

During the process, she demonstrates a strong competence of conducting reflection. Reflection has been recognised by many researchers as a powerful way for teachers to perceive and adapt their identities (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Lauriala & Kukkonen, 2005). In Miss Zheng's case, she actively connects theories from the pre-departure training programme with her current teaching practices, evaluates to which extent those theories are effective and adjusts according to the teaching context. Also, she proactively reflects on the techniques she has learned from teachers of other subjects, evaluating to which degree those techniques can be used in her own teaching practice and how it should be adjusted based on different nature of the subjects.

Apart from teaching, how to form and maintain relationships with colleagues is another important aspect of professional identity. Miss Zheng enters the host school with this aspect of teacher identity constructed from her past work experience in Chinese society, in which the cultural practices are heavily influenced by the Confucianism. It emphasises the importance of building a reciprocal personal relationship when interacting with others professionally (Barbalet, 2014). However, as is reflected in the anecdote with the local teacher Lily, Miss Zheng finds the need to reconstruct this aspect of her professional identity. More specifically, she learns to adapt her perception on the degree of closeness with colleagues.

If we take a close examination of the incident, the major stimuli of the misunderstanding and disappointment is the different perceptions on the practice of gift giving. As Duck (1988) suggests, gift giving, in essence, is one way of relationship interaction. The meaning systems of the giver and the recipient, such as cultural meanings are critical to influence their interactions. For Miss Zheng, as the giver in the incident, her understanding of the norm of interacting with colleagues is largely influenced by the symbolic meanings of gift giving in Chinese society. It perceives gift giving as 'a signifier of renqing (appropriate emotion), a demonstration of li (social courtesy), a practice of bestowing mianzi (respect) and lian (dignity), and a process of bao (reciprocity) and guanxi (relationship building)' (Chan, Denton, & Tsang, 2003). Gift giving, together with banquet holding are recognised as two most used ways of relationship building (Hwang, 1987). The aim of those relationship building activities is to cultivate a mutual trust and long lasting bond (Chan et al., 2003), which might consequently enable the smooth cooperation and collaboration in the formal work environment.

In the incident, Miss Zheng perceives Lily's invitation to her class as a way of showing intention to form a good work relationship. The action followed of 'holding banquet' makes Miss Zheng feel that Lily also intends to build a close personal relationship with her. Miss Zheng, however, does not act reciprocally until Lily is about to leave the school, as Chan et al. (2003) identify that the Chinese receipt tends not to explicitly demonstrate their plan of a reciprocal action at the time of receiving a gift or a banquet. Rather, they will decide the time and form of reciprocating at the time they feel appropriate.

At the sudden receipt of Miss Zheng's leaving gift, Lily responds with confusion and refusal. Her response echoes many Westerners' confusion in the practice of gift giving when they first do business with their Chinese partners (Chan et al., 2003). Lily's refusal of gift is, then, perceived by Miss Zheng as a refusal of cultivating a mutual trust and long lasting relationship. Therefore, Miss Zheng feels very disappointed. She deals with this emotion with the strategy of categorising her and Lily into two opposite social groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), Chinese and foreigners, and attribute the frustration at the interpersonal level to the differences and distance between two social groups. She

then plans some future adjustment in her practice when interacting with members of the other group.

In summary, the prior UK study experience has enabled Miss Zheng to construct an effective second language identity, which facilitates her professional identity (re)construction in UK school communities. However, it cannot guarantee that she is able to work in UK school communities without further professional learning. She still needs to be engaged in the complex process of professional identity (re)construction, facing the influences from multiple elements past and present.

5.7 Summary

In this Chapter, I have discussed the six narratives of individual Hanban teachers, by first constructing the stories of their becoming and being, and then interpreting the meaning of those stories against the social and academic contexts.

It suggests that Hanban teachers' transition from the Chinese to the British educational landscape entails much identity (re)construction at the individual level. With the specific context they work in and the particular personal biography, Hanban teachers' UK school experiences tend to be diverse in challenges and issues. Their process of learning to become an effective teacher and their everyday sense of satisfaction are under multiple influences, ranging from social, cultural to organisational, relational and personal level.

In-depth discussion of individual narratives in this chapter forms the basis for my discussion of the themes emerged across different narratives in the following chapter.

Chapter 6 Cross-narrative analysis

Introduction

Having presented and discussed the individual narratives in Chapter 5, in this chapter I discuss five themes which have emerged from the cross-narrative analysis process. My decision of organising the analysis under each theme in this way is due to reduce complexity whilst not undermining the overall depth of my argument. By isolating different themes and sub-themes, I do not intend to undermine the inextricable links among them. Through comparing and contrasting the similarities and differences between the experiences of six individual teachers, I attempt to gain a more general picture of Hanban teachers' professional lives as a group. All the themes are related to every narrative to a greater or lesser extent.

As I have discussed in Chapter 4, the below themes were decided by first comparing each narrative with each other and identifying recurring concepts. Subsequently, I selected five of these themes, which could be used to expand our current understanding of the target group of teachers', as is reflected in both literature and practice.

6.1 Initial stage at school as an intensified period of identity construction

6.1.1 Initial experience in UK schools

Extract 1

... I doubt if I can do the overseas job well...I am very confident about the classroom teaching. The major worry is whether I can communicate well with the British colleagues. The latter might be the area I need to deal with well, where I might also need most help from CI... (Miss Li, Pre-departure email exchanges, see Q7.1)

Extract 2

... Actually it was constantly hitting the wall, constantly hitting the wall... (Mr Zhou, Interview, 2 January 2014, see Q7.2)

Extracts above are selected as both participants have explicitly articulated their sense of inadequacy as a Hanban teacher in the initial stage. Extract 1 is drawn from my email exchanges with Miss Li in the time between the completion of the pre-departure training and the commencement of her work as a Hanban teacher in the UK. Within the extract, Miss Li expressed her feelings of uncertainty towards the job as she lacks the confidence to form a good working relationship with her British colleagues. As I have discussed previously in Narrative 5, prior to Miss Li's secondment as a Hanban teacher, she was an expert teacher and teacher educator with a strong professional identity. Having completed the study in the pre-departure training programmes, however, she still does not seem to be confident enough about the career transition to come.

In extract 2, Mr Zhou, as a fourth year Hanban teacher, was asked to reflect on his initial experience of working in UK schools. He uses the metaphor of 'constantly hitting the wall' to illustrate his feeling of frustration caused by the extensive incompatibility between the professional identity he brings in and the reality of the host school community. The professional identity he brings in has been formed under the influence of his prior educational experience as a postgraduate student of TCSL in a Chinese university, as well as part-time work experience as a Chinese teacher in various language programmes. Similar to Miss Li, the pre-departure training does not seem to be sufficient preparation for his career transition into the Hanban teacher role. Instead, he constantly experienced obstacles and frustrations throughout the initial stage.

Miss Li and Mr Zhou are not alone in experiencing the feeling of inadequacy and participating in the subsequent intensified professional learning through the initial stage of their job. For instance, the strong feeling of inadequacy urges Mr Wang to attend a weekly Tai Chi course every weekend, with the intention to expand his understanding of the subject matter and a workable pedagogy in the UK context. Miss Wu actively draws on various learning resources to develop into a teacher who can attract students' learning interest and speak better English. Miss Qian's pre-existing expectation about the roles and responsibilities as a Hanban teacher bring her much disappointment and frustration. Thus, she spends a long time acquiring and negotiating the roles and responsibilities with others in the host school community. Miss Zheng

actively learns behaviour management techniques in order to become a more effective teacher. In total, my participants' experience of difficulties and intensified professional learning at the initial stage echoes Tinsley and Board's findings (2014), which question the adequacy of their current teacher training.

6.1.2 The assumptions underpinning the training of Hanban teachers

Hanban teachers bring into the UK schools a set of skills, knowledge and understanding influenced by various contexts (Furlong, 2000a), such as their prior education and professional experiences. In this section, I focus my analysis on the pre-departure training, including the basic and the top-up training sessions, which have been specifically designed to prepare Hanban teachers for their UK work experience.

In Chapter 2, I have provided a detailed account on the current teacher training provisions for Hanban teachers. To understand in what ways that the current teacher training could be inadequate preparation for my target group of teachers, I now attempt to tease out the relevant assumptions underpinning the current model. Wenger suggests that these fundamental assumptions, covering 'what is knowledge', 'who are the trainees' and 'how do they learn' have direct consequences on the ways in which the training is organised and designed (Wenger, 1998). By examining these three questions raised by Wenger, I propose the set of assumptions underpinning the current training model as below:

- Knowledge primarily refers to a body of pre-made text, routines or recipes decided by teacher educators. The curriculum is mainly focused on preparing them for the whole class pedagogical role. Thus, it largely covers subject knowledge (e.g. Chinese linguistics, Tai Chi, fan dancing) and pedagogy (e.g. methods to correct students' pronunciation, techniques to manage UK students' behaviour). Almost no training is provided for their role as a supporting member of staff.
- Trainees are treated as homogenous in their prior knowledge and experience, current learning style and roles and responsibilities in schools.
- Learning primarily entails the individual trainees' appropriation of the body of knowledge from teacher educators outside of the local school contexts

(Johnson, 2006). The learning outcome is expected to be individual trainees' mastery of the subject knowledge and their skills to deliver it through appropriate pedagogical methods when they enter the school reality (Hunter, 1982).

- It is guided by the Standards, which prescribe a universal set of knowledge and skills which should be internalised by the trainees. Trainees are assumed to be able to un-problematically apply this set knowledge in their specific teaching contexts.

As I discussed briefly in Chapter 2, this set of assumptions reflect a transmission model of teacher education (Wideen et al., 1998). It overlooks the individuality of the trainees and the context-specific knowledge about actual schools (Day, 1999). My participants' problematic transition into their school practices calls for alternative ways of conceptualising their initial stage at schools.

6.1.3 Re-conceptualise Hanban teachers' initial stage at school

I find Lave and Wenger's (1991) framework of Situated Learning and Wenger's framework of Communities of Practice (1998) can be drawn on to achieve this aim. Although not specifically for teachers, they are powerful theorisations of the complex relationship between professional learning, practices, identity and the learning context. Of special relevance, I draw on their conception of learning and its relationship with participation in practices and identity, Wenger's conception of community of practice and five attributes of identity. These concepts are often applied by researchers in the field of teacher education, investigating various critical periods of teachers' career: from the first school practicum within teacher education programme (Kanno & Stuart, 2011), and initial teaching practices when entering the school (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011) to the period of educational reforms (Sachs, 2001). When applying Lave and Wenger's model in the context of language teacher education, Varghese et al. (2005) remind us of the potential pitfalls as many current teacher education programmes do not have the defining characteristics of 'communities of practice'. I take these defining characteristics as a useful tool to examine the specific context of the host schools. In particular, whether such specific communities of practice have been established for Hanban teachers' professional learning.

Thus, following Lave and Wenger's conception of learning, participation and identity, instead of viewing Hanban teachers' initial stage at school as the unproblematic transition from the pre-departure training to their UK professional lives, it can be viewed as an extension of their professional learning beyond their short-term formal training programmes (i.e. pre-departure training and CPD events). This professional learning does not only happen within the minds of the target group of teachers', but also through their social participation in all sorts of activities in schools. It is negotiated within complex contexts which are socially, culturally and historically situated. It does not occur between a specific teacher educator and the trainees, but between individual Hanban teachers and all the other members in the schools. The learning outcome is more than mastery of the subject knowledge or pedagogical methods, it also concerns their changes as a person within the school communities.

However, it is contingent on the type of support and guidance they can receive and the learning resources they have access to at the school level. This can be interpreted through Wenger's conception of community of practice. Within geographical boundary of schools, it is not the case that every school has established a community of practice specifically for Chinese teaching and learning. I will refer this as 'Chinese community' for the rest of the study.

By analysing the Chinese provision in the host school, which I have detailed in Chapter 5, through the three defining characteristics of a community of practice, I identify that, of six participants, only Miss Qian, Miss Li and Miss Zheng's host schools have established the Chinese communities when they join. These Chinese communities have developed the ways and expectations about how their members should interact with each other. For instance, in Miss Li's host school, differentiated ways in which local teachers and Hanban teachers should interact with students, in terms of their pedagogical roles have been established. They have developed an understanding of the objectives that Chinese teaching and learning serve, prioritising students' grades for example in Miss Qian's host school. They also have the experience of Chinese teaching and learning to draw on, and the resources to refer to when they decide what to teach and how to teach. For instance, in Miss Qian's host school, there exists a

large pool of tested teaching material that they can utilise when preparing materials for a lesson.

Whether there is an established Chinese community in the host school has a great influence on Hanban teachers' professional identity construction. As discussed in Chapter 5, for Miss Qian, Miss Li and Miss Zheng, they work alongside the 'old timers' (i.e. local Chinese teacher and experienced Hanban teacher) within the Chinese community, it does not take long before they construct an effective professional identity, which means that they succeed in their job and have the confidence that they can get their assigned tasks done.

For the remainder of the participants, however, without established Chinese communities in their host schools, the process of learning and construction of professional identities appears to be more challenging and unsettling. It is amongst these participants that feelings of 'constantly hitting the wall', 'inadequacies as a teacher' and 'tiredness' are reported. For them, it largely relies on their agency to plan out the professional learning as Hanban teachers. Without established Chinese communities for providing support and learning resources, they must actively seek alternative learning resources. For instance, Mr Wang and Miss Wu even attempt to find the learning resources outside of the school communities, such as the weekend Tai Chi course and various pedagogy related books.

On the other hand, the establishment of a Chinese community cannot guarantee the target group of teachers gaining the sense of satisfaction with their job. Wenger's five attributes of identity helps us to gain a more nuanced understanding of Hanban teachers' professional identities. For instance, as I detailed in Narrative 4 and Narrative 5, although Miss Qian and Miss Li can get their job done in the established Chinese communities, they still constantly experience some inner struggles. These inner struggles need to be interpreted through viewing their professional identities as learning trajectories, which are greatly influenced by their prior experiences.

Regarding the whole group, Wenger's conception of identity, together with other complementary concepts, help us to understand their construction of professional identity as a complex process, which is influenced by their dual-membership in different

professional communities of practice, second language identity and personal lives. I will elaborate my discussion about the process in the following sections.

In sum, Hanban teachers' initial stage at school needs to be re-conceptualised as a period that entails an intensified period of learning and professional identity construction. With an established Chinese community, new Hanban teachers can gain access to learning resources and guidance from 'old timers' (i.e. local Chinese teachers and experienced Hanban teachers). Without an established Chinese community, their process of learning and professional identity construction tends to be more challenging and unsettling.

6.2 Do Hanban teachers belong to a single professional community of practice?

Quotation 1

...Volunteers can view the international Chinese education from the height of the national development strategy. They closely link their ideals to the meaning of the Volunteer Project. Also, they are willing to dedicate their youth to this enterprise. It is particularly valuable for the contemporary young people to have the sense of honour, sense of mission and sense of responsibility by upholding the ideals and being willing to sacrifice... (R. Zhu & Qian, 2015, p. 67) (see Q7.3)

Quotation 2

... there is an over-reliance currently on temporary teachers from China who are unable to fulfil all schools' needs if Chinese is to have a full place in the curriculum...(Tinsley & Board, 2014)

The quotations above provide examples of two contrasting perspectives in current literature when discussing the issues concerning Hanban teachers. One is exclusively from the perspective of the dispatching country, the other from the perspective of host countries (CILT, 2007; Nie, 2012; Starr, 2009; Wu, 2012). These two perspectives often evaluate Hanban teachers and their work against two separate sets of standards and meanings.

The first quotation is extracted from a study conducted from the perspective of a Chinese study into teachers dispatched from the country. From 2010 to 2012, R. Zhu and Qian (2015) surveyed a sample of 3000 voluntary teachers (i.e. one type of Hanban teachers in the definition of this study), who work for the CIs and CCs worldwide, with the objective of gaining insight into the status quo and issues of the CI projects. This study attempts to establish the links between the development of CI projects and six variables related to the voluntary teachers: sources, qualifications, subjects studied, teaching experience and motivation for job application. With more than 80% of the total sample regarding 'promoting Chinese language and culture is a meaningful work' as one of their job motivations (P66), Zhu and Qian conclude that volunteers generally link the meaning of their Chinese teaching job to supporting the national development. Moreover, they endorse those informants' sense of mission and responsibilities. Underpinning this endorsement is the scholars' assumption that a good Hanban teacher is someone who strives to realise Hanban's policy objective of international promotion of Chinese language and culture.

The second quotation, however, reflects the completely different voice from the perspective of scholars who are from a host country. In 2014, Tinsley and Board conducted a comprehensive investigation into the Chinese provision in UK schools. They collected data through pupil questionnaires, lesson observations and interviews from different stakeholders. As one of the findings, although they recognise the important role of Hanban teachers in supporting the Chinese teaching, Tinsley and Board caution us of Hanban teachers' inadequacy of realising all the needs of the UK schools. Thus, they propose that Hanban teachers are not supposed to be fully depended on for the sustainable development of Chinese provision. Within their proposition, they assume that the suitability of utilising Hanban teachers in the long term is decided by whether they can fulfil all the needs of local schools.

The two perspectives discussed above are helpful to establish the links and differences between the organisational objectives and requirements and the professional identity of Hanban teachers. However, each perspective devotes its discussion entirely to one organisation, either the Hanban or the school. Thus, it cannot capture the complex nature of Hanban teachers' professional identity construction, which is related to their

struggles elicited by the incongruence and sometimes conflict between objectives and requirements from two organisations.

Of the six participants, four of them have explicitly articulated this type of struggle. Mr Zhou struggles over whether he should focus on increasing student enrolment or improving the grades of his students. Mr Wang ponders on how two sets of subject knowledge and pedagogy should be utilised in the Tai Chi class. Miss Wu faces the dilemma of sitting students according to their learning needs or according to whether they consent to being taken photos of. Miss Qian always remembers the responsibility of doing outreach activities in schools nearby but is afraid of confronting the will of the local Chinese teacher.

Within his theoretical frame of 'communities of practice', Wenger (1998) reminds us that identity is not a singular membership, rather, it is a nexus of multimembership. This theorisation of identity is helpful to interpret the conditions discussed here and explain why struggles occur in some participants while do not occur in other participants.

Following Wenger (1998), identity as a nexus of multimembership emphasises the individual's simultaneous belonging to many communities of practices, some which are current ones and some are past. However, boundaries inevitably exist among those different communities of practice, as each community of practice has the characteristics below:

- Participants form a close relationship and develop unique ways of engaging with one another, which outsiders cannot easily enter.
- They have a detailed and complex understanding of their enterprise as they define it, which outsiders may not share.
- They have developed a repertoire for which outsiders miss shared references. (Wenger, 1998, p. 113)

Thus, to maintain one's identity across varied boundaries of communities, an individual needs to make effort to reconcile those multi-memberships, as he proposes, 'different practices can make competing demands that are difficult to combine into an experience

that responds to a single identity' (1998, p. 159) and 'different forms of accountability may call for different responses to the same circumstances' (1998, p. 160).

Before I apply Wenger's theory to analyse the data in this study, it is worthwhile to spend some time to discuss how boundaries between communities of practice, in his theorisation, are differentiated from the boundaries between the institutions.

One institution does not necessarily equal to one community of practice. According to Wenger, one institution might correspond to none, one or several communities of practice. He contends, 'even when communities of practice live and define themselves within an organisational context, their boundaries may or may not coincide with organisational boundaries' (1998, p. 119). He elaborates the nature of the boundaries is 'not geographical' and 'not necessarily visible or explicit' (Wenger, 2010, p. 3).

Moreover, boundaries between the communities of practice do not necessarily suggest that they are completely independent from each other. Wenger suggests that different communities of practice might connect with each other in three ways namely; boundary practices, overlaps and peripheries. Among which, overlaps refers to 'a direct and sustained overlap between two practices' (Wenger, 1998, p. 115). Hanban teachers' presence in schools can be viewed as this type.

Within my study, individual host schools, can be viewed as one complex community of practice or as constituted of several interrelated communities of practice. As a complex system, it has its implicit and explicit requirements on how its members should interact with each other, such as how teachers should interact with students (e.g. student-centred). It draws its members together with a joint enterprise, that is, supporting each individual student to reach their fullest potential (DfES, 2003). Members within the school community also have a shared narrative to talk about the school events, teaching and learning, etc. This applies to all the host schools in my investigation.

On the other hand, an individual host school can also be viewed as constituted of several interrelated communities of practice. As discussed in the prior section, if Chinese teaching and learning is well established, the Chinese community can be viewed as one of the communities of practice that constitute a part of the overall school community. This Chinese community has formed ways and processes that describe

how its members should interact with each other. Clear identity boundaries have been established between local teachers and Hanban teachers and a situational understanding of what subject knowledge should be taught, what the effective teaching approaches are, and what the effective behaviour management techniques are.

Moreover, taking part in Hanban organised training and being deployed by a CI or BC into the host school, Hanban teachers also belong to the Hanban community of practice. Hanban teachers, CCs, and CIs are important constituent parts of this community, although all of these elements might be geographically separate from one another. Communication and interaction between different members (e.g. Hanban teachers, line managers and directors) are formed. Through formal training sessions such as the pre-departure training and CPD events, as well as informal learning with its members, Hanban community promotes 'what to teach' and 'how to teach'. Furthermore, in terms of the shared enterprise, all the members are expected to work for the international promotion of Chinese language and culture. This community of practice has a basis in its shared narratives used to talk about their past and present work.

As discussed previously, a Hanban teacher's presence at the host school can be viewed as a direct and prolonged overlap between the two communities. A Hanban teacher simultaneously works for both communities and he or she must remain as a member of the school community whilst still being part of the Hanban community. The professional identity of Hanban teachers inherently contains at least two primary memberships in two communities. I am aware of the possible influence from the outreach school communities, as well as their dispatching schools/universities on their professional identity construction. For example, some Hanban teachers work on academic publications for their dispatching institutions during their time in the UK. However, here I focus on the two most crucial memberships contained in the professional identity of Hanban teachers.

With recognition of their dual membership in two communities of practice, I will examine how individual Hanban teachers experience this dual membership in their daily practices, with an attempt to explain the origin of struggles within their professional identity.

The dual membership inherent in the Hanban teacher identity means that they sometimes have to face competing demands on what objectives they should work for, what to teach, how to teach and what their roles and responsibilities are.

For Mr Zhou, the host school community requires teachers to focus on a small number of students, providing them an in-depth understanding of Chinese language and preparing them for better grades in the national standard exams. This requirement competes for his time and effort against the needs of the Hanban community, which demands him to focus on expanding the number of students who study Chinese, no matter to which level they can achieve.

For Mr Wang, in the Hanban community, he was trained to teach a certain subject knowledge in an approach which aims for an efficient large scale Chinese culture promotion. However, the host school community desires a different kind of Tai Chi teacher, who is able to provide a small number of students with an engaging, systematic and in-depth teaching of Tai Chi.

For Miss Wu, the responsibility of Chinese teaching from the host school community and the responsibility of organisational impression management from the Hanban community require her to act differently under the circumstance of designing her students' seating plan.

Finally, for Miss Qian, the teaching assistant role for the GCSE class assigned by the host school community competes against the expectations from the Hanban community which demands her to be the main class teacher for outreach activities.

Wenger's theory is also helpful to explain why Miss Li and Miss Zheng are exempted from such struggles. I recognise the influence from their substantial identities (Nias, 1989), as both of them have the attitude of 'love what they do and work hard for it'. However, participants who experience the inner struggles also have the similar attitude. Thus, it is important to include the influence from the external structures into discussion.

As I discussed previously, both host schools have established the Chinese communities, which resemble the apprenticeship model of Wenger's conception of

communities of practice. They provide a supporting organisational structure for professional learning when Miss Li and Miss Zheng first join. In particular, it has established a clear boundary between Hanban teachers and local teachers. Moreover, Hanban teachers are not the only people who experience dual membership in both the school and Hanban communities. Both Miss Li and Miss Zheng's line managers also simultaneously work in two communities of practice, as they are local Chinese teachers as well as managers of CCs. As 'old timers' in both communities, they have had the experience of reconciling the competing demands and requirements from both sides. Thus, Miss Li and Miss Zheng do not seem to face the same level of competing demands as the rest of the participants. For instance, without having the local teacher work for the Hanban community, although her host school also has established the Chinese community, Miss Qian still experiences such conflicts and struggles.

In sum, the professional identity of the Hanban teacher is far from a singular identity serving the one unified enterprise of one community of practice. It inherently contains the dual membership of at least two primary communities of practice; the host school community and the Hanban community. This dual membership is an important feature of the professional identity of Hanban teachers. It reminds us of the condition that Hanban teachers might need to constantly face and work with competing demands and requirements from two communities of practice.

6.3 Are Hanban teachers passive receivers and agents of policy objectives?

Quotation 3

... Hanban provides substantial start-up funds, supplies teachers and teaching materials for free, offers training opportunities, and makes available further funds for specific activities and events...(H. Zhu & Li, 2014)

Quotation 4

... Chinese teachers are also shouldering the responsibility of promoting Chinese language and culture... (Nie, 2012, p. 153)(see Q7.4)

The two quotations above provide examples of how Hanban teachers are viewed in current literature regarding their relationship with the Hanban community. In Zhu and Li's description, Hanban teachers are viewed as one of the three free resources, which

are provided and deployed by Hanban, under the consideration of realising its organisational objectives. Being placed in parallel with two other objects (i.e. funds and teaching materials), Hanban teachers in Quotation 3 seem to be treated as passive 'receivers' of Hanban's deployment (Saunders, 1987, p.108). In Quotation 4, Nie stresses the organisational responsibilities that Chinese teachers carry under the deployment of Hanban. Hanban teachers in this quotation are perceived as un-problematically adopting Hanban's organisational policy objectives as their personal meaning of work. They are depicted as both 'receivers and agents of policy' (Saunders, 1987, p. 108), who are undifferentiated in receiving and carrying the responsibility of promoting Chinese language and culture.

The two statements above reflect the common rhetoric in which Hanban teachers are portrayed (Starr, 2009). Although different words are used by the researchers, a shared assumption can be drawn from such statements. That is, Hanban teachers are viewed as agents who automatically take the undifferentiated position of enacting Hanban's policy objectives.

The strength of such views is that it reveals the Hanban policy objective as a crucial force shaping the identity construction of my target group of teachers. However, my study suggests such views do not allow for an analysis on Hanban teachers' dynamic responses to the policy objectives. What the data from my study indicates is that Hanban teachers are not just passive receivers and agents of Hanban's policy objectives. Rather, they often actively reflect on the kind of teachers they want to be and seek alternative ways of being and doing their job to the requirements and meaning imposed by Hanban community. As is shown Chapter 5, among six participants, Mr Zhou, Mr Wang and Miss Wu explicitly articulated their refusals, doubts, uncertainties and discomforts towards the impositions.

Foucault's notion of power and resistance (Foucault, 1977, 1982, 1984) as described in Chapter 2 and Ball's concept of performativity as described in Chapter 5 are helpful to interpret why struggles and resistance towards Hanban's policy objectives occur in some narratives while not occur in the other narratives.

As I have discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Foucault views power as a complex strategic situation. Its operation is realised through technique, normalisation and control at all levels within an organisation and even a society at large. He proposes three major techniques of the disciplinary control as hierarchical observation, normalising judgment, and the examination. In the case of the Hanban community, in the CI system in particular, the hierarchical observation has been realised through the establishment of 'observers' at different levels, from the managers of the CCs, directors of the CIs, to the leadership team in the headquarters. My target group of teachers' practice are under the observation of this hierarchical structure. Regarding to the second technique, from the criteria for teacher recruitment, and pre-departure training programme, to the Guidance notes for Hanban teachers, they work together to transmit and reinforce the knowledge of the norms and standards of a good Hanban teacher on practitioners. In terms of the last technique, my target group of teachers' performance are evaluated, recorded and reported by their line managers via using organisational evaluation forms.

I acknowledge the structural differences between the CI system and the BC system, for example Hanban teachers under the management of the BC do not need to be measured against these evaluation forms. However, being initially recruited and trained in the Hanban community, they are also made familiar with what a good Hanban teacher stands for.

The analysis above mainly focuses on the exercise of power external to individual practitioners. As I have discussed previously in Chapter 2, Foucault borrows Bentham's Panopticon to further illustrate how individuals become the 'bearers' of the disciplinary power. In the case of my study, Hanban teachers to a certain extent, modify their own practice under the awareness of the external supervision by the Hanban community.

Following Foucault, Ball's concept of performativity makes explicit the process in which the practice of the practitioners is modified through continuous evaluation of their performance by indicators and comparing performance data. In the case of my target group of teachers, their performance is evaluated by the CI through indicators like number of students' enrolment, number of outreach schools, number of events

organised and number of news articles published via Hanban websites. Teachers sometimes are ranked and displayed in front of the whole group according to their performance data, as is recorded in the field notes made whilst observing their CPD events.

The analysis until this point presents the web of power relations Hanban teachers are embedded in within the Hanban community. Both Foucault and Ball agree that neither power nor performativity is something intrinsically bad. If the meaning imposed through the exercise of power matches the personal meaning of practitioners within the institution, no struggles or resistance will occur. Otherwise, struggles and resistance might be elicited in both the emotions and practice of the practitioners (S. J. Ball & Olmedo, 2013), as they try to seek alternative meanings of who they are and what they do.

In the narratives of Miss Qian, Miss Li and Miss Zheng, their personal meanings display a congruence with their perception of Hanban's prescribed meaning of being and doing. Miss Qian strongly identifies herself as a member of the Hanban community (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and views herself as sharing the same sense of mission with the fellow teachers, as is reflected in her choice of the personal pronoun 'we' to refer to herself, she says, 'We are going with a mission.' When asked to clarify the meaning of mission, she responds, 'mission refers to the promotion of Chinese culture. Actually many people still do not know well the current level of development in China. The purpose of CI is not only to teach Chinese, but more importantly, 'to promote Chinese culture and to let people understand China' (Pre-departure email, 23 September 2013). Miss Li does not explicitly articulate any narratives about the meaning of her work, however, she shows her non-struggle position by simply being devoted to her job. As to Miss Zheng, she recognises the importance of making people understand more about Chinese language and culture and views herself as a 'non-official ambassador'.

In the narratives of the other three participants, however, there appears to be incompatibilities, although to different degree, between their personal meanings and the organisational meaning. As I have discussed in Narrative 1, Mr Zhou describes his personal meaning of teaching as, 'what we want are students' attitude towards Chinese, whether you really want to learn Chinese, how is your final grades' (Interview,

27 November 2013), which is different from the organisational imposed meaning of teaching for the growth in numbers of learners. Mr Zhou explicitly demonstrates the refusal of the organisational meaning by saying, 'probably, people on the above and on the bottom, well, have different viewpoints and different points of view' (Interview, 27 November 2013).

Similarly, Mr Wang also articulates the refusal of the organisational meaning, with specific focus on the responsibility of promoting traditional Chinese culture at a large scale. His personal understandings on this matter, however, highlights the need of an in-depth study of the subject matter before their teaching and promotion of Chinese culture. He says, 'so I have a lot to say about the issue of Chinese culture and tradition. We are not able to carry this big mission. I think at least to me' (Interview, 14 July 2013). Miss Wu does not explicitly articulate as strong an objection as her two male counterparts. Instead, she subtly expresses her discomfort towards the activities she has to be engaged in, as an additional workload to teaching. The annual targets of publishing three news articles required by the CI elicits pressure on her. She has to sometimes balance the competing demands from both teaching and news article writing. She says, 'I feel it is really troublesome' (Interview 4, 13 July 2014).

In sum, Hanban teachers are not passive receivers and agents of Hanban policy objectives with undifferentiated positions. Rather, they exercise their agency to interact with the norms of a good Hanban teacher produced through the complex web of power relations in the Hanban community. Some of them have constructed professional identities that match Hanban's organisational meaning. Some demonstrate refusal, struggles and resistance towards that meaning. They reflect upon and seek to construct alternative meanings in various aspects of their professional identity, including the questions of 'what to teach for', 'what to teach' and 'what to do'.

6.4 Second language identity and the professional identity as Hanban teachers

Native speaker Chinese teachers are often found lacking in English language proficiency when they start working in an English-speaking context (Tinsley & Board, 2014). My data supports this statement by identifying that all the participants except Miss Zheng have articulated English language related issues at the initial stage of their

participation in school practices. Mr Wang, Miss Wu, Miss Qian and Miss Li in particular, have narrated incidents when their limitation in English proficiency became the barrier for the interactions with students and colleagues in schools as well as the barrier for them to form the sense of confidence as Hanban teachers. For example, Mr Wang's English accent was imitated and corrected by a student (field notes, 11 March 2013); Miss Wu loses her confidence when she feels she cannot conduct a basic greeting in English the way as her local colleagues do (13 July 2014, Interview); Miss Qian categorises herself as a less competent teacher in comparison with other Hanban teachers when she comes across the occasions where she cannot understand what her students are talking about (3 January, 2014); and Miss Li constantly feels the inadequacy of her English proficiency as she finds it difficult to smoothly communicate with students in English.

6.4.1 The role of second language identity in the professional identity construction

Those incidents echo the argument from Mawhinney (1997) that developing second language proficiency is crucial to reconstructing the professional identities of foreign trained professionals when they wish to work in a target language environment. However, my participants' experience suggests that it goes beyond the language proficiency, it is also related to their social relationship with other members in the English language community, their perception of self and the socio-pragmatic of language use. Thus, I draw on Benson et al.'s (2013) frame of second language identity and Wenger's community of practice to construct an understanding of second language identity, which I find useful to interpret Hanban teachers' language related issues.

As I have discussed previously in Chapter 3, Benson et al.'s theorisation of second language identity emphasises identity-related second language competence, linguistic self-concept and second language-mediated personal competence. It attends to the individualised, product aspect of second language identity, but it does not seem to allow for an analysis about the social, process aspect of second language identity, which Wenger's community of practice is of special strength in (B. Norton, 2001).

In light of his framework, second language identity is closely linked with second language learning. From newcomers to old timers, second language learners become more competent in communication in the target language through language practices with the old timers (i.e. native and non-native speakers) in the target language community. Language practices happen both in formal language courses and informal situations. This perspective provides a powerful way to re-conceptualise the controversial dichotomy of native and non-native speakers (Faez, 2011). In the case of my study, Hanban teachers' second language identity (re)construction within the broader target language community happens at schools, homes, cafes, etc.

An analysis of the six narratives, I argue that the establishment of an effective second language identity plays an important role in establishing the effective professional identity as Hanban teachers.

As I have discussed previously in Narrative 6, Miss Zheng's establishment of an effective second language identity does not automatically guarantee the construction of an effective Hanban teacher identity. However, it greatly facilitates the construction of her Hanban teacher identity in a way that enables her to communicate smoothly with the line manager. Consequently, it contributes to the formation of a trusting work relationship with him. The line manager, therefore, assigns her with more job responsibilities. Thus, the effective second language identity facilitates her interactions with the old timers and enables her to have more access to the school activities.

For the remainder of the participants, without the establishment of an effective second language identity, their challenges of constructing an effective professional identity seem to be even bigger. It affects not only the communication of meaning with members of the school community who speak the target language (i.e. English), but also influence how they view themselves as teachers and how they are viewed by their interlocutors. As is demonstrated in the earlier examples, their language identities undermine the effectiveness of their engagement in students' behaviour management, affect their confidence in interaction with colleagues, hinder the formation of a sense of confidence as Hanban teachers, and impede the effective delivery of the subject knowledge (e.g. Chinese culture).

6.4.2 Underpinning assumptions about English language and Hanban teachers

Having discussed the crucial role of the second language identity in constructing an effective professional identity as a Hanban teacher, I now examine how target language learning is carried out at the organisational level and at the individual level.

I start my discussion at the organisational level. With a close examination of the current teacher training, English language learning is not emphasised. Based on the interview data and the training programme documents, there rarely exists any English language training in the curriculum other than one optional course which is delivered in lecture style in the pre-departure training. To understand why such limited training in English is provided for Hanban teachers at the organisational level, I identify two underpinning assumptions about English language and Hanban teachers held in the current model of Hanban teachers' training and development.

Firstly, it is assumed that Hanban teachers, who have gone through a rigorous selection process, possess sufficient English proficiency. As is clearly listed in the Hanban official website, one recruitment criterion for Hanban teachers related to language proficiency is, 'to have a comparatively high foreign language proficiency and an ability to work fluently in English or in languages of the host countries'(具有较高的外语水平, 能熟练使用所在国语言或英语开展工作) (Hanban). This criterion recognises the importance of foreign language proficiency in working overseas as Hanban teachers. Foreign language here refers to either English or the languages of the host countries other than English. English as the dominant language globally can work as a lingua franca between Hanban teachers and host school communities. In context of the UK, the foreign language Hanban teachers need to be fluent with is English. Thus, when the candidates succeed in their job interviews and are offered the opportunity of working as Hanban teachers, they are assumed to have met the criterion and have sufficient English proficiency to work and teach.

The second underpinning assumption that contributes to the lack of English training is, that there has not reached the theoretical consensus on whether learner's first language (e.g. English) should be used in an ideal Chinese classroom. As is reflected in the interview data, there are two primary voices on the matter of use of TL (Chinese)

and L1 (English) within the pre-departure training. The first voice promotes the maximum and even full use of TL as a medium of instruction. This view is in accordance with the mainstream principle utilised in the field of TCSL within China. The second voice promotes the use of L1 as a medium of instruction. This view is mainly expressed within the top-up training, which is targeted at the UK School context. The ambivalent theoretical understanding of the role of L1 in Chinese classroom within the pre-departure training contributes to the uncertainty of whether more English language training should be included in Hanban teacher training curriculum.

In consideration of the two assumptions discussed above, very limited formal English language training has been provided for Hanban teachers at the organisational level. At the individual level, all the participants are engaged in a range of English language learning activities, both formal and informal. Although they live and work in an English language community, it is not the case that they are automatically exposed to unlimited opportunities of learning (Kinginger, 2008). Rather, it takes motivation, agency and investment in the learning of English (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007).

6.4.3 A tale of language learning: Miss Wu and Miss Qian

The English language learning experience of Miss Wu and Miss Qian emerges to be two distinct narratives. In Miss Wu's case, I notice that she intentionally plans out and actively seeks the opportunities of target language learning. Even in the face of obstacles, she persistently tries out new possibilities of forming contact with the target language speakers and creating the opportunities for English learning (Schumann, 1986). For example, in the informal occasions, she regularly offers help to the landlord family, actively finds language exchange partners online and regularly attends the events of local church. In terms of formal learning, she invests her own time and funds to enrol in an academic English learning programme in a local language school. She explicitly articulates her understanding of the importance of exerting agency to enhance contact with the target language speakers for the purpose of English language learning in the extract below:

Extract 3

In regards to living here, my understanding is that I should communicate with the locals more in English and increase the opportunities and time to get to know them. But until now, I still find it is pretty difficult. Because I live by myself in a flat. I should take initiatives and create opportunities to get to know the locals. Otherwise, if I stay at home and do not go out, then the chance of improving my English is very low. (Interview, 4th Jan 2014, see Q7.5)

In Miss Qian's case, however, I observe her passive acceptance rather than her proactive seeking of opportunities to speak to the target language speakers like Miss Wu. She feels the need to improve her English proficiency but only speaks when the target language speakers approach her and at the time the situation allows. For example, she mainly relies on the help initiated by a warm-hearted colleague and the convenience of an English speaking roommate to practice her English with. Why does there exist such contrasting attitudes towards target English language learning between Miss Wu and Miss Qian? It could be argued that these are isolated narratives in which, perhaps because those two participants have different characters, one is more outgoing and proactive, while the other is more shy and passive. By locating their attitudes towards English language learning back to the rich narrative data they have produced, the difference illustrated above, however, can be partly explained by the way they perceive themselves as who they are at present and who they will be in future, through the theoretical lens of 'non-participation' (Wenger, 1998) and 'investment' (B. Norton, 2000). I have discussed both concepts in the previous chapters. The use of them stay the same here.

6.4.4 Learning English as an investment in professional identity

As I have discussed in detail in Narrative 3, Miss Wu was an English teacher in China before her secondment and will return China and continue to be an English teacher upon the completion of the contract as a Hanban teacher. English proficiency constitutes an important aspect of her professional identity as a teacher of English. Thus, her dedication of time, effort and funds in learning English in and outside of official language programmes can be understood as her investment in the

reconstruction of professional identity, with the long term objective of 'career advancement' (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007).

In terms of the strategy of gaining contact with target language speakers, it is interesting to notice that Miss Wu's utilisation of her cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 2008). For example, she offers to make Chinese dumplings for the son of landlord when she attempts to establish contact with the family. She offers Chinese language tutorials when she tries to find a target language partner. She brings Chinese crafts as gifts when she pay visits to her local friends. Miss Wu's cultural capital of proficiency in Chinese language and knowledge of Chinese cultural practices is valued much in the target language community and grants her much agency of getting access to the target language learning resources. This is in stark contrast with the experience of five immigrant women in the context of Canada, who are originally from countries like Vietnam, Poland, Peru, Czechoslovakia (B. Norton, 2000). Their native language and culture do not possess the same value as Miss Wu's in my study. Miss Wu's narrative needs to be understood against the backdrop of the rise of Chinese economy in the global marketplace and the rise of Chinese as a global language (H. Zhu & Li, 2014). In the UK context, for instance, Tinsley and Board (2013) places Chinese among UK's top four needed languages for future.

Miss Qian, however, studied a Chinese language related major, she is on secondment from a job with no emphasis on English language proficiency. This contributes to her low motivation to learn English.

On the other hand, It could be argued that with voluntary 'language teaching' from both a colleague and a housemate, she does not have to seek alternative learning resources. However, even when she needs to improve her academic English for the future application of a degree programme in the UK, she does not demonstrate as much investment as Miss Wu to enrol in a formal English course. I interpret her attitudes towards English learning as greatly influenced by her perception of a marginalised status in the host school community.

6.4.5 Non-participation as a Hanban teacher and English learner

As I have discussed previously in Narrative 4, Miss Qian's experience in the host school community witnesses a development of marginality. Working closely with a native Chinese speaker, her opportunities to participate in English language practices are mainly limited to her contact with students in her supporting role. Moreover, her initial attempts to negotiate the meaning (i.e. teaching methods, pedagogical roles) with the local Chinese teacher are responded with little changes of the situation. This absence of negotiability contributes to the construction of an identity of 'non-participation' in the host school communities. The extreme example of 'non-participation' is a complete withdrawal from the community of practice one has been in, like two language learners' dropping out from the language class in Norton's study (2001). Miss Qian's non-participation, however, is demonstrated in the form of withdrawal from attempts to make changes and surrendering to the authority of the local teacher.

The marginality in the school community does not grant Miss Qian access to many opportunities of speaking to the target language speakers. When such incidents like she has difficulty in understanding her students occur, she feels the necessity of further English language learning. Nevertheless, rather than actively seeking the contact with the target language speakers, she merely participates in target language practices when opportunities arise. This passive acceptance attitude towards English language learning can be partly explained by her passive acceptance attitude towards her marginalised identity in the school community.

In sum, Hanban teachers' professional identity construction is closely linked with their second language identity. Without establishing an effective second language identity, it is difficult for them to construct an effective professional identity. Conversely, with an effective second language identity, it facilitates the construction of an effective professional identity. However, the current training curriculum does not provide sufficient English language training. At the conceptual levels, it does not recognise the importance and the necessity of Hanban teachers' further English language development. Thus, it largely relies on individual teachers to plan out their own English language learning in the target language community. However, individual teachers'

agency of constructing their second language identities is contingent upon various ways they perceive their future career trajectory and their current identity in the school communities.

6.5 How do personal lives shape professional identities?

Current literature has recognised the inextricable links between teachers' experiences in their personal lives and their thinking, feelings and actions in their professional roles (S. J. Ball & Goodson, 1985; Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Maclure, 1993; Nias, 1989). My data supports this perspective and finds that personal lives have great influence on Hanban teachers' professional identity construction. More specifically, they influence their career choice of coming to, staying at or leaving their job as Hanban teachers. They connect the current professional experience with the past and future. They allow Hanban teachers to approach teaching not as a neutral activity but something with value. Finally, they influence Hanban teachers' construction of personal subject knowledge.

6.5.1 Personal lives as a member of a family

It is a salient theme from the data analysis across narratives that Hanban teachers' identities as family members (e.g. as a son, as a husband or as a mother) greatly influence their choices of coming to, staying at or leaving the job. An inherent predicament Hanban teachers collectively face is that to work outside of China might confront them with a long distance family relationship unless alternative arrangements are initiated. As Starr (2009) argues that family responsibility might be a counterforce against experienced teachers' application for an overseas job. My data suggests a more complex picture of the relationship between their family role and career decision. A case like Mr Zhou's, stands as an example of Starr's argument: his sense of responsibility towards his parents as the only child drives him to make the final decision of leaving the UK permanently after four years. However, there are also narratives in which their family role stands as a 'pull factor' of their decision into the job (E. S. Lee, 1966), or sometimes it elicits the ambivalence towards this career opportunity.

For Miss Wu, her role as a mother is a crucial element influencing her decision of working as a Hanban teacher. Sometimes it is a force of empowerment, while

sometimes it becomes a source of guilty feeling. For Miss Li, she constantly feels lonely and homesick while she works in the UK. It is interesting to see the stories of two mothers emerging with various similarities and differences. Being both a mother and a Hanban teacher, Miss Wu and Miss Li, however, act differently towards this dual membership.

The stories of Miss Wu and Miss Li are detailed in Narrative 3 and Narrative 5. As a mother, both of them share a same sense of 'care and concern' (Miss Li, pre-departure email exchanges), towards their family when they are about to work in the UK. Miss Wu articulates the concern towards her son in particular, as he is facing 'zhongkao', which is equivalent to GCSE. Also, both of them trying to fulfil their role as mother even if they are geographically apart from their children. For example, Miss Wu described the situation that she had to get up at 5:50 AM every day and call her son due to the time difference between China and UK. At the later stage, Miss Wu actively investigated the opportunities of bringing her son to study in a UK school, which was believed to be an easier route for her son's future access to the world class higher education. Thus, with consideration of the investment in her son's identity (Norton, 2000), Miss Wu plans to extend her time of staying in the job. Miss Li, however, learns to cope with the feeling of homesickness and merely invites her husband and daughter for a visit during school holiday.

6.5.2 Personal lives as prior professional experience

Extract 4

We have teachers who majored in TCSL, who worked before elsewhere as a Hanban teacher, who had years of teaching experience in China. Actually, we are not sure who the best to recruit are. I hope through your research, you can help us to find out the answer. (Field notes, 20 June 2014)

Extract 4 is chosen from the field notes which I wrote on the day I conducted an interview with two members of the senior leadership team from the RGCI. One of them conveyed her sense of uncertainty towards what type of candidates suit the job best, in terms of their differentiated prior professional experiences. As is suggested by her

words, Hanban teachers are a professional group with diversified past work experience.

In Hanban's official criteria of recruiting Hanban teachers, however, it tends to favour the candidates who have the prior experience of TCSL, or experience of working overseas (Hanban). What does my data suggest about the links between participants' prior professional experiences and their current professional lives? Is it truly as the official criteria suggests, that individuals with such prior professional experiences make better Hanban teachers?

Of the six participants in my study, individuals with prior experience of TCSL (i.e. Mr Zhou and Miss Qian) and experience of working overseas (i.e. Miss Qian) do not necessarily have an easier transition into their current positions or a subsequent better performance. On the contrary, Mr Zhou's professional identity constructed from the prior experience and strong confidence about the professional identity bring him initial resistance towards learning and adjustment in the way of teaching and being in the host school community.

Miss Qian's success story of working as a Hanban teacher in the previous host country might be an important element which elicits her disappointment and dissatisfaction with the current experience. As detailed in Narrative 4, she had a successful performance as a Hanban teacher in her last job and she intends to act out the same professional identity as she did. However, the current school community does not grant her as much recognition, and consequently, not as many responsibilities as the previous one. Not surprisingly, she constructs 'golden age' accounts in interview data in a way worshipping the past glory and through it she conveys her dissatisfaction with the present (Maclure, 1993).

For the remainder of my participants, Mr Wang, Miss Wu, Miss Li and Miss Zheng were experienced English teachers back in China. As detailed in Chapter 5, their prior professional identities sometimes enable them to respond effectively to the current school communities, sometimes elicit the conflicts in them regarding the kind of teacher they want to be.

However, it is interesting to notice that, it is not the prior work experience, but the prior educational experience, in particular, the educational background in the host country, that makes Miss Zheng's current experience distinctive. It seems that her transition into the UK school community resembles much less shock, intensity or challenge. As I detailed in Narrative 6, Miss Zheng's formation of an effective second language identity through the prior educational experience in the UK greatly facilitates her current construction of professional identity as a Hanban teacher.

6.5.3 Personal lives as aspirations for future career trajectories

One can work as a Hanban teacher from one up to four academic years in one host country. At the end of the contract term, Hanban teachers need to face another major career change. Some of them plan to find a new job, some of them plan to go back to their previous job in China. It is evident from my data that how they perceive their future career trajectories has a great influence on how much time and effort they would spend in professional learning for the Hanban teacher identity.

Of the six participants, Mr Wang and Miss Wu are actively engaged in professional learning not only in school but also outside of school. Both of them invest their personal time and funds in official courses. For instance, Mr Wang enrolls in a Tai Chi course, while Miss Wu enrolls in an academic English course. For this extra personal effort, the difference is that Mr Wang focuses on learning and developing for the Hanban teacher identity, and Miss Wu for the professional identity as an English teacher.

Before the secondment into the Hanban teacher position, both participants were English teachers back in China. However, they have different aspirations for their future careers. Mr Wang perceives the current experience as the first step and a learning opportunity for him to change his career trajectory from a TESOL teacher in China to TCSL teacher overseas. While Miss Wu plans to continue to be an English teacher back in China but changes into a better school. Thus, they utilise their spare time differently to prepare for their future career. This lacking of future career continuity constitutes an important feature of the professional identity as Hanban teachers.

6.5.4 Personal lives as a relatively stable self

The target group of teachers bring into their current experience with a set of beliefs, values and attitudes, which are more resistant to change. This set of beliefs, values and attitudes can be understood as the 'substantial self' in Nias' term (D. Ball, 1972; Nias, 1989). For my participants, it is suggested by the data that when their substantial identities are incompatible with certain dimensions of the immediate context, inner struggles and negative feelings might be elicited. When they are congruent with the context, these beliefs, values and attitudes would stimulate individuals' professional learning and empower them to get through the challenging time at the initial stage in the new sociocultural context.

As I have narrated in detail in Narrative 1, Mr Zhou brings into the current job, a strong belief and understanding of what a good teacher is. To him, a good teacher should constantly help students to make progress in the subject. This belief he holds as a person is in conflict with the initial limited pedagogical roles he is assigned in school and it elicits the frustration in him in the first 18 months. At the later stage, being granted with more pedagogical roles, he is tossed between the competing requirements from differentiated policy objectives. His personal belief in the meaning of teaching becomes the most important reference of his decision on what to form the alliance with, what to compromise and what to refuse. This substantial self allows him to exert agency to reconcile the competing demands on his professional identity.

Compared with Mr Zhou's particular emphasis on teachers' role in influencing the immediate learning outcome of students', Miss Zheng's meaning of teacher stresses more of the long term positive influence on students. As I have discussed in Narrative 6, she believes that, 'a teacher should love students and love education, then they can have positive influence on students'. This aspect of substantial identity greatly influences the way Miss Zheng relates to students in her past and current teaching experience. It enables her to form a 'loving and caring' relationship with students and direct their interaction in a way prioritising the needs and growth of students. This can be reflected in Extract 5 below:

Extract 5

I bring here some Chinese tea leaves. Sometimes I would drink tea. Talking about the tea leaves, it is very interesting. Once I brought Chinese tea to classroom. Then one student in particular, maybe they have not seen it before. He asked me, 'What is this? Why does it look so scary?' He also told me there is a spider in it. I said, 'Is it? It is not.' I said, 'It is Chinese tea leaves.' 'Ok, but why does the colour...' It is the colour that they cannot accept. Because English tea is tea bag. Then put it inside, then it becomes like this. He thought it was different. Talking about the tea leaves is very interesting. When I was talking about this, another student is very interesting. He said to him, 'You do not even know about this? This is Chinese tea leaves. I had it before. It was delicious.' Some students started wondering, 'What is this? Why does it look so scary? Should I try it?' Like this. Then I asked them, 'if you are interested in the Chinese leaves, I can bring it to you next time when we have Chinese Club class and let you have a look.' About five to six students raised their hands and said, 'Sure! Sure!' They wanted to know more about it. (Interview, 30 November 2013, see Q7.6)

This anecdote was constructed when Miss Zheng was asked 'what does she eat for three meals'. She mentioned her habit of bringing a mug of Chinese tea to the classroom every day. In her narrative, students seem to be very relaxed around her and are genuinely curious about her as a person, as can be seen from their curiosity about what their teacher is drinking and kindly reminding her of a spider in her mug. Miss Zheng does not stop at telling them what it is. Rather, she responds with inviting students' votes for their intentions of whether they want to learn more about Chinese tea drinking culture in their next session. In this anecdote, Miss Zheng shows great patience towards students. She values their curiosity and adjusts her curriculum according to the needs of them.

6.5.5 Personal lives as a resource of subject knowledge

As Chinese nationals who have spent the whole or the majority of their lives within China. Hanban teachers arrive at the UK school communities with their native command of Chinese language and insider lived experience of China. This aspect of

their personal lives constitute an important resource of subject knowledge for the classrooms they are engaged in. No matter whether they are whole class teachers or merely teaching assistants. No matter it is in a Chinese classroom, or classrooms of other subjects, such Geography or Food Technology.

Hanban teachers can speak Chinese proficiently with good pronunciation and correct usage of grammar. Unlike many non-native speaker teachers, their Chinese language does not need any further training. Regarding their teaching of Chinese culture, my participants are engaged in teaching of making dumplings, using chopsticks and playing Tai Chi. As H. Zhu and Li (2014) observe that it mainly focuses on ‘customs and practices, reminiscent of the four Fs—food, fairs, folklore, and statistical facts’. They also comment that many of the Hanban teachers’ superficial understanding of the culture related knowledge they teach. My data agrees with their perspective, however, it is also worth noting the effort, at the individual level, that Hanban teachers make into learning and developing the in-depth knowledge of the traditional Chinese culture, as is reflected in Mr Wang’s case.

Also in Mr Wang’s case, as is detailed in Narrative 2, he tries to provide some insider perspectives about China, as is reflected in his response to students’ stereotype held towards China’s one-child policy in the Geography class, through both his personal experience and his in-depth understanding of China’s socio-historical context. Such anecdotes, I argue, reflect the unique value of bringing in some of the native speaker MFL teachers. Their insider perspectives contribute to the realisation of the higher purpose of learning MFLs as set by the National Curriculum:

Learning a foreign language is a liberation from insularity and provides an opening to other cultures. A high-quality languages education should foster pupils’ curiosity and deepen their understanding of the world. (Education, 2013)

Having discussed Hanban teachers’ command of language and insider perspectives as a unique resource of their subject knowledge, however, I agree with the commentators in Tinsley and Board’s (2014) study that their native speaker status cannot guarantee them to be effective teachers in Chinese classroom. It takes further professional

learning before they can construct the effective professional identity as Hanban teachers.

In sum, personal lives and professional identities of teachers are inextricably linked with each other. Hanban teachers cannot stop being in their family roles when they work overseas. Their family role is an important element that influences their decision of coming to, staying at or leaving the job. The prior work experience as a TCSL teacher or as a Hanban teacher in another sociocultural context does not seem to guarantee an easier process of constructing the effective professional identity in the current position. The prior long term educational experience in the host country, however, greatly facilitates the process. Moreover, the future aspirations for the career trajectory have great influence on their current professional learning and development. They bring into their current job the comparatively stable aspects of their personal identities, which greatly influence their current practices. Finally, as Chinese nationals, they bring into the school communities with native language proficiency and insider knowledge about China, which constitute unique and valuable teaching resources.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed five themes emerging from the cross-narrative analysis, by locating the findings of this study back to the existing literature, with an attempt to interpret the meaning of these findings and expand the current understanding on Hanban teachers as a group.

It reveals that the initial stage of Hanban teachers' school experience marks an often problematic transition from pre-departure training to the reality of working in schools. It entails an intensified period of professional learning and identity construction: Hanban teachers need to negotiate roles and responsibilities in the classroom; reconcile competing demands and requirements from different communities of practice; negotiate the personal meaning of work with the meanings that are imposed by multiple policy objectives; participate in the practices of constructing an effective second language identity, and harmonise their personal and professional lives.

The final chapter aims to bring the findings and discussions from the previous chapters further, by drawing conclusions and implications of the study, for policy makers,

teacher educators and host schools. Moreover, implications for further research will be discussed.

Chapter 7 Conclusions and implications

In this chapter, I will first discuss how the new theoretical frame of professional identity that has been constructed in this study can contribute to current knowledge. Then, I will discuss what understandings have been gained around the professional lives of Hanban teachers, through the application of this model. More specifically, I will summarise the key elements and characteristics of the professional identity of the target group of teachers.

With the understanding gained from these areas, I will discuss implications for teacher education and recommendations for policy makers and host schools. Finally, I will reflect on the limitations of this study and recommendations to be made for future researchers.

7.1 Theorising professional identity of teachers in the globalisation era

As discussed previously, professional identity has increasingly been used as an analytical lens in the studies of teachers and their professional lives. Different studies, however, often have different understandings of the notion of professional identity. Also they often draw on different theoretical traditions, theories, or aspects of theories, and adopt various research approaches to achieve varied research objectives. With a review of influential studies on synthesising teacher identity and language teacher identity (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard et al., 2004; Varghese et al., 2005), I drew out a set of six dimensions about identity and professional identity, which reflected the key understandings of those concepts in the current literature. Details about this initial model can be found under the section of '4.2.2 Preliminary views on identity and professional identity'.

I then proceeded with data collection, through the first pilot study and then the main study. It was through this journey of data collection and data analysis that I started to make sense of professional identity and was gradually be able to contribute a new model of professional identity. This model can be found under the section of '3.4 Towards forming an analytical lens of professional identity'.

The initial model developed from the current literature was well-founded, and it was helpful for me to form an initial understanding of professional identity and guided my choice of research methodology. However, when I attempted to interpret data through this model, I found it needed some refinement. In response to the six dimensions in this model, my data drew my attention to some further theoretical issues:

- **Dimension 1:** My data agrees with the current model that identity is not something stable but changeable. However, it further suggests that different components of identity may change at a different pace. Some may tend to be more stable, while others may be more changeable.
- **Dimension 2:** My data agrees with the current model that identity evolves over time. However, it also draws our attention to its sometimes tendency of resisting to change. This resistance of change needs more theoretical consideration.
- **Dimension 3:** My data agrees with the current model that teachers' personal and professional identities are in continuous interaction and negotiation. However, it suggests a more specific picture of how they link to and shape each other.
- **Dimension 4:** My data agrees on the current model's identification of the influence from contextual factors on shaping identity. However, it suggests the need for further exploration of the relevant contextual factors. Moreover, it requires a frame which can recognise the interactions between contextual factors and identity, rather than merely viewing them as separate and binary.
- **Dimension 5:** My data agrees on the significant role of agency in the process of identity construction. Additionally, it suggests the limitation of agency. Thus, it calls for a frame which can theorise the interplay of agency and structure.
- **Dimension 6:** My data suggests that the current model needs to be expanded in relation to the process of how identity is (re)constructed. For instance, social participation in practice also needs to be recognised as important for the construction of identity. Furthermore, the relationship between language identity, especially second language identity and professional identity may need further consideration.

These theoretical issues guided me to review more literature on the studies of teachers' professional identity. When I started to identify answers for those issues, a new gap emerged. That is, professional identity in current literature is theorised in ways that are more focused on investigating local teachers (Davey, 2013; Rodgers & Scott, 2008), rather than foreign national teachers, who come from different educational systems and speak different first languages (Block, 2001). The important aspects (e.g. ambivalent investment and second language identity) of their professional lives cannot be fully incorporated into the discussion with the current frame. Therefore, as I argue in Chapter 3, I have included Norton's (2000) concept of 'investment' and Benson et al.'s (2013) concept of second language identity into my new frame of professional identity.

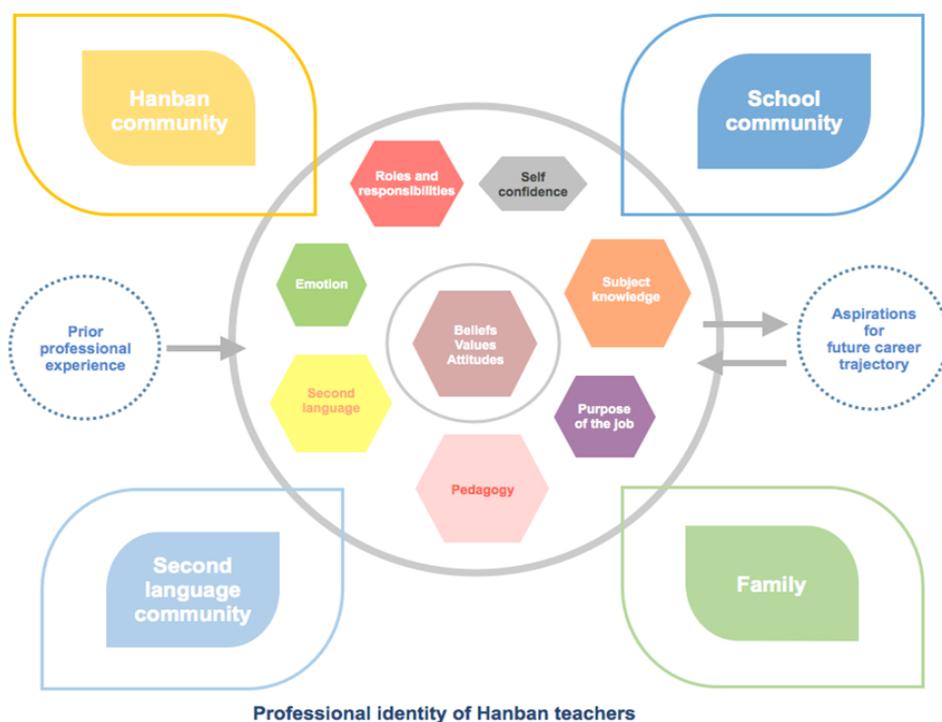
This model, I propose, contributes to a richer, deeper, more nuanced understanding of professional identity. Furthermore, I argue it is of special strength in examining the professional identity of teachers who work abroad, as I have done, to apply to my target group of teachers' experiences.

7.2 Towards establishing the professional identity of Hanban teachers

The longitudinal inquiry into the experiences of the target group of six Hanban teachers, provides a rich and complex picture of their professional lives. Through the new analytical lens of professional identity, we can gain an understanding of both individuals' contextually specific beliefs, emotions, social practices and social relations, as well as common threads which have emerged across the individual narratives.

Their professional identities are negotiated through multiple elements. Those influencing elements range from the past, present and to the future. Also, they cover both personal and professional dimensions. I present this complex process in the Diagram 1 below:

Diagram 1



- **Professional identity:** Hanban teachers' professional identity is an overarching frame which contains both the mental state and the participatory aspect of being teachers. My study suggests that becoming and being a Hanban teacher does not simply concern the mastery of pre-defined subject knowledge and the pedagogical methods to deliver it. The process is complex, with multiple aspects, both professional and personal, in dynamic interaction.
- Beliefs, values and attitudes: Hanban teachers bring some fundamental beliefs, values and attitudes as a person into their job.
- Roles and responsibilities: Hanban teachers need to negotiate the roles and responsibilities in the Chinese classroom, the host school and periodically the outreach schools.
- Second language: Hanban teachers need to establish effective second language identities as they are deployed in non-native language speaking countries.

- Pedagogy: Hanban teachers need to develop their personal teaching methods and classroom management techniques (if applies) which suit the nature of their students in the local schools.
- Subject knowledge: Hanban teachers need to develop in-depth subject knowledge in response to the learning needs of his or her local students.
- Purpose of the job: Hanban teachers need to negotiate the purpose of job between their own meaning and the prescribed meaning.
- Self-confidence: Hanban teachers need to develop or regain their confidence as a person and as a teacher.
- Emotion: being Hanban teachers means that they experience a range of emotions that are related to this job.

The eight aspects have much overlap and interaction, it is difficult to discuss one without the context of others. Whilst not every aspect affects each individual's experience this frame provides future researchers with a holistic tool to examine Hanban teachers' teaching practice and professional lives. It can be applied to explore the issues that cannot be fully captured or discussed within the current conceptualisation of Hanban teachers' preparation and utilisation, which comparatively stress dimensions such as pedagogical actions and subject knowledge more.

- **Prior professional experience:** Hanban teachers' educational background and prior work experiences are the prerequisites they bring into their current job. Although mediated by the pre-departure training, my study suggests that their past professional experience has a great influence on their construction of professional identity as Hanban teachers.
- **Aspirations for future career trajectory:** Under the current regulations, an individual can be in the Hanban teacher role for up to a maximum of four years, thereby restricting a continuous career trajectory for this professional position. Thus, how they perceive their future career trajectories influences their current professional identity construction.

By locating Hanban teachers' current practice within a broader time frame, it provides future researchers a perspective to examine individual's practice beyond present, and establish the links with their past and future.

- **A nexus of multi-membership:** Hanban teachers belong to many communities of practice concurrently. Professionally, they do not work in or for one single community - they simultaneously do so for at least two communities, the Hanban community and the school community. This dual-membership is a significant nature of Hanban teachers' work. Personally, they cannot stop being family members while working overseas as Hanban teachers. At the intersection of professional and personal, they participate in the language practices of second language community, as both their work and life in the host country are primarily mediated in a second language. Those multi-memberships interact dynamically with each other. Sometimes they place competing demands and requirements on their professional identities and pull them towards varied directions. To reconcile and balance this nexus of multi-membership becomes an important identity work of each individual Hanban teacher. Thus, the initial stage at schools resembles an intensified period of identity construction which entails not only the acquisition of new knowledge and skills but also the reconciliation of the multi-membership in various communities.
- **Hanban community:** Hanban is the primary organisation responsible for funding, recruiting, training and managing Hanban teachers. Those activities are guided by the main policy objective of international promotion of Chinese Language and Culture. Through the establishment and implementation of a series of policy documents, such as the *Recruitment Criteria*, *the Standards*, *Guidance Notes for Hanban Teachers*, prescriptions are made on the meaning of good Hanban teachers. Further, through the organisational evaluation forms, indicators such as students' enrolment numbers and the number of schools reached are utilised measure the contribution of teachers. Especially for the subgroup works within the CI system. These institutional policies are an important factor influencing Hanban teachers' professional identity construction.

Moreover, Hanban teachers form a strong sense of membership to the Hanban community. The group shares the experiences in both professional and personal

domains. Professionally, they share teaching material and work experiences together during formal training events and social gatherings. Personally, they are friends who can talk in their first language, travel and share the experiences of living in a foreign country together.

- **School community:** Recruited and trained by Hanban, however, Hanban teachers work in schools. Being part of the UK educational landscape, local school communities are under the great influence of the historical changes and the general policy objectives (e.g. supporting each individual child to reach their fullest potential) at the national level.

At the local level, each individual school community has its own specificity, with its histories, priorities and ways of engaging members. The local school community interact with Hanban teachers dialectically for their (re)construction of the professional identities.

My study highlights that Hanban teachers' roles and responsibilities are institutionally bound with the host school communities. For many of the schools, there seems lacking a clear boundary between professional identity of Hanban teachers' and local Chinese teachers'.

Regarding Hanban teachers' situated professional learning at the school level, almost no formal structure has been established. It largely relies upon the intention and planning of themselves and the goodwill of the old timers, such as the experienced Hanban teachers and other school teachers. Moreover, their host schools are not always neutral contexts where they have free access to all types of learning resources. Rather, the legitimacy of their participation in the teaching activities in classroom and other activities in school, sometimes might be limited by the power of the old timers, such as the line manager and local Chinese teacher.

- **Second language community:** With English as the working language at school, professional identities of Hanban teachers are closely linked with their second language identities. The second language identity greatly influences Hanban teachers' thinking, feeling and actions in school communities. It might influence their confidence as a teacher. It might facilitate or hinder the professional learning in

school community. It might influence Hanban teachers' relationship with other members of the school community, such as students and second language speaking colleagues.

However, my study identifies very limited formal English language training has been provided for Hanban teachers. It is largely relied on their individual investment to plan out the second language learning. Their investment is influenced by their aspirations for future career trajectory as well as their identity as a person in school communities.

- **Family:** The nature of Hanban teachers' job requires them to work geographically away from their family, unless alternative arrangements are made. However, they cannot stop being a family member while they work temporarily as a Hanban teacher. My study suggests that their family membership influences their professional identity primarily in two aspects. First is their decision on coming to, staying at or leaving the job. Sometimes it works as a stimuli, sometimes a restriction. Second is their emotions. Being away from their family might elicit their feeling of loneliness, homesick, concern and even guilt.

The identification of this multi-membership provides future researchers a conceptual tool to examine Hanban teachers' practice and professional lives beyond the Chinese classroom, including the wider contexts, both personal and professional into discussion. For my target group of teachers, four major communities of practice are identified as influencing their (re)construction of professional identity. However, different sets of communities may be identified and discussed for teachers in other contexts.

This diagram has been applied as the conceptual tool to interpret Hanban teachers' experiences. Different components of this diagram work as building blocks for the thematic analysis of the previous chapters.

Here I would like to bring the findings from Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 further to a more abstract level. I argue that these findings have been helpful recognising that neither maintaining the attributes that define a good teacher in China, nor adapting completely to the attributes of being what makes a good local teacher in the UK, is sufficient to be

a good Hanban teacher. We need to consider what constitutes the unique nature of their work and what is or what can be the particular worth of their work.

By referring to current literature to understand this, I find Block's (2014) concept of 'hybrid' and 'third place identities' can be helpful, as his participants share similar experiences of my target group of teachers, regarding teaching and living across the geographical and sociocultural borders. Block identifies that such individuals experience persistent struggles and uncertainties over the questions of 'what to do' and 'who to be'. He argues that they do not just simply adapt into the requirements and demands of the new communities or become a neat mixture of half past and half what they are required to be in the current communities. Rather, they develop 'hybrid' and 'third place identities' through the process of identity negotiation and construction.

Block's work is built upon Bhabha's (1994) theory of hybridity, by applying the latter's theoretical ideas into investigation of broader contexts, where individuals move from one geographical and sociocultural border to another. Originally, the theory of hybridity was proposed by Bhabha (1994) as a critique for cultural imperialism in the post-colonial discourse. According to Bhabha, when two or more individuals and cultures interact with each other, they act and develop within an ambiguous area, which is called 'the third space'. Bhabha identifies that the identity of colonial subject is located in a space of hybridity, where they construct an identity neither the completely colonisers nor fully their mother culture's.

In the case of my study, when Hanban teachers cross the geographical and sociocultural border between China and UK, they enter an intensified period of professional identity (re)construction. Through struggles, reconciliations, resistance and adaptations, they construct professional identities of hybrid and third place nature.

7.3 Implications for practice

Having discussed the nature of Hanban teachers' professional identities construction during their first years in UK schools, through the in-depth investigation of a group of Hanban teachers. I now discuss the implications and recommendations that I propose for policy makers, teacher education and host schools, for purpose of better preparing and utilising the target group of teachers in practice.

For policy makers:

- **Consider alternative ways to measure Hanban teachers' contribution**

For Hanban, I propose that it is worth considering alternative ways of measuring Hanban teachers' contribution. As I discussed previously, Hanban teachers, especially those working within the CI system, are primarily measured against the quantity of their work, and through indicators like the number of enrolled students and the number of schools outreached. However, for the host schools, whose students will sit in national exams, the grades of students are their priority and influence greatly their sustainable development of Chinese provision. Thus, to reconcile the possible competing demands on Hanban teachers' time and effort, additional or alternative indicators like students' grades and students' retention ratio should be considered.

- **Provide greater opportunities for a long-term professional trajectory**

For Hanban and UK educational policy makers, I propose greater opportunities for long-term professional trajectory of Hanban teachers should be explored. As discussed, the Hanban teacher role is currently a temporary job in nature. Experienced Hanban teachers are a valuable workforce that can be further utilised to support Chinese teaching and Hanban teacher training. Official programmes should be explored to provide them with long-term career opportunities, which makes their UK school experience a meaningful stepping stone.

For teacher education:

- **Prepare Hanban teachers with practical experience with UK schools**

In the case of Hanban teachers' education, there is a complete absence of the school practicum in their pre-departure training. For majority of the target group of teachers, their first encounter with the UK school context is their first day of working as Hanban teachers. It is not surprising that they experience so much feeling of frustration and are engaged in such intensified professional learning in their initial stages at schools. Therefore, it is important to bring the actual UK school experience into their pre-departure training, which provides them with opportunities to learn and develop as

Hanban teachers situationally. However, I am aware this implication might face some severe practical constraints, such as visa issues, excessive funding, etc.

- **Develop curriculum for both the pedagogical roles and supporting roles**

The current curriculum for Hanban teacher education, in both pre-departure training and CPD events, is designed almost exclusively for their pedagogical roles. More specifically, for their role of teaching the whole class. However, in school reality, not many Hanban teachers are granted the opportunities of the whole class teaching. Their actual roles and responsibilities are institutionally bounded, which are continuously negotiated between Hanban teachers and the host school community. Thus, it would be beneficial for the pre-departure training makes its trainees aware of their possible differentiated roles and responsibilities at different host schools. Also, it would be helpful to develop curriculum which is targeted at their supporting roles.

- **Include more English language training into the current curriculum**

As I have discussed previously, without effective second language identities, it is difficult for Hanban teachers to construct effective professional identities. With effective second language identities, it facilitates their professional identities construction. The majority of the Hanban teachers in my study reported the challenges and difficulties that are elicited by their lack of an effective second language identity. However, the current teacher education does not seem to provide sufficient English language training. Thus, I propose more English language training should be included into the current curriculum. Also, English language curriculum should be designed in ways that facilitate the formation of effective second language identities.

For host schools:

- **Establish a formal structure to support professional learning at school**

In response to the gap between the learning in the teacher education programme and the learning at schools, and given the practical constraints in providing Hanban teachers' actual UK school experience in their pre-departure training, I propose that there needs to be a formal structure established to support Hanban teachers'

professional learning at the school level. My study suggests that old timers, such as experienced Hanban teachers and local Chinese teachers, who have lived experience of the dual-membership in both Hanban community and the host school community can be good candidates of Hanban teachers' mentors.

- **Establish a clearer role boundary between local Chinese teachers and Hanban teacher**

My study suggests that, for host schools which have both local Chinese teachers and Hanban teachers, some schools have established the clear boundary between the two professional roles, some have not. A clear boundary between both professional positions facilitates Hanban teachers' learning to becoming effective teachers. Thus, I propose that UK host schools should establish a clearer differentiation between them. More specifically, it would be helpful to predefine the extent to what a Hanban teacher should be involved in teaching and behaviour management and how this role should be similar to or different from the role of a Chinese teacher.

These recommendations are firstly attempting to establish the unique collective professional identity of Hanban teachers within the UK Chinese teaching landscape, with a recognition of their special contribution to students' learning and their inherent dual-membership. Then, they are an attempt to establish a formal professional learning structure at the school level to support individual Hanban teachers' professional identity (re)construction.

7.4 Limitations of this study

This study provides a detailed account of the answers to the research question and sub-research questions. However, I am aware that due to the characteristics of the research approach adopted in this study and time and resource constraints, they set some limitations on what can be said about the research topic.

First, through taking a narrative inquiry approach, this study views participants' subjective description of their lived experience as the primary source of data. Observational data predominantly provides the contextual information of their experiences. As is reflected in the previous chapters, an analysis of the data from both

sources may illuminate possible gaps between what is narrated by the participants and what is observed by the researcher. Those gaps have led to some interesting interpretations and analysis into the phenomena under investigation. In an ideal situation, observations into Hanban teachers' pre-departure training, UK school days and a wider variety of CPD events would be included as part of this study. However, constrained by the time and resource, as the sole researcher, and the difficulty of gaining access to the research contexts, I only conducted school observations for three participants and CPD events of the RGCI. Thus, for future researchers, more observation opportunities are worthy striving for.

Second, with very few in-depth investigations performed into this study's specific research context, it was unclear from existing literature what the prominent issues in the process of Hanban teachers' professional identity construction were. Therefore, this study is exploratory in nature. It is designed to identify the prominent issues and include all the relevant elements into analysis. This study has served the research purpose. However, for future researchers, it might be fruitful to focus and investigate further each of those influencing elements through alternative approaches. For instance, the second language identity construction of Hanban teachers can be one of such research topics worthy of additional investigation.

Finally, with its specific focus on one CI and a small number (i.e. six) of participants in UK schools, the findings of this study are limited in their generalisability. I do not discuss it in a sense of viewing it as a limitation of the study. Rather, I view it as the nature of the in-depth qualitative approach I adopt, which has its unique contribution to knowledge. However, further studies into other CIs and countries would enrich our understanding of Hanban teachers' professional identity (re)construction.

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Appendix 1

Dear participant,

Please can you take one hour and write me your statement of teaching philosophy? I am not intending to evaluate or anything through your statements. I am only looking for what you really think. I will assure the anonymity and confidentiality by changing your name and storing the document in a computer file with PIN lock.

Here are some prompts as follows you might find useful when forming your ideas about the statement. It is not necessary to cover all aspects of the following. It is up to you to choose the parts you would like to talk about. Feel free to write it in Chinese or English as long as it is the language you feel comfortable with to express your ideas.

Thanks and regards,

Alice

Prompts for teaching philosophy

View of the teacher

- What is the teacher?
- Do you consider being a teacher is a vocation or a profession?
- Why do you come to the UK teaching Mandarin?

View of the learner

- What are your beliefs about the students in UK secondary schools?
- What are the characteristics of British students
- What is the place and role of the learner in Mandarin class?

Definitions of Teaching

- What are your beliefs about teaching in general?
- What is your personal view of secondary teaching in the UK?
- What is the meaning of teaching Mandarin in UK secondary schools?

Definitions of Learning

- What are your beliefs about learning?
- What are your understandings of how British students learn?
- What are your understandings of British students' learning styles, diversity, difficulties?

Student-teacher relationship

- What are your goals and expectations of the student-teacher relationship?
- What are your personal skills and strengths in developing student-teacher relationship? Can you give some specific examples and reflection?

Teaching methods

- What is your personal view of teaching methods for secondary Mandarin teaching?
- What is the connection between content and methodology?
- What are your personal skills and strengths in terms of teaching methods?

Evaluation/impact on learner

- What is effective teaching?
- How to evaluate the outcomes of effective teaching?

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Appendix 1

各位老师：

你们好！能否麻烦你抽出一个小时的时间来写下你的“教育哲学”。我不会评判你写给我的内容，而只是希望以此来了解你真正的想法。你所发给我的文档，我将匿名储存在我的个人电脑中，并且没有其他人可以看到，所有文档将加密保存。

以下我提供了一些提示，希望能够帮助你在写作过程中更好地形成自己的想法。你可以选择其中的几个方面来谈，并不需要涵盖所有的内容。中文或者英文都可以，只要你觉得这种语言能够更好地表达你的想法。如果使用中文，请大致写满 800 个字。如果使用英文，请大致写满 1000 字。谢谢！

祝好！

向怡

教育哲学写作提示

1. 对于教师的看法：

- 教师是什么？
- 你认为作教师是一项职业还是一项使命？
- 你为什么想来英国教汉语？

2. 对于学生的看法：

- 你认为英国中学里的学生是什么样的？
- 英国学生有哪些特征？
- 学生在中文课堂上处在什么样的位置，扮演着什么样的角色？

3. 教学的定义

- 请大致谈谈你对教学有什么看法？

- 你个人对英国中学的教学有什么看法？
- 在英国中学教授汉语有什么意义？

4、学习的定义：

- 你对学习有什么看法？
- 你认为英国学生是怎么学习的？
- 你对英国学生的习得风格、习得方式的多样性和习得困难有什么看法？

5. 学生-教师的关系：

- 你对学生-教师之间的关系抱持着怎样的目标和期待？
- 在建立学生-教师之间的关系时，你个人有什么技巧和优势？你能给出一些实例及其反思吗？

6. 教学方法：

- 你个人认为在英国中学教汉语应该使用怎样的教学方法？
- 教学内容和教学方法之间有什么样的联系？
- 你个人在教学方法上有什么技巧和优势？

7. 对学生的评估或影响：

- 你认为什么是有效的教学？
- 怎么来评估有效教学的成果？

参考文献

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Appendix 2

关键突发小事件(一)

时间：2012年11月22号

这个小事件是关于我第一次给一个有阅读障碍（一种学习障碍）的学生课外辅导的。

几周以前，我们学校的特殊教育协调员(Special Educational Needs coordinator)跟我联系并且跟我讲了关于这个学生的情况。她告诉我说这个男生在几年前被确诊有阅读障碍。因此，他在辨认字母和生词方面存在困难，并且他的阅读速度和流利度都低于绝大多数学生。她的话提醒了我，在我的汉语课上，这位男生都很积极地回答我的问题，但是每次我让他朗读一段对话的时候，他的表现总是不太让人满意。在跟特殊教育协调员和学生的父母碰头开过几次会议以后，我们决定为他量身定制一个书写、阅读课程。这个课程包括每周两次，每次二十分钟的单独辅导。

在今天的辅导里，我首先跟他一起简单地复习了我们在上堂课学习的对话。他学得不错。接着我们开始复习汉字，汉字通常对于他来说都得花比较长的时间来辨认。为了帮助他来应对他在这个方面的学习困难，我结合了特殊教育协调员的建议，制定了一套计划。所以，按照计划，我今天打算从象形字如“山”、“日”、“月”开始。辅导接近尾声，他似乎对我准备的汉字故事很感兴趣，他能以较快的速度来辨认这几个汉字了。

这件事情让我印象深刻。英国的学校努力地给予有特殊教育需求的孩子，并积极帮助他们融入，这对我来说是一个全新的概念。尽管这意味着我得额外花时间来为这个学生准备特别的课程，但我很高兴我能帮助他来克服他的困难。这也让我更加相信“每个孩子都应从公平的起跑线开始自己的人生。”

Critical Incident Vignette (1)

Time: 22nd November 2012

This incident involved my first tutorial session with a student with learning disabilities in reading.

Several weeks ago our school SENco (Special Educational Needs coordinator) contacted me and talked with me about this student's situation. She told me that this boy was identified with learning disabilities in reading several years ago. He had difficulty in recognizing letter and word, and also his reading speed and fluency was lower than the majority of students. Her words reminded me that in my Mandarin class, this young man was very keen in answering my questions but every time when I asked him to read a paragraph on text book, his performance was always not very satisfactory. After several meetings with our SENco and the boy's parents, we decided to start a personalized spelling and reading programme for him. This programme will be delivered twice a week with session for 20 minutes.

In today's session, I helped him to review conversation we learnt in last lesson very briefly. He seemed quite good. Then we started to review Chinese characters which usually took him quite a while to recognize. In order to help him deal with his learning disabilities in this, I came up with a plan with consideration of the SENco's suggestion. So today I was thinking of start with some pictographic characters like '山 (mountain)', '日(sun)', '月(moon)'. At the end of this session, he seemed really interested in my Chinese character stories and he could recognize those three characters much quicker.

This put a lasting impression on me. British schools' effort in supporting and including students with Special Educational Needs is a brand new notion to me. Although that means extra work for preparing tailored lesson for the student, I am very happy to help with his difficulties. I am more convinced that 'every child deserves a fair start in life'.

Appendix 2

关键突发小事件（二）

时间：2012年12月11号

这个小事件是关于我跟某位同事围绕中国教育的几次对话的。

大概几周前，他在英国的某个电视节目中看到了一部关于中国教育的纪录片，看过这个节目之后，他告诉我有这么一个节目，很有意思，他建议我也应该去看一看。然后他问了我一些关于中国高考和大学教育的事。从他的语气中，我感觉到他并不太赞同现在中国的教育状况。我想在没有看这个节目之前跟他讨论这个问题并不是一个明智的选择。因此，我在这个时候只是非常简要地回答了他的问题。

我问过他这部记录片的名字之后，下班回家空闲下来的时候也去看了。这个纪录片讲述的是几个中国学生希望靠读大学来改变自己命运的事，主要有三个人物：大学毕业的学生，民办大学的老师，刚参加完高考的学生。看完这个节目，我心里面有些难过。

在第二周的员工会议上，我走到这位同事身边，主动开始跟他聊起那个节目。得知我已经看过之后，他问我的看法。我告诉他这部片子讲述是部分中国学生的境遇，我为他们的处境难过。可是，这并不能反映中国高考和大学的全貌，这选取的只是一个很狭小的角度。他说他认为这个电视台的节目算是比较客观的，他们的口碑也很不错。我再次强调说，我相信这部片子内容的客观性，可是他们只是讲述了一部分人群的故事，中国大学教育的全貌并非如此，虽然我们还有很多进步的空间。之后，我跟他讲述了我自己和周围人的高考、上大学、找工作的经历。他也慢慢地更加了解了一些中国高等教育的现状。之后，我跟这个老师逐渐熟络起来，我也很乐意跟他分享关于中国各个方面我的经历和看法，让他逐渐看到除了媒体印象之外的另一个中国。与此同时，每当我有关于课堂管理和学生学习风格的问题时，他也很乐意跟我分享一些他的经验和“友情提示”。

这件事情让我印象深刻，因为我发现，很多英国当地老师对于中国的印象还仅仅是停留在媒体报道中的中国，我认为积极跟他们沟通，让他们多了解真实的中国是一件很有意

义的事情。而只有通过这些积极的沟通，我们才能增进彼此的了解。并且，这能够帮助我和当地老师更好地建立同事关系，这也有助于推动我的汉语教学。

Critical Incident Vignettes (2)

Time: 11th December 2012

Several weeks ago, a colleague of mine watched a documentary on education in China produced by a British TV station. He told me that this programme was very interesting and suggested that I should watch it. He asked me several questions about the national university entrance examination and university education in China. Through his voice I sensed that he would not very much approve of the situation in China. I didn't think it was a good idea to discuss with him more on this issue without watching this programme first. So I answered his questions very briefly at that moment.

I checked the name of the documentary and watched it after work when I was free. The documentary argued that many Chinese students are hoping to change their destiny by getting the chance of receiving university education. There are three main characters: a new graduate, a teacher of a private university in China and a high school graduate who finished her national university entrance examination recently. After watching this programme, I felt a little bit sad.

On the next week's staff meeting, I came to the colleague and started the conversation about this documentary. Now that I had watched it, he was interested in hearing my comments on this programme. I told him that this programme was only recording the circumstances of one part of Chinese students, and I felt really sorry for those students. However, this was not the whole story of Chinese national entrance examination and university education. This was only a very narrow perspective, I added. He replied that he believed programmes from this TV station were quite objective and they had a pretty good reputation. I emphasised that I believed that the content of this programme was true; however, it was only talking about very small numbers of people's story. That was not the whole picture of university education in China, although there was a lot of space for improvement. Then, I told him about the experience of attending the exam, going to university and job hunting of myself and

people around me. Gradually, he had more in-depth knowledge about the current situation of higher education in China. After this, I became more familiar with this colleague. I was very willing to share with him my experience and views on various aspects of China, trying to show him another China rather than media image. Meanwhile, every time I had some questions on classroom management or students' learning style, he was willing to share his experience and tips with me.

This put a lasting impression on me. I found that many local teachers' understanding of China was merely the image of China created by media. I think it is meaningful to communicate with them positively and let them know more about real China. And only through communicating with each other positively, we could understand each other more. And also, this would help me build professional relationships with local teachers, which would facilitate my Mandarin teaching as well.

Appendix 3

采访 Mr Wang 老师，他在以“好”字为例来谈怎么把教学理论（支架式教学）运用到教学实际中去。

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Mr Wang: 对，对，有很多意见，意见不同，但是你怎么才能把它叫教准确(1)，那你就得回归到《说文解字》(2)上去，最初的汉字的演化史，最初的演化史你会发现写的是时候是一个，是一个“女”，一个妇女，一个妇女抱着一个儿童，所以说这个“女”应该是‘mother’的意思。所以说当你学“好”字的时候，这个知识对当地小孩来讲，他们觉得很有意思(3)，让他们去猜(4)这个“女”到底指的是谁。虽然对于我们国内可能没有必要这么去教，但是对于外国人(5)我们觉得我们教外国人好像教的比国内还认真，教的还细致，不是，这么做也是为了吸引学生的兴趣，他们经常会问一些问题，反过来你问他们问题的时候他们也愿意去思考(6)，一方面吸引兴趣，engage students,，另一方面，就是说也要把知识讲到...讲到位准确，这样也话，同时也是对中华文化的这样的一个潜移默化的影响，会发现中国文化源远流长。原来这个字是这么写的，中国文字这样的好几千年这么发展的历史，这些都是额外的一些东西却没有想到会有这样的一个效果。但是如果这么想，无意间施与这些东西，做这些事情，在这种情况下才能体会到中国文化的一些影响，所以不得不去做(7)，就是上一学期我就写了那个，《怎一个好字了得》。这篇文章，这里面甚至有个学生提到了这个问题，一个“女”一个“子”，因为有一次培训老师(8)讲的就是说，这一家生了一个男孩一个女孩是一个好事情。

这个小孩说了，这个小孩是属于 GCSE 阶段的，他们地理学人口这些知识，她们关于中国计划生育有个专门的话题。(9)讲到这个东西时，“不对呀，你们中国这不都是有一个孩儿吗？”像这样的问题都能提出来，挺有意思的(10)。这就涉及到计划生育问题(11)了，简单我就和他说一下，我说你看，我就说的很简单。我有个妹妹比我小 12 岁，这是存在的。但是这个字确实不能这样去解释，真正的解释是(12)按照它应该是一个母亲抱一个孩子，而且你会发现他是‘son’，还有一个问题，“子”是‘son’，对吧，那为什么不是抱着一个女儿，这就涉及到重男轻女(13)了，如果你英语(14)不够好的话，就别去尝试解释反而解释不清楚。但是如果，我觉得要是做好充分准备的话，解释这个也是一个

很有意思的事情。但你面临这个问题，有很多人觉得这好像觉得这是我们中华文化的一个，好像不能去提的一个文化糟粕。事实上也不是，这是一个有一定的社会文化的这个道理所在了(15)。因为我们中国以前，尤其是像那种古代，包括英国也是，他们古代也没有那种社会福利去养老之类的。所以说我们养儿子去养老，养儿防老，然后自己家的闺女嫁到别人家，别人家的闺女嫁到自己家，这不是很符合逻辑性吗？他们觉得会很有道理，他们会去理解我们，(16)甚至这边有的小孩不知道听谁说的，说中国有的家庭生一个女儿，把女儿掐死了，杀死了。(17)

.....

1. construct the accurate subject knowledge
2. resources for subject knowledge construction
3. interest of students
4. personal pedagogy in the UK
5. compare pedagogies used in China and UK
6. interest of students, cognitive skills of students, construct the accurate subject knowledge
7. teaching Chinese culture attached to Chinese language
8. resources for subject knowledge construction
9. cognitive skills of students, prior knowledge of students
10. cognitive skills of students
11. teaching Chinese culture attached to Chinese language
12. construct the accurate subject knowledge
13. teaching Chinese culture attached to Chinese language
14. English as a medium of instruction
15. reflections on understanding of home culture
16. cognitive skills of students
17. prior knowledge of students, media image of contemporary China

Appendix 3

This is an excerpt from an interview with Mr Wang. He was trying to describe how he applied teaching theories (i.e. Scaffolding Instruction teaching) into his teaching practice, using the instruction of Chinese character ‘好’ (good) as an example.

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Mr Wang : Yes, yes, lots of views, different views. But how can you teach them accurately (1)? Then you should go back to the Shuo Wen Jie Zi (2) (Analytical Dictionary of Chinese Characters). The original evolutionary history of Chinese characters. From the original evolutionary history of Chinese characters, you can discover it is written as a ‘女’, a woman, a woman with a child. So this ‘女’ should mean ‘mother’. So when you learn the character of ‘好’. This knowledge, to the local children, they would feel very interested (3). Let them to guess (4) who exactly this ‘女’ refers to. Although in our home country, there may not be the necessities to teach this way. To foreigners,(5) we think when teaching foreigners, we are more careful and attentive to details. No. To do it this way is also in the purpose of draw students’ attention. They often ask some questions. In reverse, when you ask them some questions, they are also willing to think (6). On the one hand, drawing interest, that is, ‘engage students’. On the other hand, that is to say the knowledge should be taught ... taught accurately. Thus, it also has a subtle influence from the Chinese culture. You will discover that Chinese culture is long-standing and well-established. This character should be written this way originally! Chinese characters have several-thousand year of evolving history. This is all extra information. However, I didn’t expect it would have such an impact. But if you think this way, giving out those stuffs unconsciously and doing those things. Only under such situation, (they) can feel the influence of Chinese culture. So I must do it (7). Last semester, I wrote that article ‘好’ (good) , more than a good Character. In this article, a student even raised this question: a "女" and a "子". Because once a teacher trainer (8) explained this way, it was a good thing when a family got a boy and a girl.

That child said, this child was in the GCSE level. They learned some knowledge about

demography in Geography (9). They had a specific topic on China's One Child Policy. When talking about this, 'it is not right. Isn't it the case that in your China one family only has one child?' He could even have asked such questions! This is very interesting (10)! This relates to the issue of One Child Policy (11). Simple I just explained to him. I said, I just explained very simply. I have a younger sister, who is twelve year younger than me. This situation exists. However, this character indeed cannot be explained this way. The true explanation should be (12) a mother holding a child. And you will find out that the child is a son. Here is one more issue, '子' is son, right? Then, why not hold a daughter? This relates to the issue of 'preferring boys to girls' (13). If your English (14) is not good enough, then, don't try to explain. It can't be explained clearly. But if, I think, if you do enough preparation, it is a very interesting thing to explain this. But you are facing this problem, there are lots of people feeling...feeling as if this is a...as if a dross which should not be mentioned in our Chinese culture (15). In fact, it is not, there are some social-cultural reasons behind this. Because in the past, our China, especially like in Ancient China, the same as the UK, they also didn't have such social welfare system to provide pension for the old in ancient times. So we raise sons to look after us when we are old. Raising sons to support parents when they are old. Then, daughters of my family are married into other people's home. And daughters of other families' are married into my home. This is very logical, isn't it? Once they feel that is sensible, they will understand us (16). Some children here, even, I don't know from whom they heard that, they said some families in China strangled or killed the baby after they gave birth to a baby girl (17).

...

1. construct the accurate subject knowledge
2. resources for subject knowledge construction
3. interest of students
4. personal pedagogy in the UK
5. compare pedagogies used in China and UK
6. interest of students, cognitive skills of students, construct the accurate subject knowledge

7. teaching Chinese culture attached to Chinese language
8. resources for subject knowledge construction
9. cognitive skills of students, prior knowledge of students
10. cognitive skills of students
11. teaching Chinese culture attached to Chinese language
12. construct the accurate subject knowledge
13. teaching Chinese culture attached to Chinese language
14. English as a medium of instruction
15. reflections on understanding of home culture
16. cognitive skills of students
17. prior knowledge of students, media image of contemporary China

Appendix 4

Table 4: Categories and subcategories from the data

Categories	Sub-categories		
	Teacher A	Teacher B	Mr Wang
knowledge of students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ cognitive skills of students ▪ interest of students ▪ prior knowledge of students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ means of acquiring ▪ knowledge of students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ cognitive skills of students ▪ classroom behaviour of students ▪ interest of students ▪ prior knowledge of students ▪ learning habit of students ▪ social-cultural context of
pedagogy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ personal pedagogy in the UK ▪ compare pedagogies used in China and UK ▪ realistic teaching objectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ personal pedagogy in the UK 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ personal pedagogy in the UK ▪ personal pedagogy in China ▪ compare pedagogies used in China and UK ▪ teaching theories and personal

subject knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ resources for subject knowledge construction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ resources for subject knowledge construction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ resources for subject knowledge construction ▪ construct the accurate subject knowledge
knowledge of the environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ growing access to local information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ school requirements for teachers ▪ inconvenient living logistics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ technology for teaching ▪ school policy
Chinese culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ teaching folk art of China 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ media image of contemporary China ▪ teaching folk art of China ▪ teaching folk customs of China ▪ compare social norms of Chinese and other culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ media image of contemporary China ▪ teaching folk art of China ▪ teaching Chinese culture attached to Chinese language ▪ reflections on understanding of home culture
interaction with the local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ help from local teachers and experts ▪ other Hanban teachers ▪ growing personal relationship with locals ▪ power relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ help from local teachers and experts ▪ cross-cultural communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ help from local teachers and experts ▪ team work with the local teachers ▪ power relations ▪ family

agency	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ passion for development and growth ▪ passion for work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ curiosity to understand the English language and culture ▪ curiosity to communicate different cultures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ passion for development and growth ▪ searching for ways to change
English language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ English as a medium of instruction ▪ English as a medium of classroom management ▪ English as a barrier for communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ English as a barrier for communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ English as a medium of instruction ▪ English as a barrier for communication
self-perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ a successful English teacher ▪ a successful Chinese teacher ▪ a culture ambassador 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ a university language teacher ▪ a researcher on cross-cultural communication ▪ a Chinese national ▪ a passionate Chinese teacher ▪ a mother and a wife 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ a successful English teacher ▪ a growing Chinese teacher ▪ a whole ordinary person

Appendix 5

Excerpts for each category in pilot study

Here listed some excerpts as examples for each category:

1) Knowledge of students:

Because they are definitely not going to revise after class. They don't have this kind of habit.

因为他们课后根本不可能去复习，他们没有这种习惯。(Mr Wang)

2) Pedagogy :

I think this method is much better than doing lots of lecturing.

这个方法我觉的比大讲特讲要强很多。(Mr Wang)

3) Subject knowledge :

Our Chinese numbers are merely simple addition. We should explain to them clearly the

'qiān'(thousand) , 'bǎi'(hundred) , 'wàn'(ten thousand), especially this 'wàn'(ten thousand).

我们中国数字就是很简单的加法而已，把千、百、万，尤其是万给他们解释清楚了。

(Mr Wang)

4) Knowledge of the environment :

My growing understanding of the British society, culture and media would help me to understand my students.

对英国社会、文化、媒体等的了解有助于认识学生。(Mr Wang)

5) Chinese culture :

However, this kind of misunderstanding is by no means, by no means saying that they are belittling our culture. It would be OK if we just take it as misunderstanding. Then you use your way to explain to them, knowing that they would feel easy to accept your explanation.

而这种误解绝对不是说，绝对不是说瞧不起我们的文化，就是把它看成误解就可以了，然后你用你的方式解释能清楚他们会觉得很容易接受。(Mr Wang)

6) Interaction with the local community :

There was not much interaction with the British during the first year. I did not interact much with the locals. And at school, there were only simple greetings with them.

第一年跟英国人基本上没有什么特别多的来往。跟当地人不交往，而且也，他们在学校里也仅是上课的问候而已。(Teacher A)

7) Agency :

Then like at first, it was not me wanted to observe her class, rather, it was the school arranged that I could go and observe her class. She did not allow that. Then, by myself, through my own effort, I made it happen that I was able to go and observe her class.

那像我一开始，不是我想听她的课，是学校安排我听她的课，她都不同意。然后我自己，通过我自己的努力，我达到我要听她的课。(Teacher A)

8) English language :

I really don't know how to explain it in English.

估计再往下我也更不知该用英语怎么说了。(Mr Wang)

9) Self-perception :

On first day, I introduced myself to her. I said I just came to this school. Sent by China. Then, my name was bla... bla...

第一天，我向她介绍，我说我是到这个学校来，中国派来的老师。好了，我叫什么什么名字。(Teacher A)

Appendix 6

Dear Hanban teachers:

I would like to take this opportunity to introduce me a little bit. My name is Yi Xiang, a PhD student in Institute of Education, University of London. IOE is the UK's leading centre for studies in education and related disciplines. It tops the league table for education research in UK universities. Royal Garden Confucius Institute is the national centre for advice on and support for the teaching and learning of Chinese and about China in secondary and primary schools in the UK. It is leading the way doing the research into Chinese teaching and related areas.

As you may know, Chinese teaching in a large scale in the UK is only a new phenomenon of recent years. Several challenges to its development have been identified by some scholars, among which lack of qualified teachers are perceived to be one of the main constraints to providing and further developing Chinese teaching in the UK. However, related research into Chinese teachers is still underdeveloped.

As a PhD student of IOE, I am now working with Royal Garden Confucius Institute to conduct a research into Hanban teachers' first years' experience in UK schools. This research is to increase and support Chinese teaching within the UK by preparing Chinese teachers in future, as well as facilitating UK schools prepare better through the scheme to welcome teachers from China.

However, this research could never be carried out without your participation. This research awaits your contribution by sharing with me your teaching and living experience in the UK. As a researcher, I am here to listen to your thoughts, feelings and perceptions about this experience. As a friend, I am here to support you through the whole journey in the UK. I am based in London, but I am happy to travel to you and buy your tea or coffee and hear your stories.

This research will be carried out according to a professional code of ethics, BERA 2011. Every effort will be made to ensure the anonymity of the individuals in the group. Nobody will know who said what during the interviews or observations.

If you are interested in taking part in this research project, or if you have any questions or queries about this project, please don't hesitate to contact me via email:

xiangyialice@gmail.com

Thank you for your time! I am looking forward to hearing from you!

Yours sincerely,

Yi Xiang

Appendix 6

尊敬的汉办老师：

您好！

首先，我想借此机会自我介绍一下。我叫向怡，是伦敦大学教育研究院的在读博士。伦敦大学教育研究院(Institute of Education, University of London)是英国教育领域及教育相关学科领先的大学。它在近期的全英科研评估中被评为英国第一的教育研究机构。皇家花园孔子学院是针对中国语言文化教学的国家级咨询中心，它为英国中小学的中文及中国相关文化教学提供建议及支持。此外，皇家花园孔子学院还致力于支持中文教学及相关领域的科研工作。

我想您已在培训中了解到，英国大规模的中文教学于近年才开展，其发展过程中面临着一定的问题和挑战，缺乏合格的中文教师成为最严峻的问题之一，甚至成为中文教学在英国发展的瓶颈。同时，针对中文教师的相关研究也相对较少。

针对这些问题，我与皇家花园孔子学院合作，开展博士论文研究项目，关注汉办老师最初一年或几年在英国中小学的生活与教学经历。此研究项目旨在提高英国境内的中文教学活动并推动其更好地发展。借此机会，我希望能够帮助即将赴英国任教的中文教师做好充分准备，同时也希望能促进当地中小学更加妥善地安置到任教师。

因此，您的参与对此研究项目至关重要。我期待您与我分享在英国的生活与教学经历。作为研究者，我会在这里倾听您的感受、想法与体悟。作为朋友，我会在这里支持您，陪您共同经历这个旅程。我常住在伦敦，但是我非常乐意去到您工作的城市或小镇，用一杯茶或咖啡的时光，听您讲述属于您自己，却也是属于千千万万汉办老师的故事。

此研究项目将严格遵守英国教育研究协会 2011 年拟定的学术道德规范来开展。我将尽全力保障每个参与者的匿名性，不会有第三方知道您在访谈或者学校调研中对我说了什么。

如果您愿意参与到这个研究项目之中，或者您有任何的疑问或者问题，欢迎与我联系。我的邮箱地址是：xiangyialice@gmail.com

感谢您在百忙之中抽空来阅读以上内容。期待您的来信！

此致

敬礼！

向怡

二零一三年九月五号

Appendix 7

Narrative 1

Q 1.1 其实主要是从喜欢英国足球开始，然后接触英国文化，然后有这个机会我马上就来了，其他想都没想。

Actually, it mainly started with my love of English football. Then getting to know the British culture. Then I immediately decided to come when this opportunity came to me, without giving a second thought on other things.

Q 1.2 我房东太太做饭做得太好吃了。

My hostess cooks very delicious food.

Q 1.3 加上这边的生活环境也好，居住环境，吃的东西，所以我非常非常喜欢在这边的生活。要不然也不会呆四年。

plus the environment here is good, (as well as) having good living standard and great food, so I love living here or I would not have stayed here for four years.

Q 1.4 对。就是没什么，就已经没什么太多挑战性了。就是你把这个工作做到极致，学生可能也就是在中国学汉语的那些学生，可能也就是他们一年级的水平。对吧……就跟以前其实有一个老师就是，同学就说，“还是回国吧，在英国你再教几年，回国你都不会了。因为这边太基础了。回国就开始，同义词辨析。哈哈哈。”因为你在国内，学生水平比较高，你会想这些问题。不一定学生会问，但是你会想这些问题。在这边你就懒了，因为你知道反正学生问不出那样的问题。有时候就忘了。

Certainly. There are not as many challenges. In a way that even if you do your job perfectly, students might only beat the same level as first graders in China. Right? It was like one of the teachers in the past, a classmate of mine, said, 'You'd better go back to China. If you stay in the UK for another several years, you might not know how to teach in China. Because it is too basic here. Once you are back in China, you will start to compare and contrast the synonyms. Hahaha...' Because in China, your students are in a higher level. You will think about those questions. It is not necessarily that the students would ask, but you need to think about those questions. You will be lazy here. Because you know your students are not capable of asking such questions. Sometimes you will just forget.

Q 1.5 再有一个三十年，父母都快九十了。所以基本上可以说过半了。突然就觉得很……其实你再看，再看我这三十年，我基本上就上大学以后基本上就是没跟……

就是跟父母在一起的时间很少，对，然后就是说，我为自己考虑三十几年了，自私了三十多年，我应该为他们考虑了。所以就毅然决然就。

In thirty years time my parents will turn ninety. So they are already more than half way there. Suddenly, I feel very... Actually if you look at my past thirty years. Since I started university, I had seldom been with...and that time spent with my parents have been very limited. Yes and so to speak, I have been considering for myself for more than thirty years, being so selfish for more than thirty years. I should be considering for them now. So I am very determined.

Q 1.6 ……学生水平锃锃得往上涨……

The constant progress in students' level of language proficiency.

Q 1.7 我们没有英国的教师资格证，我们不是 Qualified Teacher，没有资格证的，所以从理论上来说，也不可能单独地跟学生上课。我就记得当时我来的第一年，嗯，完全，当时我的 line manager 就是完全按照这个流程走。如果这个本土老师他来不了，我帮他带过几节课。然后呢，我上课的时候，他们都会派另外一个 Qualified Teacher 在课堂上。

We do not have the UK teacher certificate. We are not qualified teachers and without certification. So theoretically, we are not able to have classes with students by ourselves. I remember my first year here, hmmm, my line manager at the time followed the procedure accordingly. If the local teacher could not attend, I would help her teach several classes. Then, when I was teaching, they would send another qualified teacher to the class.

Q 1.8 但是我之前的那个本土老师，她，可能她本身没有安全感，我要是把她管纪律，她有时候会觉得不高兴，就觉得我伤到她的权威了。

Like the previous local teacher, she probably did not feel secure. If I was to help her on behaviour management, sometimes she would feel unhappy and thought that I had challenged her authority.

Q 1.9 可能一开始来还是那种，还是像一个很普通很普通的那种汉办老师，也就是所谓的推广语言、推广文化的那种，带着小孩儿，当然我没有那个机会，就是去小学啊带着小孩儿玩儿什么的，那样的教儿歌。

Probably when I first arrived, I worked as a very ordinary Hanban teacher, the kind who promotes the language and promotes culture. Of course I never had the

chance to teach the children, like those teachers who were simply playing around with them and teaching them nursery rhymes.

Q 1.10 然后就是在第二年下半年开始就开始涉及到 GCSE 考试了，就有点儿从汉语作为兴趣课啊、体验课，就往应试方面转变了。我觉得这是，就是从……简单而言吧，就是从玩儿到当真。

Then from the second half of my second year, I started to get involved in the GCSE exams and going from school club class and taster class to the class for exams is, if I am to put it simply going from 'having fun' to 'the real deal'.

Q 1.11 比如说我现在这个，我们学校的本土老师，我要是帮她维持纪律，她很高兴。这样可以减少她的，这样她就可以轻松，她就可以把精力集中在教学方面了。

For example, the local teacher at my current school. If I help her with behaviour management, she feels very happy. This can reduce her (work or pressure) ... This way then she can relax. She can concentrate on the teaching aspect.

Q 1.12 如果我有机会给汉办建议，我就会建议是这样的，就是像那种带着小孩儿玩，这种钱就最好不要花了，太费钱了，而且没有任何效果，对吧。

If I have the opportunity to give suggestions to Hanban, my suggestion will be that there is no need to spend money in leading the children to play around. It is a waste of money and very ineffective. Agreed?

Q 1.13 可能到了上面，他要的就是一个数字。多少人在学汉语，但是到了下面，我们要的就是学生你对汉语是什么态度，你真的想不想学汉语，你最后考试成绩怎么样。可能就是上面的人和我们下面的人，那个，视点不一样。

Probably, to the people above, they simply want a figure - how many people are learning Chinese. But to those at the bottom, what we want to see is students' attitude towards Chinese, whether they really want to learn Chinese, and their final grades. Probably, people from above and from below have different points of view.

Q 1.14 不过好在呢，就是 GCSE 这个组出了一点成绩现在，现在抓出来了。现在学校已经明确表示明年要开 A-level 的汉语，肯定有，明年肯定有。

Luckily, this GCSE class has achieved some good grades, achievement at last. Now the school has clearly indicated that they would start the A-level Chinese next year. Definitely next year it is going to happen.

Q 1.15 汉语作为什么什么主流课

Making Chinese a mainstream subject

Q 1.16 感觉很多学校就是一窝蜂地上汉语，但是一窝蜂地学不好

It feels like many schools have started Chinese all together, but cannot all be doing well

Q 1.17 所以我想的还是，还是应该就是抓那种，抓优秀地学生，让他可以继续学，能够提高，我要的不是今年这个数字有多大，我要的是有一部分人，哪怕这个数量不大，但是他可以长远地提高。就是这个发展是往上发展，而不是这样平铺式地发展。

Therefore I think I should still focus on the good students, letting them continue their learning and enabling them to become better and better. What I want is not how big the number is this year. What I want is a certain number of people, not necessarily a large number but who could continuously advance their language learning. This development should focus on depth rather than breadth.

Q 1.18 当时还是当时国内那种根深蒂固的观念，语法翻译法，太落后了。

At that time, I still had the deep-rooted opinion from China. The grammar-translation method was too outdated.

Q 1.19 其实就是不停地碰壁，不停地碰壁。等于说我刚来英国，刚来学校教学完全就是科班大学那一套。而且我在课堂上包括像组织教学，只要我觉得哎这个这个，组织教学只要我觉得这句话我的学生听得懂，我就会用汉语说，但是发现根本不行。就是发现用汉语教汉语做不到，哪怕是最基本地东西，学生都其实还是不明白。

Actually it was constantly hitting the wall, constantly hitting the wall. Initially I taught entirely using the Ke Ban University model. Also, when I organise the teaching in class, as long as I feel students can understand this sentence, I will speak in Chinese. But I found that it did not work at all! That is, I realised that I couldn't do Chinese teaching entirely in Chinese. Even just the most basic stuff, students still couldn't understand.

Q 1.20 其实有一个例子让我转变了一下。可能一开始就是哎呀我就是从一个极端，国内那个极端，然后，哇，发现行不通，然后就移到另外一个极端严厉的另外一个极端。直到某一天，也是第一年，去听我们那个系领导，他教法语课，然后他那个班九年级也很乱。而且那个班的学生，绝大部分，在当时也上汉语课。所以，我知道那是很乱的一个班。但是在他的那个班上呢，纪律好得多。我不能说好，但是比汉语课好得多。可能是因为他他是年级主任。对吧，系主任。还有一个就是他可以，他在管理的时候，比如说有几个女孩儿，就不停地在搔首弄姿吧，玩儿头发，摆弄头发，然后系领导就直接来了一句，说你不要在我面前做这个动作，你是在侮辱我。因为他秃顶。

哈哈哈。然后这个班的同学就笑。又很轻松，哎，当时我就感觉，原来就是对不同的人可以有不同的办法，你可以轻松。

Actually about the classroom management, there was an anecdote, which made me change a bit. Probably from the beginning, I just started from one extreme, which was the Chinese way, then, after realising it did not work. I moved to the other extreme of being extremely strict. Until one day, it was also in the first year. I went to observe the class of the head of our department. He taught French. His class of Year 9 was also very disturbing. And most students in that class, at that time, also went to Chinese class. So I knew it was a disturbing class. However, in his class, the discipline was much better. I could not say 'good', but was much better than in the Chinese class. It might be because he was the head of the department. Right? Head of the department. Another reason might be that, for example, during one of his management, there were several girls, who kept stroking their hair. Then the head said, 'Do not do this in front of me. You are insulting me!' Because he was bald. Hahaha... Then the whole class started laughing. It was also very relaxing. Well, I felt then that actually you could use different approaches towards different people. You can be relaxed.

Q 1.21 哦，还有一个就是我的想法。就是尤其是我到了今年，可以说就是在这个学校呆了四年。在英国教了四年，基本上上路了。嗯，特别希望有人能够继续做那种汉语作为外语教学的研究，因为在国内，汉语作为第二语言，已经很成熟，但是这个，汉语作为第二语言的这些已有的经验，到这边根本用不了，方法完全不一样，教学对象完全不一样。

I also want to mention some of my ideas. Especially until this year, when I have been in this school for four years. Having taught four years in the UK, I am almost on track now. Um, I really hope someone could do research into the area of Chinese Teaching as a Foreign Language. Because, in China, Chinese as a Second Language has been very mature. However the existing experience in TCSL could not work here at all. The methods are completely different. The students are completely different.

Narrative 2

Q 2.1 那么，这种不断探索的动力就应该来自于甚至连自己还没有觉察出来的使命感。这种使命感其实也是复杂的，可能是来自于个人理想的追求、教学活动的热爱、家庭生活的需要、改善现状的欲望等等。

Well, this driving force of continuous exploration should come from one's unconscious sense of duty. Actually, this mission is complex. It might come from one's pursuit of ideals, the love for teaching, or the needs for family life and the desire to improve etc.

Q 2.2 以前听说过这个英国是什么情况，可能带有一种想像，想印证一下，反正就是抱着这种心理，再一个可能就是有点镀金的心理刚也提到的，就是说有这种经历，以后做什么事，能挺方便的，算是有一种资历吧，就是这样的，有这样一种心理。

I heard about the situation in the UK in the past. Likely some of it was just my imagining, but I wanted to prove it. Anyway, this was my way of thinking. Another might be the mentality of getting gilded as I mentioned earlier. That was the experience I had, no matter what I want to do in future, it would be quite convenient. one could consider it as a kind of credential. That was my thought indeed.

Q 2.3 就是说我可能有点很世俗，很实际，就是我一个特点就是先谋生吧，兴趣肯定不是最重要的，但是我做这个东西我肯定会认真去做的，我认真做了之后我也会培养出来兴趣，就是我的一个特点。

That is, I might be a bit mundane, or practical. This is a characteristic of mine, to make a living first. Interest is certainly not the most important thing. But I will definitely do it with devotion. By doing it with devotion, I will cultivate the interest. That is one of my characteristics.

Q 2.4 尤其是中国古代哲学，易经哲学，道德经啊，这些东西，就是觉得本身这些东西就很有意思，这是一个，当然，顺便撸草打兔子，对于我现在以后的工作，如果从事这个对外汉语的工作，那肯定那是正相关的，对吧，包括我这个太极啊，这一套的学的，以后都是挣钱的都是有帮助的，所以就是一举多得吧。

Epecially for the ancient Chinese philosophy, such as the Book of Changes, the Tao De Jing, those stuff. I just feel those things themselves are quite interesting. That is like, of course, 'removing the grass while hunting the rabbit', to my current and future job, if I do job that is related to TCSL, they must be related. Right?

Including the Tai Chi, the set I am learning. In the long run, anything that makes money helps, So this is to achieve many things at one stroke.

Q 2.5 现在没有，现在很淡定，很淡定，不去追求那些东西了，反正当然了单位让我做点什么，我力所能及的贡献让我去做我肯定会去做，但是我不是那种挖尽心思去怎么样让自己去谋求一个什么职位呀，是怎么怎么样啊，不会那么去做，就是顺其自然吧，这边也是，一切顺其自然。

Not now, now I am very calm, very calm. I do not pursue those things anymore. Anyway, of course, if the school asks me to do something, as long as it is within my capability, I would definitely do it as a sort of contribution. But I will not be devoting my energy simply to land myself a certain role, this and that. I will not do it. Just let it be.

Q 2.6 ……申请孔院项目再回英国来……

...apply for another job opportunity through the CI programme and come back to the UK...

Q 2.7 但是到这来了却发现有这么好的机会，有遇到师傅这样的，很正宗的着这种感觉就是说很难得的机会。

After coming here I realised what a great opportunity this was having a master like him. It felt real. Very rare opportunity!

Q 2.8 ……就是很肤浅的东西……

...superficial gestures and movements...

Q 2.9 Researcher: 所以我可以理解当时你选择教什么和怎么教都是受师傅的影响吗?

Mr Wang: 那是，尤其是怎么用，我以前就是教套路的话小孩不感兴趣啊，但是跟师傅学完之后，师傅告诉她们怎么用，小孩对这个特别感兴趣，马上互相比划，比划起来了。

R: So can I understand it this way that the choices you made on what to teach and how to teach at that time were influenced by your master?

Mr Wang: Yes. Especially how to use. In the past, children were not interested in the set of routine I taught them. But since I started learning with the master, who told them how to use. They became especially interested in this and started acting more outward immediately with each other.

Q 2.10 这就是自己学练，然后参加孔院考试的时候去比划一下，说自己有个特长，但是现在绝对不一样，现在我就想把它好好学着，真正好好学，比如我刚才说看那些

古典名著，就是说兴趣是最主要的东西，所以说孔子学院的是顺便事，对外汉语工作那是顺便的事。

That is practice by myself, and then to attend the exam of CIs and perform a bit, and say that I have a talent. But now it is absolutely different. Now I only want to learn it well, truly well. For example I mentioned those ancient classics. That is to say having an interest is the most important thing. So my works with CIs and TCSL are just something that I do in the meantime.

Q 2.11 以前就是教套路，简化 24 式嘛，就像打比划像体操似的，就是这种感觉，其实好多外国人都很喜欢太极，但是好多人就是学这种，学几天就套路就完了，有些老师就没有再教别的东西了。所以说，这话我说起来就长了，这个对于中国文化传统问题，咱不能背负这么大的使命，反正我觉的对于我们本人来讲，首先我们自己对中国了解，做到位，增强一点，要不然出去丢人，真丢人。

I only taught the routine, they were the simplified 24 Forms. kind of like gymnastics. That was my feeling. Actually many foreigners like practicing Tai Chi very much. But many people just learn this one type. It only takes a few days in learning the routine. Some teachers do not teach other things. So I have a lot to say about the issue of Chinese culture and tradition. We are not able to carry this big mission. I think at least to me. First of all we should increase our understanding of China and do it properly. Otherwise, we will lose face when going aboard. Really losing face!

Q 2.12 很多小孩生出来之后，中国政府就给杀死了。

The Chinese government would kill many children after they are born.

Q 2.13 而这种误解绝对不是说，绝对不是说瞧不起我们的文化，就是把它看成误解就可以了，然后你用你的方式解释能清楚他们会觉得很容易接受。

This misunderstanding is by no means an attempt to belittle our culture. Just to view it as a misunderstanding. Then if you can explain it in a clear way, they would find it easy to accept.

Q 2.14 这就涉及到重男轻女了，如果你英语不够好的话，就别去尝试解释反而解释不清楚，但是如果，我觉得要是做好充分准备的话，解释这个也是一个很有意思的事情，但你面临这个问题，有很多人觉得这好像觉得这是我们中华文化的一个，好像不能去提的一个文化糟粕，事实上也不是，这是一个有一定的社会文化的这个道理所在了，因为我们中国以前，尤其是像那种古代，包括英国也是，他们古代也没有那种社会福利去养老之类的，所以说我们养儿子去养老，养儿防老，然后自己家的闺女嫁

到别人家，别人家的闺女嫁到自己家，这不是很符合逻辑性吗？他们觉得会很有道理，他们会去理解我们。

This touches the issue of 'preferring boys over girls'. If your English is not good enough, then, do not try to explain, or you would not be able to explain it clearly. But I think if you are well prepared, it is quite interesting to explain this. But when you face this issue, many people feel this seems a cultural dross of our Chinese culture, which cannot be brought out. Actually that is not the case and there must have been some sociocultural explanation behind it. Because China in the past, especially in the ancient times, UK as well, they did not have a pension system in the ancient society. So people raise their sons to support the elderly, or have their daughters married in to other families and taking in others' as daughters in law. Isn't that logical? They would find it reasonable, and they would try to understand us.

Narrative 3

Q 3.1 因为对我来说，在国内，我 30 岁的时候就晋升了中学高级教师... 我三十岁的时候就能知道五十岁在做什么。就是是不是需要一些改变，就是我应该怎么样朝那个方向去改变，怎么样给自己定位。真的说实在的，这几年一直都很迷茫的。除了做好自己的本职工作。

Speaking of myself, I have already gained the professional title of Senior Secondary School Teacher, and at the age of thirty, I already knew what I would be doing when I am fifty. That is if I need some changes. That is how I should change towards the direction and how to position myself. Truly to be honest, I have been confused for years, besides doing my own job well.

Q 3.2 一方面呢，就是确实是想给儿子做一个榜样，另外当时，虽然是很无意得看到了学校发的一个通知嘛，而且我感觉也离我特别遥远，我当时就想到我试一下是不是就有可能，因为我确实想有这种体验... 然后，另外呢，就是想要对自己有一种提高。也是自我的一个挑战吧。

On the one hand, I indeed just want to be a role model for my son. Also at that time, although I accidentally saw the announcement from the school and I felt it was very far from me, I wondered if there might be some possibility if I really tried. Because I really wanted to have this experience...then, besides, I just want some self-improvement. It is also a challenge to myself.

Q 3.3 我现在也只能说是走一步说一步吧，我也有孩子在家里，所以我到底是呆两年还是三年我现在也还不太清楚，对。

At present, I can only say I will wait and see. I have a child back home. So at present I am not sure if I would stay here for two or three years.

Q 3.4 你比如在上学这件事上，那我可能会想很多办法怎么样，只要他来了，他在这儿读高中，我就要想办法，呆在这儿陪着他，到他高中毕业是不是。我说现在就好像是妈妈给你搭了一个梯子，你就乘着这个梯子然后就可以到达一定高度。但是如果你不用这个梯子的话，你到时候你要自己先去做这个梯子然后你才能达到这个高度。

For example, on the matter of attending schools, I probably will try many things, and as long as he comes here and studies here, I will find a way to stay here with him until his graduation from high school. I said it was as if mom put up a ladder for you, if you take this ladder, then, you can reach a certain height. However, if you do

not take this ladder, someday, you had to make yourself a ladder to reach that height.

Q 3.5 嗯，我认为，最大的体会呢，就是，我每天都在想着我这节课要采用什么方法来吸引学生的注意力，让他对汉语感兴趣，对中国感兴趣，这是我现在最重要的一个任务。因为汉语知识的传授应该还是比较简单的，包括，我今天教给他一个字，或明天教给他一个拼音，教给他一个拼音，教给他一句话，这都是很容易做到的事情。但是，我怎么样，或者说哪一种方式来呈现，让他学会而且让他学会了之后会用。并且还愿意让他下一节课接着跟我学。这是我现在考虑的最重要的。每天我都在想这个问题。

Ah, I think, the deepest feeling is that, I am thinking about the ways to attract the attention of students in class every day. To keep them interested in Chinese and China. This is the most important task for me. Because it is comparatively easy to transfer the Chinese knowledge, like how I taught them a Chinese character today, or teaching them Pinyin tomorrow. To teach them Pinyin, or to teach them a sentence is easy. But how I, or in other words, to present in ways that would let them learn and let them learn to use, and make them willing to learn the next lesson with me. These are the most important things I am considering. I am thinking about this question every day.

Q 3.6 第一呢，就是从私人角度来说，作为一名老师，我首先个人是比较敬业的，我想既然做嘛，就把它做好。否则的话就不做，是不是啊。我就想怎么通过尽自己最大的努力来首先让我对自己满意，然后呢，就是让学生，让学校其他的同事都感觉到我这个人还可以。就是想得到大家的认可。另一个方面呢，就是，从国家的角度，我觉得我真的是非常爱国的，从我来到这儿之后，我也有一种非常迫切的愿望就是，想要别人来了解中国，了解我们的文化，甚至就是对我们中国非常感兴趣。然后甚至以后会到那边去旅游啊，或者去定居啊，去发展，都有可能。我有一种非常迫切的愿望。所以我就想着，如果有更多的学生，他们从现在这样小的年龄就对中国有一个了解，他们将来长大了，他们的方向真的有可能会选择在中国。这是从大的方面来说，主要就是这两个原因吧。

Firstly, from a personal perspective, as a teacher, first of all, I am comparatively dedicated to my work. Since I have decided to do it, I should do it well. Otherwise, I wouldn't do it. Isn't it? Then, it is to let the students and other colleagues in the school to accept me as a decent person. It is the recognition from everyone that I

wanted. On the other hand, that is, from a country's perspective, I feel I really am patriotic. Ever since I came here, I also have been having this strong wish, that is, to let others understand China, understand our culture, and even to become really interested in our country. Then in future they might even go and travel there, or even to live and work there, these are all possible. I have a strong wish. So I am thinking, if more students get to know about China at a young age and when they grow up, their direction of development might incline more towards China. This is broadly speaking. These are two major reasons.

Q 3.7 另外呢，我感觉，这边的孩子在课堂上相对来说，这个学习的积极性啊，主动性啊，就不如国内孩子更好……但这边孩子的话，你要随时想着怎么样来吸引他的注意力，怎么样来维持教学。怎么样来让他安静地坐在那儿，不去打扰别人，这往往是课堂教学当中非常重要地一项工作。而且呢，也相当得耗费时间和精力。

In addition, I feel, comparatively speaking, the motivation and initiative of children here are not as good as domestic children... to children here, you have to think about how to attract their attention all the time, how to maintain the teaching, how to make them sit there quietly and not disturb others. This tends to be the most important task in classroom teaching. Also, it takes considerable amount of time and effort.

Q 3.8 听他的课，我觉得有好多新的东西是值得学习的。嗯，毕竟我跟 BC 的老师，我们到这边来，我们一直没有听过 local teacher 讲中文课。这是一个很大的问题实际上。而他们 PGCE 的学生呢，我觉得他们在接受这个培训的时候肯定导师对他们有一些要求，你要按一种什么模式去上课。肯定有一些标准在里面。所以我就非常迫切得想听一下他们的课，想听一下本地的标准的汉语教学到底是什么样子的。

I find so many things worthy of learning through observing his class. Well, after all, I and the BC teacher have not observed any Chinese classes taught by a local teacher ever since we came here. This is actually a big problem. But those PGCE students, I think when they receive the training, their tutors must have some requirements for them, requiring them to teach in a certain model. It must contain some standards within. So I feel very eager to observe their class, wanting to observe the local standard and the way of teaching.

Q 3.9 首先，我刚开始上课的那一个星期呢，我是让学生们随便坐的。后来我发现他们随便坐呢，往往是跟要好的同学坐在一起，这样他们就可以互相说话，搞小动作什么的，那从第二个星期呢，我就给他们排了一个位子，每个人都坐在固定的位子。

而且排位儿的过程当中呢，我注意把那些很活跃的，排在前面离我更近的地方，或者说让他一个人一位儿，而那些非常勤奋的，非常安静的孩子呢，可以让他们两个人在一位儿。另外，汉语学习学得比较快的，和学得比较慢的安排在一起，这样他们可以互相帮助。这是通过排位儿的方式来尽量减少他跟相熟的同学在课堂上来说话的机会。

The first week of my teaching, I asked students to sit however they wish to. Later I found out that if they were asked to sit wherever they wanted to, they tend to sit next to their friends. So that they can talk and play around with each other. From the second week, then, I arranged a seating plan for them. Everyone had a fixed seat. In the process of arranging the seats, I deliberately put those students who were very active to the front, where they would be more close to me. Or I just let him sit alone. Those diligent and quiet ones were allowed to sit next to each other. In addition, the quick learners and slow learners were arranged to sit together, so that they could help each other. It was through arranging the seating plan to reduce the opportunity of them talking to their friends in class.

Q 3.10 当时因为我们孔院每个人就是都要向汉办投稿嘛，写新闻，有时候呢，会想怎么样在一些有意义的事情上拍一些照片，但拍照片的话，你知道这边很麻烦，要经过学生的同意啊。跟他们说明情况，这些照片要用到哪些什么媒体啊，是网站啊，还是报纸啊等等。跟他们说明。在这种情况下呢，有好多孩子他是乐意被别人知道被别人知道他做的事情，他乐意配合，有的呢，他就直接拒绝。然后我们就把那些拒绝的人，让他坐在另一边，而且在这之前呢，就要跟 tutor 说好，我觉得这个挺麻烦。

At that time, every one of us is required to contribute to Hanban, like writing news. So sometimes I will think about how to take some pictures from things meaningful. When taking photos, you know, it is very troublesome here. You need to get consent from students. You need to explain to them in which media those photos are to be used, such as website or newspaper, etc, and explain it to them. Under this situation, many children are willing to be known by others about what they do. They are willing to cooperate. Some of them will reject directly. Then, we will let those who rejected sit on the other side. Also, I need to inform the tutor beforehand. I feel it is really troublesome.

Narrative 4

Q 4.1 我们是带着任务去的，所以我们更加注意自己的形象，更加注意言行举止。

We are going with a mission. So we should pay more attention to our image, speech and behaviour.

Q 4.2 这边的人完全不一样，跟我在国内也好，欢乐国也好，完全不一样，怎么那么冷漠啊。

People here are completely different. Different from those in my home country, different from those who live in Merryland. Completely different. How could they be so indifferent!

Q 4.3 但是我们这个圈子，我们这个汉办老师哈，有的是跟当地人玩得很好的，就像他不是做 GCSE，可能他们整个学校汉语就他一个老师。那他可能就是跟本地的人接触多一点，而且有的人，就像我那时接触欢乐国人一样。我在欢乐国哈，是超级享受的那一种，就是你到哪里去都会有人开车带你去。他们基本上，我觉得应该有一部分人也是这种吧。

But within our circle, the Hanban teachers, there must be some who get along really well with the locals. If they do not teach at GCSE level and probably are the only Chinese teacher in the whole school. Then they might have more contact with the locals, and some people, just like the way I get along with the people of Merryland. When I was in Merryland, it was a super enjoyable experience, and that where ever you go, there will be someone giving you a lift. Basically, I think there are some Hanban teachers like that.

Q 4.4 我以前在欢乐国，老师们都非常欢迎汉办的老师，尽管都是“免费”，但是只要那个学校有一个汉办老师，就相当于给他们打开了中国的一扇窗。所以我在欢乐国尽管有时候很辛苦，也很满足。

When I was in Merryland, all teachers welcomed Hanban teachers warmly. Although it was 'free' for them. But once one Hanban teacher was deployed into the school, for them it was like opening a window towards China. So although sometimes it required hard work, I still felt content.

Q 4.5 学生很争气啦，真的。有一个学生跟着我学，第一年跟着我学，反正前任说没什么印象，第二年跟着我学，哇，那个汉语真的说的很好，但是没有进前三，因为前三都是去过中国的人。你看就我那么短短的一年，还给我拿了个二等奖，还参加中文比赛。当年汉语是属于那个外语组的，外语组的那个组长就是很冷淡的人。反正

也，平时也不和怎么大家说话，然后后来就是着重要培养那个男孩子，要把汉语的影响力，因为给他拿了一个奖嘛。

Students were very good, really. There was one student who was learning with me. The first year when he was learning with me, the former teacher said that they didn't have much of an impression of him. In the second year. Wow, he spoke Chinese really well. But did not enter the top three. Because the top three are people who have been to China. You see, in only one year, he got a second prize, and participated in the Chinese competition. At that time, Chinese belonged to the Foreign Language Department. The head of the department was very cold. Anyway, he seldom talked to anyone and he was later focusing on cultivating the boy and increasing the influence of Chinese, because he won a prize.

Q 4.6 因为我刚开始来也没有这么顺，其实也挺苦的。因为什么不会嘛，什么都要自己弄... 我好孤苦伶仃哦。然后刚开始来的时候那个中文老师他也不怎么就是理我的那种。

Because when I first came, everything did not go very smoothly. Actually it was very painful. Because I was not able to do anything. I had to deal with everything by myself...Ah, I was so lonely. When I first came, the local teacher paid little attention to me.

Q 4.7 可是，我发现，在英国真的不是那么容易，难道是国别的问题？因为英国比我们强大所以我们的文化就难以接受？不被人重视？要不就是汉办的方式问题，这种完全免费的服务让学校忽视？可是怎样才能用一种更好的方式将中国文化的魅力传承下去呢？

However, I realised, it is not that easy being in the UK. Is it because of the difference between countries? Is it because that UK is more powerful than us and that our culture is difficult to be accepted and not being taken seriously? Otherwise it must be the way in which Hanban is doing things. Does school just neglect this kind of free service? But what is the better way to pass on the charm of Chinese culture?

Q 4.8 他就说你们到欧洲去，虽然是最好的国家，但是这些国家根本就不搭理你，就看不起你的那种感觉。其实我当时就很惊讶，我们坐在台下哦。

He said that you were going to Europe, although it has some of the best countries, people of those countries did not pay much attention to you at all. It felt as if they

looked down upon you. Actually, I was very surprised when we were sitting in the audience.

Q 4.9 就是在他们这里没有一个，一个身份或者一个地位给你。不把你当成一个同等的对待。有些人，那个谁说，哎，你把这个看得太重了。我觉得可能是我自己把这个看得太重了。但我觉得不是我一个人这样子。

That is there is not an identity or status for you. They do not treat you as an equal. Some people or someone said, 'well, I think you take this too seriously'. I think probably it is me taking this too seriously. But I think I am not the only person feeling this way.

Q 4.10 至少我们知道怎么样去教，你看我那个中文老师，她就是英语专业的，她就没有教过学生声母、韵母、声调，没有教，所以我那个学得最好的一个学生，他准备考那个 A-level 的，他都不知道怎么发音，他经常把那个音漏掉。

At least we know how to teach. Look at our local teacher, she learned English as a major. She has not taught the consonants, vowels or tones. She did not teach. So my best student, who is about to sit the A-level examination, even he does not know how to pronounce. He usually misses some part.

Q 4.11 我就跟她讲，“哎，我们他们没有学过声母韵母，那我可以那我们应该去教。”然后她就会说，“哎，这样也可以”，然后让我去找一点材料啊什么的。她说今年那个 half term 嘛，下学期就会慢慢去教他们。

I told her, 'well, us and them have not learned consonants and vowels yet. But I can, so we should teach them'. She would then say, 'well, sure'. Then she asked me to look for some materials. She said this year has already been half term. Next semester we could teach them slowly.

Q 4.12 到下一个礼拜的时候就试一次，觉得行的话那就挺好，不行的话就换。其实她也是在一种摸索的状态。其实我们都是摸索，哈哈。

We would try it again next week. If it works, that is great. If not, then we will adjust. Actually she is also searching for a way. Actually, both of us are searching.

Q 4.13 汉办老师既不能像别的老师一样可以批评学生，责骂学生，也不能随意安排任何课堂的事情，就像一个边缘人一样，而且，还是处于两种文化冲撞之中的特殊人群。既要教好中文，传播汉语，又要融入到这个环境，和学生有更好的沟通。

Hanban teachers neither can criticise students or scold students as other teachers, nor can they arrange things in the classroom as they wish. It feels like a

marginalised person, but also the special kind who is in the collision of two cultures. They need to teach Chinese well, promoting Chinese, and also integrating it into the environment, and having a better communication with the students.

Q 4.14 我工作的内容，因为这边有一个本土老师嘛，所以我工作的内容基本上就是帮她弄一些，干一些活啊，她让我干什么，我就干什么……所以我感觉我一到学校就是为她服务的（哈哈）。

There is a local teacher, so the content of my work basically is to help her to do things, to do some chores. I will do whatever she asks me to do...So I feel I am there to serve her as soon as I arrived at school. (Laughing)

Q 4.15 关于我自己，我还不知道要不要去辐射小学，这一年是因为本地老师希望我就在学校帮她。但是汉办有要求，而且出去可能会接触到不同的学校环境，能多长长见识，有快乐也会有烦恼。这些等我来了再看我的 line manager 的意思吧！

Regarding myself, I do not know yet if I am going to the primary schools nearby. It is because this year the local teacher wishes that I can stay at the school and help her. But Hanban has some requirements. Also, going out may expose me to different school environments which will certainly enrich my experience. I feel a mixture of happiness and concerns. I will wait and see what my line manager says when I come.

Q 4.16 然后在这边我觉得，很多东西你不得不去想得周到一些。因为人家凭什么为你考虑，对不对……有些事情，真的就是我做的不对。所以，而且，我发现，很多人，虽然比我大，像那个 local teacher，但是很就是怎么讲，每一个人都是需要被照顾的。所以，我希望自己能够多改正一点。

Then, I think, I need to be more considerate here. Because why do other people need to consider for you, right? ... Some times, it was really my fault. So, and also, I realise, many people, although older than me, such as the local teacher, but how should I put it? Everyone needs to be looked after. So I hope I can correct myself a bit.

Narrative 5

Q 5.1 所以我觉得做汉办老师可能是一个最佳途径，因为我可以保留国内的工作，然后又可以到这里来，更多地了解别人，然后可以让自己的英语再提高一步，毕竟学语言的人他总想到这个目的语国家，再来实实在在地感受一下。

So I think to become a Hanban teacher is the best way. Because I can retain the job in the home country, as well as coming here and getting to know more about other people. Then I can improve my English more. After all, one who is learning a language would always prefer to come to the country of the target language and experience it by himself.

Q 5.2 很忐忑，一方面是对能否胜任国外工作的疑虑，另一方面是对国内家庭的牵挂。对于前者，课堂教学我是很有信心的，主要是担心能否和英方同事沟通良好。后者也许是最需要处理好的，也是最需要孔院帮助的。

Very uneasy, on the one hand, I doubt if I can do the overseas job well. On the other hand, I am concerned about the family in my home country. As to the former, I am very confident about the classroom teaching. The major worry is whether I can communicate well with the British colleagues. The latter might be the area I need to deal with well, where I might also need most help with from CI.

Q 5.3 所以，我有疑问的话，我们两个人会商讨。安排老师，一个新，一个旧。如果没有这个王老师，我可能适应的时间不是说两周三周就能适应，我可能要两个月、三个月你才会真正的发现一些问题。因为我的一些感受就是她原来的一些感受，然后她是怎么处理的。他会跟我说，然后我也会努力向她学习。

So, if I have doubts, we would discuss. To deploy teacher, one new, one old. If without this Miss Liu, I would not have been able to get used to this in a mere two to three weeks, I would have needed two months or three months to realise the problems. Because the feelings I have now are the feelings she had before. Then she will tell me what she did and I will be dedicated to learning from her.

Q 5.4 比如说教初中的起始部分肯定就是全英文教学，那你可能学到高的部分，你讲语法呀，可能是要用中文教学了，因为再用英文的话更加麻烦。所以我们一般情况下，讲语法是用中文的，但是其他的基本上全部是用英文。尽量用英文。

For example, for the beginners in the junior high school, it is certainly to teach them all in English. When you reach a higher level, when you lecture grammatical points, you might need to use Chinese instruction, because if still using English, it will only

be more troublesome. So generally speaking, we would use Chinese to lecture the grammatical points. But for other parts, we basically only use English. Using English as much as possible.

Q 5.5 的确得用英语组织课堂教学，否则是比较困难的。我觉得这也是，如果我要在这里继续任教下去我最需要主攻的方向，就是怎么样尽量多地去输出中文。但是又把课堂教学很好地组织下去。

Indeed, I have to use English to organise the classroom teaching. Otherwise it will be rather difficult. I think, this is also, the main area I should work on if I want to continue working here. That is how to increase the Chinese input but at the same time to organise the classroom teaching well.

Q 5.6 我们起始年级全部用英文上，学生照样也兴致很高，他会跟着老师的思路走。

We taught the beginner year all in English. Students still got high spirits and they would follow ideas of the teacher.

Q 5.7 所以我到这儿碰到的一个困惑就是他们的学生就是如果我全用中文教学的话，我也不敢尝试，我也不敢去尝试。因为我怕尝试的话，万一因为他们学生的升学压力是比较大的，但是我非常希望能够全英文 / 全中文教学。因为你可以通过体态语言，通过周围的环境调动他们的思维去理解去思考，而不是直接用英文 / 中文交给他们。但是现在好像，至少从我们这条线来看，他是比较主张课堂教学用英文组织，内容教学是用中文组织，但是我觉得这个时间有点可惜，你毕竟这个中文的呈现量还是少了点。

So one of the points of confusion I come across is, with those students, that is, if I teach all in Chinese, in fact I am still afraid of trying out, because I worry if I try it out, and it turns out that the students' academic pressure is rather high. But I very much hope I can teach all in English, /all in Chinese. Because you can stimulate their mind to understand and to think through body languages and the surrounding environment. Rather than teaching them in English/ Chinese directly. But now, it seems, at least from our line (of the practice), he advocates more about organising the classroom teaching in English and organising the content knowledge in Chinese. But I think the time is a bit wasted. After all the amount of Chinese displayed there is a bit too little.

Q 5.8 再一个就是自己英语的水平还是欠缺的，因为他这里的课，好像学生的英语跟我们平常的英语是不一样的，我特别发现小孩儿的英语跟我们平常的英语是不一样的。包括跟我们国内的英语更加不一样。所以我觉得真的要跟学生顺畅地交流，那可能自己的英语水平真的还是需要提高。可能接下去我的努力方向就是自己的英语水平再提高吧。这个英语水平不是指国内我们学到的英语，而是学生他们所使用的一些英语。

Another issue is that my English level is still lacking. Because in the classes here, it seems that students' English is different from our usual English. In particular, I found the children's English here is different from our everyday English, and especially different from the English in our home country. So I think if I really want to communicate smoothly with students, then, I might really need to improve my English level. Next the direction of my endeavour might be to improve my English level. This English level does not refer to the English we learnt in my home country, rather, it is the English that students use.

Q 5.9 所以像我的话有时候也有意识地向学生去请教。到底这个你们是怎么说的之类的。他们教给我的词可能跟我们在学校里从课本上学到的词都不一样。但是如果你能用学生的语言去跟他们交流，他们可能会觉得跟老师之间的距离会更小一点。

So like myself, sometimes, I would deliberately ask students for help. Such as 'how do you say this'. The words they taught me might be different from what we learnt from the text book back in school. But if you could communicate with the students in the language they speak, they might feel less distanced with the teacher.

Q 5.10 这么多年教学，也就是今年在英国，觉得不能用目的语来教目的语，我觉得还是挺困惑的一件事儿。但是因为这边整个环境是这样，也不敢轻易地进行尝试。真是这样。

For all those years' teaching, it is only this year in the UK that I feel I cannot teach TL in TL. I still feel it is something rather confusing. But because the whole environment here is like this. I still do not dare trying it out easily. It is very true.

Narrative 6

Q 6.1 ……老师本人一定要爱学生，爱教育，才能从某种程度上感染学生……

...A teacher should love students and love education, then they can have positive influence on students...

Q 6.2 所以我对自己的定位就是如果以后不管是在国内还是在国外，能够在教师培训方面如果我能有一些发展啊，我觉得挺好。而且我也想在多积攒一些经验。因为毕竟现在从我一一年开始教书，到现在也就三年，才三年经验还比较浅。

So my orientation is that, if in future, whether at home or abroad, if I could have some development in the teacher training, it will be very good. Also, I want to gain more experience. Because after all it has only been three years since I started teaching in 2011. Three years' experience is still relatively shallow.

Q 6.3 我觉得我在这一方面比较有优势的就是我来过这边上学，就是跟人交流沟通，我觉得我的听力和口语能够很清楚地很明白地表达我自己。也能够清楚地明白了地明白那个老师要我做什么。

I feel I have some advantage in this aspect that I have studied here. That is when communicating with people, I feel through my listening and speaking, I can express myself very clearly. Also I can understand very clearly what the teacher wants me to do.

Q 6.4 其实回国以后在很多时候也是，只要你，不管是在这儿还是在中国吧，你跟同事的相处，还有你跟人的相处，你只要与人为善、真诚待人，然后能帮忙的地方我们就多帮忙，真就应该是与人相处最基本的吧。

In fact, a lot of the times after going back to my home country, actually, whether it is here or in China, to get along with the colleagues or to get along with people, you only need to be kind and sincere with people, and where we can help we should help more. This should be the most basic principle when getting along with people.

Q 6.5 当时我在这边教汉语的时候，就是我觉得你能够做，你能够做到那么只要一点点就让某个人或者某几个人对中国有一定的了解，对我们的文化，对我们的语言都有一些了解的话，其实其实可以化解很多东西。像因为我们就像这个民间的这种，民间的这个大使一样嘛，算是。

When I was teaching Chinese here, I felt if you could, if you could do just a little bit, to let one person or several people to know something about China, to know

something about our culture and language, in fact, it can solve many issues, because, we are kind of like the 'non-official ambassador'.

Q 6.6 那个当时她给我们的建议很有用，但是你没有处在那个阶段，就是你没有去尝试过是怎么样去教，所以这个意识就只是停留在这个“知道”的阶段。就只是知道，你还没用到这个知识，我觉得现在是真的用到了这些知识。

At that time, she gave us very useful suggestions. But you had not reached the stage, and you had not tried out how to teach. So the ideas only stayed at the stage of 'knowing'. It was only 'knowing'. You had not used this knowledge in practice. I feel now I am really using the knowledge.

Q 6.7 在上海培训的时候我们接受到更多的，他们也会跟我们说，各个专家呀，或者说我们试讲的时候尽量多说汉语，但是我觉得这是在一一定的程度或者一定的前提下，有一些学生你要是多说汉语，有的汉语他是听不懂的，你必须要想到，我觉得这个需要一定经验的积累才能够知道，哪一部分或者那一些汉语是你可以多说，或者你一说他们就能够明白。

During the Shanghai training, what we received more was, they also would tell us, each expert, or when we were doing the trial teaching, that we should speak Chinese as much as we could. But I feel this is to a certain degree or under a certain preconditions. If you speak too much Chinese, some students can't understand them all. One must consider this. I think this needs a certain accumulation of experience until you know which part or what Chinese you can speak more, or that as soon as you say it they can understand.

Q 6.8 就是不要期待啊，不要期待太高让外国人跟你关系多么好。或者说你给人家送了礼物啊，或者什么你要求回报啊什么的。我觉得这点是……就就……也是我之前讲的文化差异。就他跟你。

That is to not have expectation, do not expect too high that foreigners would form a very good relationship with you. In other words, if you send other people gifts, do not expect any returns. I think this is, err...err...this is the cultural difference as I discussed earlier. Between them and you.

Chapter 6

Q 7.1 (Extract 1)

……对能否胜任国外工作的疑虑……对于前者，课堂教学我是很有信心的，主要是担心能否和英方同事沟通良好。后者也许是最需要处理好的，也是最需要孔院帮助的。

... I doubt if I can do the overseas job well...I am very confident about the classroom teaching. The major worry is whether I can communicate well with the British colleagues. The latter might be the area I need to deal with well, where I might also need most help from CI...

Q 7.2 (Extract 2)

…… 其实就是不停地碰壁，不停地碰壁……

... Actually it was constantly hitting the wall, constantly hitting the wall...

Q 7.3 (Quotation 1)

…… 志愿者能从国家发展战略的高度看待汉语国际教育事业,把志愿者项目的意义与自己的理想紧密地联系起来,愿意为这个事业奉献自己的青春。这种理想至上、甘于奉献的光荣感、使命感和责任感对当代年轻人来说显得尤为可贵……

...Volunteers can view the international Chinese education from the height of the national development strategy. They closely link their ideals to the meaning of the Volunteer Project. Also, they are willing to dedicate their youth to this enterprise. It is particularly valuable for the contemporary young people to have the sense of honour, sense of mission and sense of responsibility by upholding the ideals and being willing to sacrifice...

Q 7.4 (Quotation 4)

……汉语教师还肩负着传播汉语和中国文化的重任……

... Chinese teachers are also shouldering the responsibility of promoting Chinese language and culture...

Q 7.5 (Extract 3)

那关于生活这一方面的感受，我的理解是要尽可能地多使用英语跟本地人交流，增加与他们相处的机会和时间。但是到现在为止，我发现这一点还是比较难，因为我是自己住在一个 flat 里面，我除非自己主动地去创造机会认识本地人。否则的话，我一天到晚地待在自己的房间里，足不出户，那我的英语我觉得提高的可能性也很小。

In regards to living here, my understanding is that I should communicate with the locals more in English and increase the opportunities and time to get to know them. But until now, I still find it is pretty difficult. Because I live by myself in a flat. I should take initiatives and create opportunities to get to know the locals. Otherwise, if I stay at home and do not go out, then the chance of improving my English is very low.

Q 7.6(Extract 5)

我带的有中国的茶叶过来，有时候会喝茶叶。说到这个茶叶，特别好玩儿。我有次带那个中国的茶，带到课堂上去了。然后就有同学特别的，可能他们原来没有见过，问我说，“老师这是什么？怎么看起来这么吓人。”他还告诉我里面有只蜘蛛在里面。我说，“是吗？不是。”我说，“是中国的茶叶，就是 tea leave 什么的。”“哦，但是怎么这么”。就是这个颜色他们接受不了，因为英国的茶嘛，就是 tea bag，然后往里放，然后就这样了，他就觉得不太一样这样子。就说到这个茶叶特别好玩儿。我在说这个的时候，有个学生特别好玩儿，就会跟他说，“你这都不知道吗？这是中国的茶叶，我都喝过，挺好喝的。”有一些学生就觉得，“这是什么呀，怎么看起来这么吓人呀，要不要尝试呀”，这种。我就会问他们说，“如果你们对这个茶叶比较感兴趣呀，我可以等到下一次中国俱乐部的时候给你们带来，让你们看看。”也有大概五六个学生吧，他们举手说，“可以可以。”想了解一下这样的。

I bring here some Chinese tea leaves. Sometimes I would drink tea. Talking about the tea leaves, it is very interesting. Once I brought Chinese tea to classroom. Then one student in particular, maybe they have not seen it before. He asked me, 'What is this? Why does it look so scary?' He also told me there is a spider in it. I said, 'Is it? It is not.' I said, 'It is Chinese tea leaves.' 'Ok, but why does the colour...' It is the colour that they cannot accept. Because English tea is tea bag. Then put it inside, then it becomes like this. He thought it was different. Talking about the tea leaves is very interesting. When I was talking about this, another student is very interesting. He said to him, 'You do not even know about this? This is Chinese tea leaves. I had it before. It was delicious.' Some students started wondering, 'What is this? Why does it look so scary? Should I try it?' Like this. Then I asked them, 'if you are interested in the Chinese leaves, I can bring it to you next time when we have Chinese Club class and let you have a look.' About five to six students raised their hands and said, 'Sure! Sure!' They wanted to know more about it.

Appendix 8

Table 5: Matrix of theories

	Theme 1	Theme 2	Theme 3
Narrative 1 Mr Zhou	1. Personal identity (Erikson, 1950) 2. Ideal self, actual self and ought self (Lauriala and Kukkonen, 2005) 3. Social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) 4. Communities of practice (Wenger, 1998)	1. Performativity (Ball, 1993) 2. Identity as a nexus of multimembership (Wenger, 1998)	1. Communities of practice (Wenger, 1998)
Narrative 2 Mr Wang	1. Investment (Norton, 2000)	1. Personal identity (Erikson, 1950)	1. Identity as pedagogy (Morgan, 2004)
Narrative 3 Miss Wu	1. Investment (Norton, 2000)	1. Communities of practice (Wenger, 1998)	1. Performativity (Ball, 1993) 2. Normality (Foucault, 1982) 3. Communities of practice (Wenger, 1998)

<p>Narrative 4 Miss Qian</p>	<p>1. Communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) 2. Social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1986)</p>	<p>1. Personal identity (Erikson, 1950) 2. Communities of practice (Wenger, 1998)</p>	
<p>Narrative 5 Miss Li</p>	<p>1. Communities of practice (Wenger, 1998)</p>	<p>1. Personal identity (Erikson, 1950) 2. Expert novice (William, 2010) 3. Self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977)</p>	
<p>Narrative 6 Miss Zheng</p>	<p>1. Second language identity (Benson et al.,2013) 2. Communities of practice (Wenger, 1998)</p>	<p>1. Personal identity (Erikson, 1950) 2. Substantial identity (Nias, 1989) 3. Communities of practice (Wenger,1998)</p>	