《論　文》

言語教師のアイデンティティとエイジェンシーについて：CLIL実践者の場合

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Exploring Language Teacher Identity and Agency: The Case of a High School CLIL Teacher

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キーワード

language teacher identity (LTI), language teacher agency (LTA), content and language integrated learning (CLIL)

Introduction

In the literature on language teacher education, the topic of language teacher identity (LTI) has gained increasing attention, as evidenced by the publication of a comprehensive compilation of work on LTI (Barkhuizen, 2017) and two top-tier journals featuring special issues on the topic (*TESOL Quarterly*, 2016; *Modern Language Journal*, 2017). Kayi-Aydar (2019b) argues that LTI studies have demonstrated the multidimensional aspects of LTI, based on a variety of different theoretical perspectives and contextual realities, rejecting a monolithic view of LTI, in order to understand better the nature of language teachers. She also notes that LTI study has highlighted the decision-making process of language teachers, including the agentic activity in their identity construction, suggesting a further focus on issues related to language teacher agency (LTA). In fact, identity studies have investigated such agentic actions both in terms of language learners (e.g., Norton Peirce, 1995) and language teachers (e.g., Saito, 2005), in order to resist dominant discourses, power dynamics, and hierarchies, and explore the subjects' cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity in their social context. Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) therefore insist that identity research should focus on the identity's link to an individual's professional agency within a community, rather than looking at identity as an isolated object, to properly understand the interplay between identity construction and the social context.

As Ruohoite-Lythy (2013) notes, constructing a positive sense of identity is indispensable for teachers' self-esteem and self-efficacy. However, researchers have yet to deeply explore LTI and LTA issues in the Japanese context. In order to further investigate the relationship between LTI and LTA, then, this study, using a phenomenological case study approach, focused on how Makoto (pseudonym), a

Japanese high school English teacher, constructed his identity across time and space. The two-fold goal of the study was to explore, through analysis of the lived experience of the participant, how his identity construction interacted with his agency—specifically his ability to make choices and decisions; and how and why the observed shifts in his teaching practice occurred, from teaching at a high school with educationally challenged students to actively engaging in executing model CLIL (content and language integrated learning) lessons, open to the public, at an international high school. His narrative reveals that his identity construction clearly interacted with his agentic activity, which was both individual, in being based on his past experience, desires, and motivations; and collective, in being contextualized within the available support networks. In addition, it highlights the dynamic nature of language teacher identity and agency in relation to the complex interplay, in the social context, of micro- (CLIL practices), meso- (the school environment), and macro- (language policies and ideologies) level factors. The study's results offer insights for in-service and preservice language teachers, as well as language teacher educators.

Language Teacher Identity

In terms of theoretical frameworks, sociocultural approaches, such as community of practice (e.g., Lave & Wenger, 1991; Tsui, 2007; Wenger, 1998), positioning theory (e.g., Kayi-Aydar, 2019d; Morton, 2016; S⊘reide, 2006), and Vygotskian sociocultural theory (e.g., Lantolf & Pavlenko, 1995), have been prominent in the literature. However, the majority of recent identity research appears to be influenced by poststructural approaches (e.g., Aneja, 2016; Barkhuizen, 2016; Huang & Varghese, 2015; Ilieva, 2010; Kayi-Aydar, 2015, 2019c; Pavlenko, 2002; Zheng, 2017). Kayi-Aydar (2015a) argues that "the poststructural identity is multifaceted, dynamic, a site of struggle, and shaped by power relations between the individual and others" (p. 138). In a similar way, Varghese et al. (2005) outline a plausible theoretical exploration of identity: "(1) Identity as multiple, shifting, and in conflict; (2) Identity as crucially related to social, cultural, and political context; and (3) Identity being constructed, maintained, and negotiated primarily through discourse" (p. 35). Aneja (2016) also remarks that "individuals' identities are dynamic and encompass individual agency and the local and community context, as well as connections to global discourses and ways of making sense of the world" (p. 574).

Drawing on Weedon's (1987) conception of subjectivity, Norton's (2013) seminal work advances the claim of poststructuralist theory, that language serves to construct our sense of ourselves, and that identity is multiple, a site of struggle, and changing over time and space. She notes that poststructuralist theory has led her to define identity as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands the possibility for the future" (p. 4). In her 2017 article, she further notes that language teachers must deal with power relations in the classroom, and understand the possibilities and limitations in their teaching environment; and that "the very multiplicity of identity can be productively harnessed in the interests of more productive language teaching" (p. 81).

Applying Norton's definition of identity to

language teachers, Barkhuizen (2016) proposed the following theorization:

> I theorize language teacher identity as cognitive, sociohistorical, and ideological. In other words, they are constructed both inside the teacher and outside in the social and material world. They are also imagined in future worlds. Language teacher identities are multiple, and they change, short-term and over time – discursively in social interaction with teacher educators, learners, other teachers, administrators, and the broader community, and in material interaction with spaces, places, and objects in classrooms and institutions (p. 659).

This characterization rejects any singular categorization or essentialist self in describing language teacher identity, and instead highlights its multidimensional nature within the framework of contextual, cultural, and sociopolitical issues. This theoretical stance also informs Makoto's understanding of identity construction, who considers himself to possess multiple identities informed by his agentic actions in relation to the social and material world over time and space.

Language Teacher Agency

Kayi-Aydar (2019b) outlines three theoretical frameworks for the notion of agency: sociocognitive theory, ecological perspectives, and positioning theory/poststructuralism. Bandura (2000) notes that sociocognitive theory adopts an agentic perspective in which individuals are the products and producers of their environments, and that belief in personal efficacy is the foundation of human agency. Bandura (2001) further argues that sociocognitive theory distinguishes among three forms of agency, by means of which people can exert control over the nature and quality of their lives: "direct personal agency, proxy agency that relies on others to act on one's behest to secure desired outcomes, and collective agency exercised through socially coordinate and interdependent effort" (p. 1).

In the educational context of the ecological perspective, Toom, Pyhältö, and Rust (2015) claim that "teachers' professional agency is not a fixed disposition of an individual teacher, rather it is constructed situationally in relation to the current context and past personal experiences"; and that "environments that promote active participation and belonging also promote the construction of professional agency" (p. 616). In support of this claim, Kayi-Aydar (2019b) suggests that teachers' situationally constructed agency is developed through their own inner dialogical thinking and outer dialogues with others in their educational contexts. Thus, in the ecological approach, Priestly, Biesta, and Robinson (2015) argue that teacher agency is a situated achievement, "an emergent phenomenon within existing cultures of thinking, working, and doing, and on wider structural issues" (p. 35).

Kayi-Aydar (2019b) describes positioning theory in the following manner:

> Positioning theory is about understanding how rights and duties are distributed in conversations and narratives among individuals. In and through discourse, individuals assign positions, which are known as clusters of rights and duties, to themselves and others, a process called positioning. The nature of agency or one's agentic moves in talk can be understood through positioning (p.13).

Kayi-Aydar argues, further, that there is a strong relationship between positioning/positions and agency, which is complex, mutually shaped, and unpredictable, typical of the complexity of power relations in poststructuralism. Thus, for example, even though individuals may be assigned similar positions, they may exert their agency in different ways. Agentic teachers, for instance, may challenge hierarchical discourses through the subject positions available to them.

In light of the abovementioned three theoretical models, Kayi-Aydar (2019b) defines LTA as "a language teacher's intentional authority to make choices and act accordingly in his or her local context" (p. 15), noting that (1) LTA is both individual and collective (Bandura, 2000, 2001; Hökkä et al, 2017; Toom et al., 2015); (2) LTA is influenced by the environment, as language teachers' context and discourse may promote or prevent their agentic actions; (3) language teachers' teaching and linguistic competencies shape their LTA in relation to the power dynamics of discourse; (4) LTA is shaped by teachers' past language learning experience, contemporary practice, and future goals; and (5) the complexity of LTA is expressed through actions, emotions, identities, and discourse.

The link between identity and agency has been further discussed in recent language teacher education studies. Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate (2016), for instance, explore the notion of identity-agency, claiming that "agency is the capacity to use experiences and participation in the development of professional identity", and that "individuals are active in using agentic experiences in the making of their professional identity" (p. 319). Toom et al. (2015) also suggest that professional agency and identity are connected through teachers' ideals, goals, commitments, and ethical standards related to their teaching; and that "the construction of professional agency is clearly understood as a complex, continuous and future-oriented negotiation process between identity and contexts where they work" (p. 619). A common feature of LTI, LTA, and the relationship between them is context dependency, which is complex in nature. In order to better understand this complexity, the next section introduces the transdisciplinary framework developed by the Douglas Fir Group (2016).

A Transdisciplinary Framework for LTI and LTA

The complex contextuality of LTI and LTA is similar to the transdisciplinary framework articulated by the Douglas Fir Group (2016) in characterizing second language acquisition (SLA).

This framework conceives of language learning and teaching as a complex phenomenon characterized by three interrelated dimensions of social context: a micro level of social activity, a meso level of sociocultural institutions and communities, and a macro level of ideological structures (see Figure 1). It further considers language learning and teaching as identity work, and suggests that agency and transformative power are both means and goals for language learning and teaching. The framework is equally useful for capturing the multifaceted and transdisciplinary nature of both LTI (De Costa and Norton, 2017) and LTA (Kayi-Aydar, 2019b) research, in relation to a multilingual and globalized context.

In the micro-level context of the classroom, language teachers exert their agentic action in their pedagogical practice,

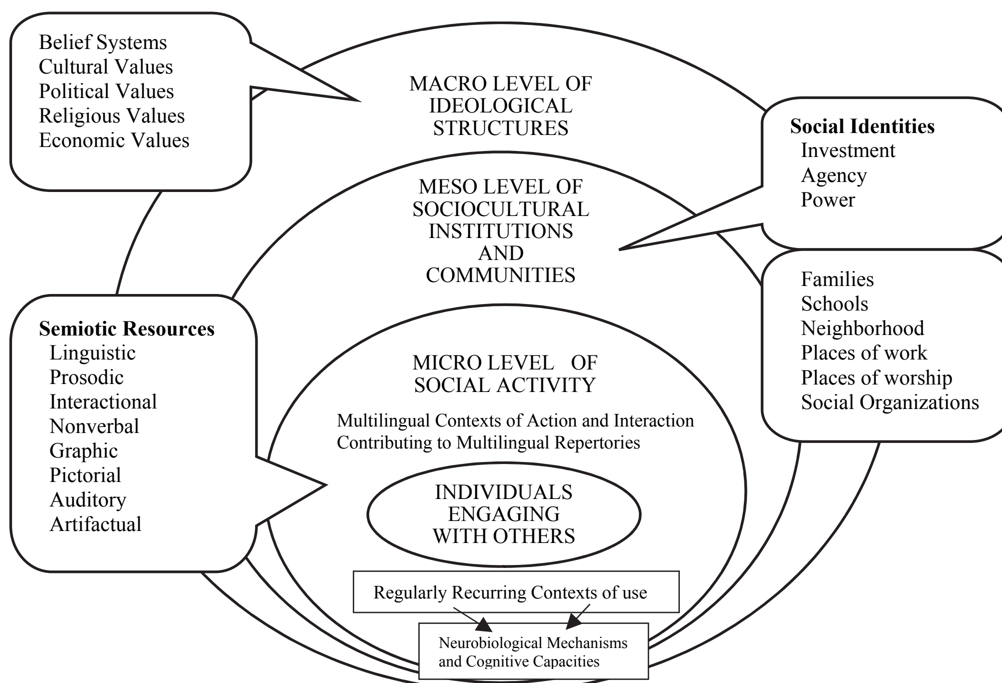

Figure 1. The multifaceted nature of language learning and teaching. Adapted from “A Transdisciplinary Framework for SLA in a Multilingual World,” by the Douglas Fir Group, 2016, *Modern Language Journal, 100* (Supplement 2016), p.25. Copyright 2016 by the Modern Language Journal.

classroom management, and relationship with their students, based on their cognition, knowledge, experience, beliefs, and values, in order to construct their professional identity. On the meso level of the school environment, language teachers make decisions in response to the expectations and needs of school culture, policies, rules, relationships with school administration, colleagues, students' parents, and other school-related factors, all of which typically involve power dynamics. On the macro level of broader societal contexts, LTI and LTA are both influenced by language policies and ideologies, societal norms, religious values, globalization, and other societal issues, which also typically involve power dynamics. In addition, Norton (2017) states that “the Douglas Fir Group holds that it is often only when the semiotic resources of learners – and we will argue, teachers – at the classroom interaction level (micro) are valued by the school (meso) and society (macro) that optimal language learning and teaching results are obtained” (p. 85). Thus, investigating LTI and LTA issues in different contextual layers is indispensable for understanding the diversity and complexity of the factors that shape language teachers' agentic action in their identity construction.

Methods

Participant and Setting

Makoto (pseudonym), the participant in this study, is a Japanese English teacher in the Kantō Region of Japan. He is in his late 50s, with more than 30 years of experience teaching English at prefectural high schools in this region, where he was born and grew up. His first language is Japanese, and he began learning English when he was in junior high school. After completing a BA in linguistics, with a teacher's certificate, he passed a prefectural employment examination for high school English teachers, and formally joined the teaching profession. He gained his first overseas experience around 30 years of age, as an exchange-program teacher in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for a month and a half. Currently, as a prefectural high school teacher in the Kantō Region in Japan, he is a member of the Institute for Research in Language Teaching, the Japan CLIL Pedagogy Association, and the Institute of International Education.

I first met Makoto in 2018, when he made a presentation about CLIL and jigsaw activities based on cooperative learning, at a study meeting for English education. I recall that in the question-answer session after his presentation, one participant harshly criticized the CLIL framework, noting the lack of statistical verification of its effectiveness. After the study meeting, I talked with Makoto, who seemed disappointed and frustrated with this criticism, saying, "We can do it if we try!" We exchanged name cards, and soon after, I received an email inviting me to attend his CLIL model lessons at his high school, which were open to the public. Unfortunately, my work schedule prevented my attendance, but I was highly impressed with his passion for English education and active engagement in open classes, especially given how busy high school teachers are in Japan, with their typically heavy load of extra-curricular responsibilities. I also learned that Makoto was an active member of the Institute for Research in Language Teaching, vigorously promoting communicative model English lessons for secondary school teachers.

I chose Makoto as the participant in this case study because his agentic action and passion for English education naturally prompted the question: How did he construct his identity as an English teacher through his struggles across time and space? His active engagement in executing open classes was especially remarkable because, in my experience as a high school teacher, most teachers dislike being observed by an audience during their lessons. Merriam (1998) contends that a subject case is a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries, and could be a person such as a student, teacher, or principal, who is selected on the basis of typicality, uniqueness, and success. Merriam further notes that such a case "might also be selected because it is intrinsically interesting; a researcher could study it to achieve as full an understanding of the phenomenon as possible" (p. 28), and in so doing, "the researcher aims to uncover the interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon" (p. 29).

Therefore, a case-based exploration of the interaction between significant factors characteristic of Makoto's identity and agency may not only make a significant contribution to the literature, but also offer in-depth understanding of the conception of LTI and

LTA. At the same time, I hope this study may offer insights for Japanese in-service and preservice English teachers, as well as teacher educators.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data in the study was obtained through three iterative interviews with the participant. Merriam (1998) states that "interviewing is probably the most common form of data collection in qualitative studies in education" (p. 70), and "the best technique to use when conducting intensive case studies of a few selected individuals" (p. 72). In order to understand the lived experienced of a small number of people, Seidman (2013) developed a series of three in-depth phenomenological interviews, each with a specific purpose. The first asks the participant to narrate his or her personal history relative to the topic, from the past to the present (focused life history). The second reconstructs the details of the participant's current experience of the topic (contemporary experience). The third asks the participant to reflect on the meaning of his or her experience (reflection on the meaning) – "the intellectual and emotional connections between the participant's work and life" (p. 22).

After obtaining permission, I visited Makoto's current high school three times in 2019, in order to conduct the interviews. In the same year, I attended his open English class to observe his CLIL lesson practice, which observation complemented the data gained in our three interviews. Each interview was conducted in Japanese, lasted roughly 70 minutes, and was audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim for analysis.

I first read each transcript without coding, in order to gain a holistic view of Makoto's past and present experience, future goals, and narrative elements relevant to the study' aims. I then coded all the interview data, extracting and identifying instances of identity construction, negotiation, and agentic action related to identity, in order to create categories. In this phase, I also considered how Makoto positioned himself in relation to his environment and me, his interlocutor, in order to understand the identity positions he constructed for himself and others in his narrative accounts, and how these positions supported or limited his ability to act in his narratives. Through continuous comparison, refinement, and revision of the categories, with multiple layers of analysis, I eventually grouped them in terms of several themes, which are described in the following section. Finally, in writing up the study, I translated particularly salient parts of the interviews into English.

Findings

Constructing Identity as a High School English Teacher

Makoto is a prefectural high school teacher, hired by the prefectural government in the in the Kantō Region in Japan. As one of the educational polices of the prefectural board of education, high school teachers must transfer to other schools every few years until retirement age. The board assigns new teachers to high schools in the prefecture without the teachers' input, but from then on teachers can make requests for specific transfers to other schools. In Makoto's case, he first worked, for 11 years, at a newly established high school for students of the lowest academic ability. Then, he transferred to a municipal high school for students of

average academic ability, and worked there for 12 years. Then, he applied for a high school with a foreign language curriculum, where he has worked for 12 years.

It was during his twelfth year at this latter high school that I interviewed Makoto, who remarked, in this connection, "I am the type who works at one school for a long time" (first interview), and "I have never felt uncomfortable with students in my schools. I've enjoyed working at each school and have never thought of transferring to another for negative reasons" (second interview). In Makoto's pedagogical career, then, he worked for at least 11 years at every school in which he was employed. Thus, he positioned himself as a teacher working for one school for a long time, gradually adapting to each teaching environment and not leaving it easily. His position also reflected his agency, which enabled him to construct a positive and solid sense of teacher identity, steadily gained through teaching for a long period at each school, in order to create a foundation for his educational philosophy and teaching skills, which were applicable to every type of school environment.

Teaching at a high school for students with educational difficulties was Makoto's start in the profession. There, he encountered students without textbooks, students who never read aloud in lessons, students who merely hung around in the classroom, student fights, high dropout rates, and the need to visit students' homes to discuss problems with their parents. On the other hand, a majority of the teachers in the school were in their 20s because it was a newly established school; and since such young teachers, including Makoto, had to confront many student problems, they had no choice but to unite in addressing such problems, and thereby developed good working relationships with each other, which demonstrated collective agency. In addition, Makoto was gradually able to form a good relationship with the second- and third-year students who stayed in school. The solidarity among the young teachers, along with this establishment of a good relationship with the upper-year students, made Makoto comfortable enough, even in such a school environment, to work there for 11 years and leave without negative reasons.

During his time at this first school, with its pedagogical challenges, Makoto conceived of English teaching as just one of many teachers' duties, such as academic affairs, student guidance, and homeroom/club activities. However, he was nonetheless able to develop a constructive outlook as a teacher. In response, for example, to my question about how the experience at the first school is reflected in his current experience, Makoto said:

> I learned that establishing a good relationship with students is important for good lessons. [...] Teaching is a living thing. Even if I teach the same content, it changes according to the respective class. So I need to consider the relationship with students at every moment of the lesson. This consideration applies to every level of students. [...] I need to make a lesson according to the specific class. [...] I've always felt that teaching is a living thing since I began in the teaching profession. (second interview)

In the three interviews, the metaphorical expression "teaching is a living thing" was repeated, as was this broader outlook. Based on this outlook, he has continually grappled with innovative ideas of teaching English, such

as oral methodology and CLIL, with ambitious expressions of his originality and ingenuity, in order to improve his teaching skills.

During the period of Makoto's challenging work at the first school, a major impact was made on English education in Japan with the advent of the JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) program, supported by the Japanese government with the aim of promoting internationalization in Japan's local communities. Sponsored by the JET program, starting in 1987, ALTs (Assistant Language Teachers) from English speaking countries began teaching English at local high schools in Japan. At the same time, the prefectural board of education began to hold training sessions for Japanese English teachers, to develop communicative English teaching methods involving ALTs. Given this trend, Makoto felt that "the time had come to speak with foreign teachers in English lessons" (first interview); and he began to think about how to teach English in English, because he had only learnt English based on the grammar-translation method, and had never benefitted from such communicative lessons during his school days. Despite this new consideration, Makoto taught English at his first school solely based on what he had himself learned: the grammar-translation method; especially as, with his then teaching skills, it was not possible to execute English-only lessons among students with so little motivation to study of their own accord.

Given the harsh reality of the pedagogical difficulties there, the limited opportunities and constraints in the school environment, Makoto's agency had every reason to be compromised or restrained. However, he exerted and maintained his agency by seeking extra-curricular opportunities to develop his teaching skills, attending associations and study groups for English education, for example. And as he had no initial idea what relevant associations or groups were available at that time, he used to check the list of such organizations at the end of the English teachers' magazine, and ended up participating in many of these at his own expense on weekends, taking advantage of his residence in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area. Though facing educational hardships, seeking opportunities to improve his teaching skills demonstrated the strength of Makoto's identity as an English teacher and his agency. His passion for developing his teaching skills, along with his love of research in language teaching, are obvious from his narrative:

> Speaking of who I am as an English teacher, I like research in language teaching. I like to observe people's lessons in order to learn and improve my teaching skills with their help. I also like them to watch my lessons to improve my teaching skills. This is my favorite part of being an English teacher, and also the reason why I continue in this profession. That's it. (second interview)

Makoto's endeavor to participate in numerous study groups in English education outside his school paid off when he finally found an association devoted to English education, called the Institute for Research in Language Teaching, which was the ideal answer to his desire to improve his English teaching skills.

Constructing Identity as an English Teaching Practitioner

As aforementioned, for the first 11 years, Makoto positioned himself as a high school English teacher who considered teaching English as just one dimension of his many

teacher duties, including student guidance and advising club activities (which also illustrates his then multiple identities). However, facing the internationalization of local schools and the need to communicate with ALTs in his English lessons, Makoto's agency in seeking an external study group was rewarded with his discovery of the Institute for Research in Language Teaching, which would mark the beginning of a fundamental shift in his identity, toward prioritizing English education in order to improve his English teaching skills. The institute recommends "The Oral Method" for teaching English in English, whose goal is to promote effective means for English teachers to use English in class, which will ultimately enhance their students' use of English in class.

Makoto chose the institute because he found in it a place that offered him every possible help in learning how to teach English. There, he was able to learn practical English teaching skills, not just book-based knowledge. For example, after teaching a lesson in front of institute members, Makoto received critical and frank feedback about what was wrong and how it should be corrected to improve his practical English teaching skills. As part of the institute's pedagogical research, members studied every part of his video-recorded lesson, and analyzed it scrupulously and repeatedly, in order to correct weak points in his practice. Further, he was presented with examples of good lessons, followed by teaching a lesson in front of the members, receiving corrective suggestions, revising and practicing it again by himself, preparing once again, and delivering an improved version before them. Makoto described the institute as "a group of skilled workers", in contrast to other study groups in which members were treated simply as guests or visitors. At the institute, he sensed a profound difference between senior and junior members in terms of their practical English teaching skills, and noticed that appointed research members of the institute were able to receive direct and rigorous instruction from distinguished professors in English education who belonged to the institute.

This strict, craftsmanship-like atmosphere, not merely paying lip service to improvement in practical English teaching skills, helped him mature as an English teaching professional, though some who were dissatisfied with the institution's culture left the group. In time, he was promoted to a researcher from an ordinary member of the institute. His agentic action thus positioned him as a privileged member to receive direct instruction from distinguished professors in English education, and as a model teacher who executed demonstration classes for pedagogical research at an annual institute convention. Makoto reflected on his experience in this manner:

> As I have much experience in demonstration teaching of English and classes open to the public, I am always hard on myself in terms of the quality of everyday lessons. I always try to improve the quality of my teaching, not satisfied with my personal status quo. This has been my habit for 20 years now. Such experience has fundamentally changed me in terms of my attitude toward teaching English lessons. (third interview)

As we can see, Makoto positioned himself as a teaching professional who never cut corners in designing and delivering his lessons. At the same time, it clearly illustrates the shift and

transformation in his identity as an English teaching practitioner. He never forgets the repeated advice of Professor W, a distinguished member of the institute: “Don't give lessons that cannot be shown to others” (third interview).

As aforementioned, after working at the first school for 11 years, Makoto transferred to a municipal high school for students of average academic ability, without educational difficulties, and worked there for 12 years. Since the students there had reasonable academic ability and motivation for learning, and did not have discipline issues, such as interrupting teachers during class, Makoto was easily able to employ the institute's Oral Method for teaching English in English. Indeed, he even had time to improve the method while employing it, and was able to solidify the foundation and basic principles of his English teaching skills during this period.

Currently, one of Makoto's teacher identities is advisor to student teachers, who are basically college seniors. In this capacity, he positions himself as one who provides rigorous instruction to the teachers, in the same manner as he himself was instructed at the institute, in the belief that such instruction will prove most beneficial for their future growth. He makes the student teachers observe his lessons for a week, prepare lesson plans and materials according to his advice, and teach trial lessons in front of him many times, until they can teach well, in order for them to impress the public in their final, open demonstration lessons, which conclude their teaching practice period. Makoto confessed in the interviews, that in the course of this training, some student teachers even break down in tears before him, but he continues undeterred, trusting that they will acquit themselves well in their final demonstration lessons, and complete the teaching practice with a smile.

To improve their teaching skills, Makoto video-records their final demonstration lessons, and, while analyzing the recordings, asks them to reflect on the lessons learned in their teacher training course at college. He comments, “I give student teachers very strict instruction, but I will never make them fail in their final demonstration lessons, and want to prove that even such beginners can teach very well, after designing well-prepared lesson plans and repeated practice” (second interview). This remark demonstrates the strength of his identity as a teaching professional who assumes full responsibility for enabling his student teachers to acquire practical English teaching skills. At the same time, Makoto worries that he is forced to accept some student teachers who have not had enough teaching instruction at college, such as in teaching trial lessons, and suggests cyclical instruction involving (1) adequate teaching instruction in the college teacher training course, (2) practicing what they have learned in college, in a school environment, and (3) reflection on the gap between (1) and (2), to best develop their practical teaching skills.

As aforementioned, in the face of internationalization, Makoto endeavored to construct his identity as an English teaching practitioner through his agentic action in becoming a member of the Institute for Research in Language Teaching, which promotes the Oral Method for teaching English in English. In other words, the professional community for English education played a crucial role in developing Makoto's professional identity. Makoto initially found it

difficult to exert individual agency, because he had no idea how to approach the teaching of English in English when he first became an English teacher. At college, he had majored in linguistics, not English education, and had received English lessons based on the grammar-translation method, not English-only lessons. In this period of internationalization, however, he exercised his agency collectively with the support of the professional community for English education, to develop his practical teaching skills.

Makoto's experience thus appears to support Kayi-Aydar's (2019b) claim that language teacher agency is both individual and collective. Toom et al. (2015) also suggest that agentic teachers have the capability to learn new things at both the individual and community level, "interacting with others as a resource for learning and acting as a support for them" (p. 615). The next section will explore how Makoto's agentic action further developed the practical teaching skills he had acquired at the institute, enabling him to apply the CLIL approach after transferring to a high school with a foreign language curriculum.

Constructing Identity as a CLIL Practitioner

After working at the municipal high school for 12 years, Makoto transferred to a high school with a foreign language curriculum, because he had already experienced working at two high schools with a general curriculum, and wished to administer a foreign language curriculum as an English teacher. Here, he positioned himself as an English teacher concerned with many kinds of issues related to English, such as teaching a class in intercultural understanding, dealing with numerous international exchange programs, organizing overseas placements for his students, and acceptance of overseas students, all typical teacher functions in a high school with foreign studies.

In terms of his practical English teaching skills, through the support of the Institute for Research in Language Teaching, Makoto was able to teach English in English, and integrate communication and content in his English lessons, practices which had been recommended by the institute several decades before the recently enacted policy of the Japanese Ministry of Education, which stated that English classes should essentially be taught in English at the secondary level. In addition, Makoto successfully taught how to relate the content of lessons, and write summaries of this content in English. In addition, he sometimes taught English classes open to the public, which illustrated his outstanding agency in the construction of his professional identity. At the same time, however, he remained dissatisfied with his teaching, and sought means to teach more advanced skills than just retelling and summary writing activities. His dissatisfaction was alleviated when he encountered the CLIL approach, which is characterized by a holistic integration of content, communication, cognition, and culture, with core features that include lower- and higher-order thinking skills, scaffolding, and portfolio assessment. This encounter resulted in a further shift in his focus, from teaching English to teaching how to learn and think in English.

Makoto then positioned himself as the first practitioner of CLIL at a public upper-secondary school in Japan, following this approach in his English classes and conducting numerous classes open to the public, in order

to raise the awareness of English teachers. He benefitted, in this initiative, from cooperation with a university well-known for its English education. Prof. I (pseudonym) of this university and Prof. S (pseudonym) of another university had initiated the CLIL program at the university level, and wished to extend it to the lower- and upper-secondary public school level. In this way, Makoto's agency in implementing CLIL began. In order to improve Makoto's CLIL skills, Prof. I visited Makoto's school, observed his CLIL practice, and noted missing elements, such as cognitive and cultural components, which Makoto had not learned at the Institute for Research in Language Teaching. One of the major achievements of this initiative was the publication of a CLIL text book for Japanese high school students, in cooperation with the university and other high schools with foreign language curriculums, which was a product of their collective agency.

In his attempt to improve the CLIL approach, Makoto benefitted from a top-down project aimed at collaborative learning, launched by the prefectural board of education in cooperation with a university consortium for educational reform. Among other things, this involved a pedagogical approach to active learning, which he thought would support CLIL in terms of enhancing English thinking skills. Since the top-down project was targeted at the overall curriculum, including mathematics, science, and history, which had been previously taught in the students' first language, Japanese, Makoto took agentic steps to overcome the language handicap, and attempted to employ collaborative learning in English, within the CLIL framework. Through trial and error, he was able to create a collaborative learning lesson plan involving jigsaw activities, in which each student in a group exchanged a different piece of information needed to complete a group task in English. Makoto reflected on the design process, saying, "I was not the only one, but teachers who were involved in the top-down project at my school and other schools could work together to develop active learning" (second interview). This collaborative process illustrates the teachers' collective agency in interacting with each other as resources to make decisions, and acting as a support group, in order to succeed in such an ambitious project in response to the government's educational policy initiative. As a result, every year, his school holds open classes and a project-centered forum, in the course of which Makoto teaches demonstration classes, employing active leaning skills within the CLIL framework.

Through such CLIL practice, Makoto found that his students could acquire deeper knowledge and a broader outlook on the chosen topics than when exploring them in Japanese, if they were provided with content that satisfied their intellectual curiosity. He also found that some students could connect the content, such as energy, health, and nutrition issues, to their future career development. He felt that these developments reflected the positive effects of CLIL practice. His efforts to improve his CLIL technique continues, as he seeks to generate more dialogic discourse among his students, such as exchanging opinions regarding topic content in English after jigsaw activities, while increasing and broadening his own knowledge of such content, along with relevant English expressions, to better respond to students' questions. Makoto summarized some of the best and worst moments in his CLIL practice:

> Since the goal of CLIL is to foster students' competency through expressing their own opinions based on the knowledge of content, in order to apply the knowledge to their daily lives, I have a sense of achievement when my students express their own opinions smoothly in improvisational exchanges on topics. The worst moment is when I face an intractable situation, context- or language-wise, and need to use Japanese to overcome the situation. (third interview)

In light of this difficulty, he is especially careful in preparing for each lesson and its related content, to be best equipped to deal with such unexpected and improvisational English exchanges regarding the topic; all of which is different from and pedagogically more difficult than typical English lessons focusing on learning grammar and reading skills. In reflecting on the meaning of CLIL practice, he notes:

> When I was young, I sometimes thought about why and for what purpose I became an English teacher. At that time, I vaguely said to myself, "I like English better than other subjects." But after much experience, I have a clearer answer now, and can tell my students the reason for studying English. [...] My current answer is, "we can understand the world better by learning foreign languages, including English. Then we can participate in the creation of a better world, together with people from around the world." I've come to this thought by dealing with many global issues in the course of my CLIL practice. (third interview)

Traditionally, in Japan, passing entrance examinations for university or senior high school has been the greatest motivating force for learning English. However, through the pursuit of effective English teaching, utilizing the CLIL framework, Makoto has positioned himself as an English teacher who can promote his students' global awareness by learning meaningful content in a foreign language, in addition to obtaining good scores on entrance exams or TOEFL/TOEIC tests.

At his current school, Makoto's teacher identities now include being an English teacher, a head teacher for the second-year students, an advisor for student teachers, an assistant advisor for the English drama club, a committee member for several school administration issues, and an official in charge of student enrollment. However, he prioritizes his identity as an English teacher who loves pedagogical research to develop his practical English teaching skills, having been strongly influenced by his encounters with language teaching societies at the turning points in his professional life. He writes, of the construction of identity as an English teacher:

> In terms of one's identity as a teacher, in order to enjoy teaching jobs, or to understand what is important as a teacher, I think three things are important: a desire to improve yourself, originality and ingenuity, and a sense of the best timing for different actions. Without these traits, you cannot enjoy teaching creative lessons. You always need to create new materials for upcoming lessons with a desire to improve yourself. (second interview)

Makoto conceives of these three traits as his philosophy or motto as an English teacher. Keeping these traits in mind, and guided by his belief that "teaching is a living thing", his energetic pursuit of research on effective

English teaching will continue in the future, as he seeks new and innovative ways to gain practical English teaching skills, including his latest CLIL practice.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study explored how an English teacher's identity construction interacted with his agency, his ability to make choices and decisions; including how and why the shifts in his teaching practices occurred, from teaching at a high school with educationally challenged students to regularly demonstrating CLIL lessons open to the public at a high school with a foreign language curriculum.

Makoto's identity construction and agency were context dependent, and in complex ways, for which the aforementioned DFG framework (2016) is useful. At his first school, he used the grammar-translation method in his teaching practice (the classroom at the micro level) at a high school with educationally challenged students (the school environment at the meso level), facing the period of internationalization (in the form of language policies and ideologies for example, at the macro level of the broader community). At that time, he identified himself as an English teacher who conceived of teaching English as just one of many teacher duties. However, the strength of his identity as an English teacher was illustrated in his agentic search for English teaching societies to improve his teaching skills, with the advent of assistant language teachers from English speaking countries, though he had difficulty teaching students with little motivation. Thus, his identity and agency were not static but active and dependent on his social context.

At his second school, Makoto employed the Oral Method for teaching English in English (the micro level) at a high school with average students (the meso level) in the continuing period of internationalization (the macro level). He was able to use the method effectively due to the relatively favorable teaching environment. At that time, the support of the Institute for Research in Language Teaching played a crucial role in constructing his identity as an English teaching practitioner, and his pedagogical priority shifted to focusing on English teaching, among his other teacher duties, as he actively engaged in demonstrating model English lessons to the public as a member of the institute. This shift also manifested the collective agency of the institutional support group.

At his third school, Makoto utilized the CLIL approach in his English lessons (the micro level) at a high school with a foreign language curriculum (the meso level) in the time of globalization, internationalization, and the top-down implementation of active learning (the macro level). Here, he constructed an identity as the first CLIL practitioner at the high school level in Japan, and actively engaged in promoting the CLIL approach to the public through his presentation at a conference for English education, teaching open classes at his school, and the publication of a CLIL textbook. Further, he attempted to integrate CLIL and active learning in the form of jigsaw activities, and participated in collective agency through the available networks, such as professors specializing in CLIL and co-workers from high schools with a foreign language curriculum.

Thus, Makoto's teaching history reveals that his identity construction interacted with his agency, which was both individual and

collective: individual in his strong desire to improve his practical teaching skills, his teaching philosophy, and beliefs; and collective in his interaction with the available support networks, such as those of his colleagues and the specialists from societies for English education. In terms of collective agency, Makoto himself noted that "establishing networks with the relevant people around me is very important to take further action as an English teacher" (second interview). In particular, the publication of a CLIL textbook would not have been possible without the exertion of collective agency. The integration of individual and collective agency appears to be the driving force behind the evolving shifts in his teaching practice, and his public demonstration classes, in each of which the micro, meso, and macro layers of the social context were at play. These findings support Bandura's socio-cognitive theory of human agency, in which the latter is both individual and collective (2000, 2001).

Makoto's current identity as an English teacher is multiple, including a CLIL practitioner in English lessons, advisor for student English teachers, assistant advisor for an English drama club, a committee member in charge of foreign studies, a member of several academic societies for English education, and other roles as an English teacher. His teaching practice is a site of struggle, reflecting his belief that "teaching is a living thing", defined in relation to his students. However, his teaching practice changes over time, through his individual and collective agentic actions. His identity as an English teacher, along with his agency, is discursively constructed in social interaction with the micro, meso, and macro layers of his social context, and in material interaction with numerous entities, facilitated by his residence in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area. Thus, the study's findings also support the theoretical stances of Norton (2013) and Barkhuizen (2016).

In addition, the study has implications for language teachers and language teacher educators. First, teacher education programs should provide teachers with opportunities to study experienced language teachers' narratives, in order to understand the process of becoming teaching professionals, and make the kind of positive changes in themselves that enable innovative language teaching. Second, language teachers and educators should be provided with opportunities to explore language teaching from the broad perspectives of the teaching environment, because language teachers can optimize their language teaching when their semiotic resources at the level of classroom interaction (micro) are valued by the school (meso) and society (macro). Third, it would be desirable for language teachers and educators to belong to language teaching societies that meet their needs for improving their practical teaching skills. Makoto, for example, remarks, "Having access to study groups outside school is important to check my teaching, reflect on it, and improve it" (third interview).

To reiterate, my intention in this study was not to generalize its findings to other individuals, but to obtain an in-depth understanding of Makoto's life story as an English teacher and offer meaningful insights for language teachers and educators. Further research on language teacher identity and agency is needed, such as investigating language teachers who, due to geographical limitations, do not have access to societies for language education.

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