A Cross-Sectional Exploration of EFL Teachers' Emotions, Emotional Labor, and Identity

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21M3203

Tomacder Rapunzel Ordoño

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Abstract

Research on the interconnections between language teacher emotions and identity have proliferated since the "emotional turn" (De Costa, Li, & Rawal, 2019, p. 1) in second language acquisition research. An emergent framework used to understand the emotions and identities of teachers is emotional labor, which is defined as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (Hochschild, 2003, p. 7). Emotional labor has been found to contribute to teachers' emotional exhaustion, attrition, and burnout, and to affect teachers' commitment, job satisfaction, and self-esteem (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Kinman, Wray, & Strange, 2011; Philipp & Schüpbach, 2010). While separate studies on language teacher emotions, identity, and emotional labor have been conducted, literature on the interrelationships among these three concepts has been scarce. Furthermore, research on the affective factors influencing language teachers has largely focused on novice teachers and neglected more experienced teachers (Cowie, 2011). In Japan, researchers have attempted to understand the emotional labor of general education teachers and *eikaiwa* or English conversation teachers (Taylor, 2020; Yarwood, 2020). However, studies on teachers in other work contexts and on more experienced teachers are few in number. This study attempts to fill this gap in the literature by exploring how shifting and multiple contexts shape university EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity at various stages of their careers in Japan. Specifically, this study aims to outline (1) how sociocultural, institutional, and individual contexts influence tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, (2) how the concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity may be interrelated, and (3) how novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identities compare. Following an explanatory sequential research design, this study has gathered quantitative data using The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale (Brown, 2011) and the English Language Teacher

Professional Identity Scale (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021) and qualitative data using semi-structured interview questions. Data was collected in a period of over two months from 35 tertiary-level EFL teachers from various contexts, including university teachers from dispatch companies. This study hopes to contribute to theoretical research on how contextual factors can influence teachers' identities and emotions, and practical discussions of how emotional labor can be reduced in order to improve teacher wellbeing (Mercer & Gregersen, 2020).

Keywords: emotional labor, teacher emotions, teacher identity, teacher wellbeing

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Introduction

Research on language teacher emotions has gained traction only in the last decade (Gkonou, Dewaele, & King, 2020; White, 2018). Prior to this increased interest in emotions, the focus of most second language acquisition (SLA) research has been on cognitive factors which affect language learning. The "emotional turn" (De Costa, Li, & Rawal, 2019, p. 1) in SLA research has paved the way for the investigation of affective or emotional factors which influence language teaching (White, 2018). One of the more current themes in this area of inquiry is emotional labor. Although the pioneering work of Hochschild (1983) conceived of emotional labor as being relevant to the general service industry, more current researchers have used this framework to study language teachers. Emotional labor has been found to contribute to teachers' emotional exhaustion, attrition, and burnout (Kinman, Wray, & Strange, 2011; Philipp & Schüpbach, 2010), and to affect teachers' commitment, job satisfaction, and self-esteem (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Moreover, recent studies have linked emotional labor to teacher identity (Acheson & Nelson, 2020; Nazari & Karimpour, 2022; Schutz & Lee, 2014). Teacher identity has in turn been examined in connection with teachers' career stages (Day, et al., 2007; Huberman, 1993) and teachers' emotions (Song, 2021; Zembylas, 2011). However, while research on language teacher identity (LTI) has been abundant (e.g. Barkhuizen, 2017; Yazan & Lindahl, 2020), literature on the interrelationships among teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identities across different career stages has been scarce.

Following a post-structuralist viewpoint (Benesch, 2018; Zembylas, 2011), emotion and identity are considered non-monolithic concepts which should be examined within shifting and multiple contexts. English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classes in Japanese universities provide a unique setting which amalgamates the broader sociocultural context

of Japanese society, the institutional contexts of tertiary-level educational institutions, and the individual contexts of EFL teachers. This research thesis attempts to explore how multi-level contexts shape EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity at different stages of their careers. Specifically, this study aims (1) to understand how macro-level, meso-level, and micro-level contexts influence the emotions, emotional labor, and identities of EFL teachers in Japanese universities, (2) to analyze how the concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity are interrelated, and (3) to compare and contrast novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identities. This study begins with a review of the literature on the key concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity. A discussion of the methodology follows, particularly of the explanatory sequential mixed methods design (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018) employed in this study. Finally, this research thesis provides its findings from the two survey instruments and semi-structured interview questions utilized in the study, recommendations on further research, and educational implications on how emotional labor can be reduced and on how emotional well-being can be improved among tertiary-level EFL teachers in Japan.

Review of the Literature

The "emotional turn" (De Costa, Li, & Rawal, 2019, p. 1) in second language acquisition has broadened the focus of research from cognitive factors to extra-cognitive factors that shape second language learning and teaching. This shift has highlighted the notion that social and affective factors influence language learning and teaching as much as cognitive factors do. Concepts such as emotion and identity can therefore be considered salient variables that need to be explored in order to gain a deeper understanding of the mechanisms of language learning and teaching. While research on language learners' emotions has been at the forefront of this recent affective or emotional turn, language

teachers' emotions have only started to attract the attention of researchers in the last ten years or so (White, 2018). On the other hand, research on language teacher identity has been steadily increasing in the past two decades (Yazan & Lindahl, 2020).

One concept that has emerged from this area of research is emotional labor. According to Hochschild (2003), emotional labor is "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (p. 7). Even though this concept has its beginnings in the general social sciences, research has shown how emotional labor can inform and be informed by language teacher emotion and identity (Benesch, 2017). Emotion, identity, and emotional labor, in turn, can be influenced by various, interrelated, and shifting macro-level, meso-level, and micro-level contexts. These contexts are sociocultural, institutional, and individual factors which affect multiple aspects of language teaching.

This literature review attempts to unpack several conceptualizations and interrelations of emotion, identity and emotional labor. In particular, this literature review begins with a section on emotion research and on how the differing viewpoints regarding emotion have informed studies on language teacher emotions. This section is followed by an examination of emotional labor as a concept and as a theoretical framework on which a number of studies have been based. Following this section, research on identity and the varying aspects of professional identity and language teacher identity (LTI) is presented. Each of these three sections begins with an exploration of the key definitions and related concepts, which are then followed by seminal work and research in the Japanese context.

Emotion

Emotions have traditionally been conceived of as "feelings" (Reeve, 2018, p. 287), or subjective, individual, and personal aspects of human nature which are not easily

comprehensible. Emotions have been described as complex (Martinez Agudo, 2018), multidimensional (Reeve, 2018), and difficult to define (Fried et al., 2015). The complexity of emotions has been linked to the idea that they are non-objective and are therefore unquantifiable. Moreover, emotions have also been construed (or misconstrued) as the opposite of rationality or the antithesis of cognition, so researchers on second language learning and teaching initially veered away from emotions as a viable area of research (Martinez Agudo, 2018). However, as Hargreaves (1998) has stated, "emotions are at the heart of teaching" (p. 835). Thus, an understanding of teachers' emotions is necessary in further investigating issues of second language teaching.

Similar to Hargreaves (1998), Martinez Agudo (2018) has also highlighted the notion of teaching as an "emotional practice and/or process" (p. 3). He claimed that an examination of the emotionality of teaching would yield insights into how teachers address "emotionally demanding classroom contexts" (p. 3). Therefore, investigating teachers' emotions is an important aspect of second language acquisition research. This section of the literature review delves into the varying conceptualizations of emotion, including the similar but distinct concepts often related to emotions, and the various features and dimensions of emotions. This section also expounds on the varying viewpoints which have shaped research on language teacher emotions. Finally, this section ends with a review of studies on language teacher emotions.

Defining Emotions

Defining emotions is an arduous endeavor. Reeve (2018) pointed to the notion that emotions may seem so simple and easy to detect; however, a straightforward definition is not easy to grasp. Similar concepts such as affect, feeling, and mood have been utilized to describe and distinguish emotions. Affect is typically used as an umbrella term for concepts related to emotions including motivation and anxiety (Griffiths & Soruç, 2020). In second

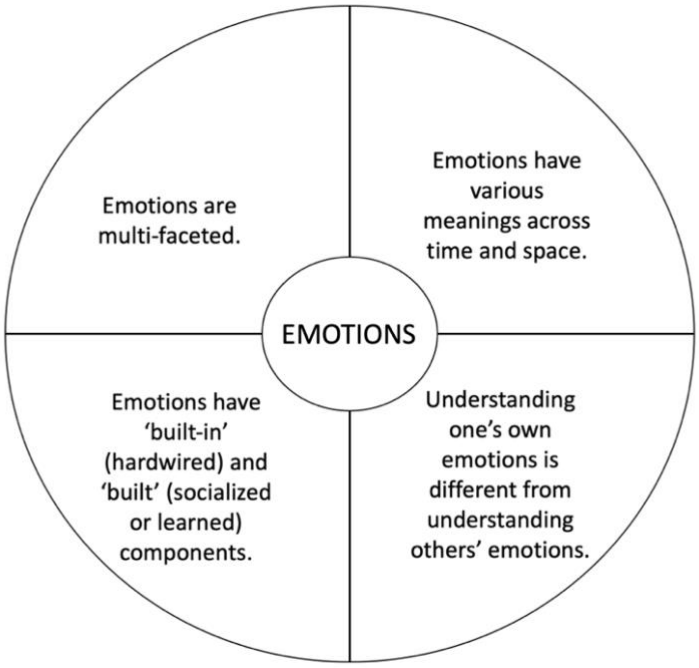
language acquisition research, affect is considered the more general term, and emotions are simply one facet of affect. Feelings, on the other hand, are considered by emotion researchers as the "bodily perceptions and sensations" (Shields & Zawadzki, 2011, p. 2) which occur alongside or as a result of emotions. Mood seems to be the most complex of the three concepts. Shields and Zawadzki (2011) stated that mood is more closely related to an emotional atmosphere with no particular object.

Reeve (2018) further made three distinctions between emotion and mood. First, emotions and moods emerge from different antecedents. While the source of moods is not easy to define and may be unknowable, emotions are caused by significant life events. The second distinction between the two concepts is related to their action-specificity. Moods influence thoughts and cognition. In contrast, emotions affect behavior and may lead individuals to commit particular actions. Finally, emotions and moods vary in their time course. Moods might remain for hours or days. Emotions, on the other hand, seem to arise out of short-term events and fleeting moments lasting only for a few minutes. These distinctions between related concepts such as affect, feeling, and mood provide a glimpse of what emotions are but do not necessarily showcase a solid definition of the concept.

Features of Emotion. Aside from distinguishing emotions from similar concepts, some researchers have endeavored to define emotions by investigating their individual components. Shields and Zawadzki (2011) have attempted to define emotions by looking at their characteristics, which they called the *four features of emotion*. As represented in Figure 1, the four features include: (1) the multi-faceted nature of emotions, (2) the multiple meanings of emotions, (3) the built-in and built components of emotions, and (4) the differences in interpreting emotions.

Figure 1

Four Features of Emotions by Shields and Zawadzki (2011)



Shields and Zawadzki (2011) claimed that emotions are multifaceted because emotions consist of physiological, experiential, and action-oriented aspects. Emotions can be identified through physiological signs and bodily expressions such as tears, raised eyebrows, or drooping shoulders. Furthermore, emotions can also be associated with experiences. For instance, when a loved one passes away, individuals associate the experience with the emotion of grief. When a couple gets married, this experience is often related to love. Emotions can also be action-oriented, that is, emotions can lead individuals to act in certain ways. An angry individual, for instance, could slam the door. An excited individual, on the other hand, can act giddy and jump up and down.

The second feature of emotions is their variety in meaning (Shields and Zawadzki, 2011). Emotions can vary across different time periods and cultures. For instance, love in modern times is mostly related to romance. However, in ancient Greece, love was divided

into four kinds: *storge* or familial love, *philia* or love between friends, *eros* or romantic love, and *agape* or selfless love (Lewis, 1960). Similarly, love can be manifested in several distinct ways across and within different cultures. For instance, in Western cultures, romantic love is traditionally expressed on Valentine's Day when men give red roses and chocolates to women. In contrast, romantic love in Japanese culture can be exhibited by women through making chocolate confectioneries to be gifted to their male object of desire on Valentine's Day. Men, on the other hand, can also exhibit romantic love by a reciprocal gesture of giving sweets to the ladies on White Day the following month. While this gesture of gifting sweets on such holidays can typically be related to positive emotions of closeness and intimacy, negative emotions such as being obligated or pressured can also arise. Friends might give each other sweets on these special occasions because they want to and because they have a bond with their friends. However, co-workers, typically female employees, might also gift their colleagues with confectioneries because this action is expected of them. This example in the Japanese context relates to the important caveat which Shields and Zawadzki (2011) mention: even if post-industrial or modern cultures may have almost similar conceptions and assumptions about emotions, distinct rules and beliefs about who can display and experience emotions and in which situations these emotional displays would be appropriate still exist.

The third feature refers to the built-in or hardwired, and built or socialized or learned components of emotion. Built-in components of emotion consist of functional and structural elements. Built-in functional elements of emotion refer to the effects emotions can have on an individual. For instance, at the physiological micro-level, anxiety can make the individual sweat or shake uncontrollably. On a social macro-level, shared joy can strengthen the bond in relationships. Built-in structural elements refer to the modalities through which emotions can be experienced and expressed. For instance, humans can

physiologically experience emotions through the modality of touch. A hug from a loved one can produce warm emotions such as comfort and joy. Humans can also express emotions verbally, that is, humans can express through words how much they love other humans. In contrast to these built-in elements, the built constituents of emotions consist of how emotions are "conceptualized, represented, and institutionalized within a culture" (Shields and Zawadzki, 2011, p. 1). As previously mentioned, emotions can be impacted by forces outside of the individual. For instance, the idea that emotions are the opposite of rational thinking is a belief about emotions that is institutionalized in most Western societies.

Finally, the fourth feature of emotions refers to the notion that understanding emotions in oneself is different from understanding emotions in others (Shields & Zawadzki, 2011). An individual understands that he or she has particular emotions based on his or her thoughts about and appraisals of a situation. This person can also notice his or her own physiological signs such as his or her heart rate or tightness in the muscles. On the other hand, the same individual perceives emotions in others by looking at their facial expressions or gestures, since they cannot readily access this person's heart rate or other bodily functions. Even if emotions can be expressed or communicated, these signals can also be misread. Furthermore, human beings can choose how to manage their emotions, that is, despite experiencing certain emotions, individuals might choose not to display these emotions and suppress them, instead. This choice of how to handle emotions can be affected by factors outside of the individual's control.

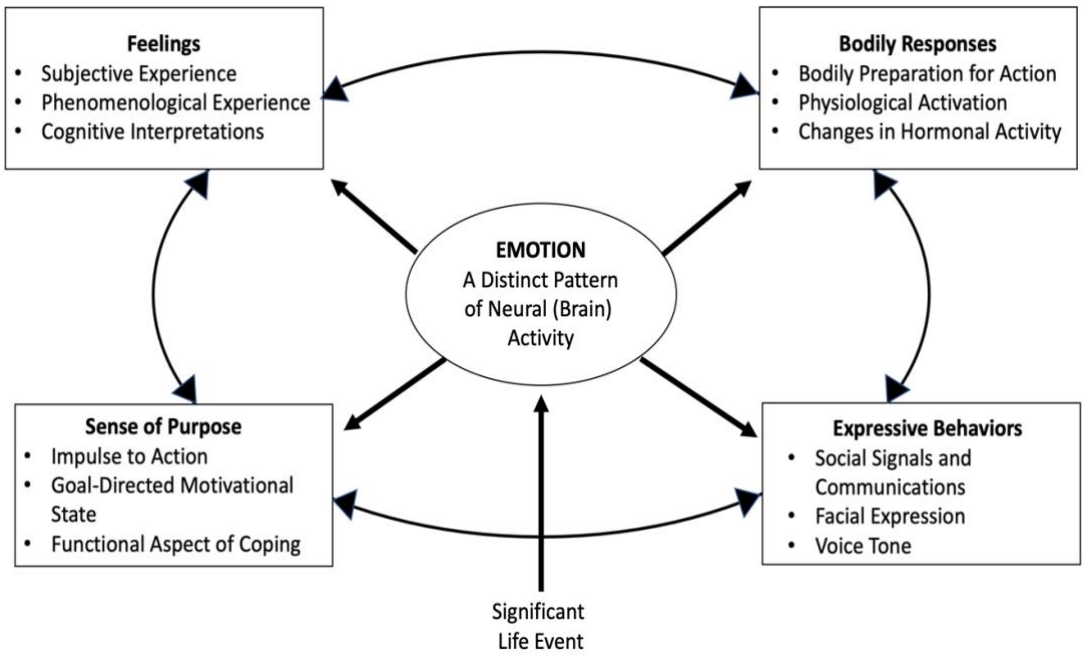
The features of emotion presented by Shields and Zawadzki (2011) provide a comprehensive view of the definitions of emotion currently used in social science research. These features include: (1) the multi-faceted nature of emotions, (2) the multiple meanings of emotions, (3) the built-in and built components of emotions, and (4) the differences in interpreting emotions. These features encompass the individual, as well as the social

aspects of emotion. Both aspects of emotion can also be observed in research on language teacher emotions.

Dimensions of Emotion. While Shields and Zawadzki (2011) provided a broad and extensive review of definitions of emotion used in research, Reeve (2018) provided a more focused definition. Reeve (2018) divided emotions into its four dimensions: subjective, biological, purposive, and expressive. Figure 2 provides a visual representation of this model.

Figure 2

Four Dimensions of Emotion by Reeve (2018)



Note. Adapted from *Understanding motivation and emotion* (Reeve, 2018, p. 288).

Emotions are subjective because they can be characterized as "feeling states" (Reeve, 2018, p. 287). Feeling states lead individuals toward experiencing particular emotions such as joy, sadness, and anger. Emotions are also biological because reactions that arise from

emotions are manifested in the body. For instance, anxiety can lead to increased sweating, palpitations, and stomach problems. Furthermore, emotions can be described as purposive because they may cause individuals to act on particular urges or impulses. Anxiety over an academic paper, for instance, may lead a student to procrastinate. Finally, emotions can be characterized as expressive, or more specifically, "social-expressive phenomena" (Reeve, 2018, p. 287). Emotions are expressions of an individual's inner workings which are manifested in biological signals that can generally be understood by other individuals. In other words, the expressive nature of emotions allows humans to communicate their emotions. These four dimensions constitute the definition of emotion proposed by Reeve (2018): "Emotions are short-lived, feeling-purposive-expressive-bodily responses that help us adapt to the opportunities and challenges we face during important life events" (p. 288).

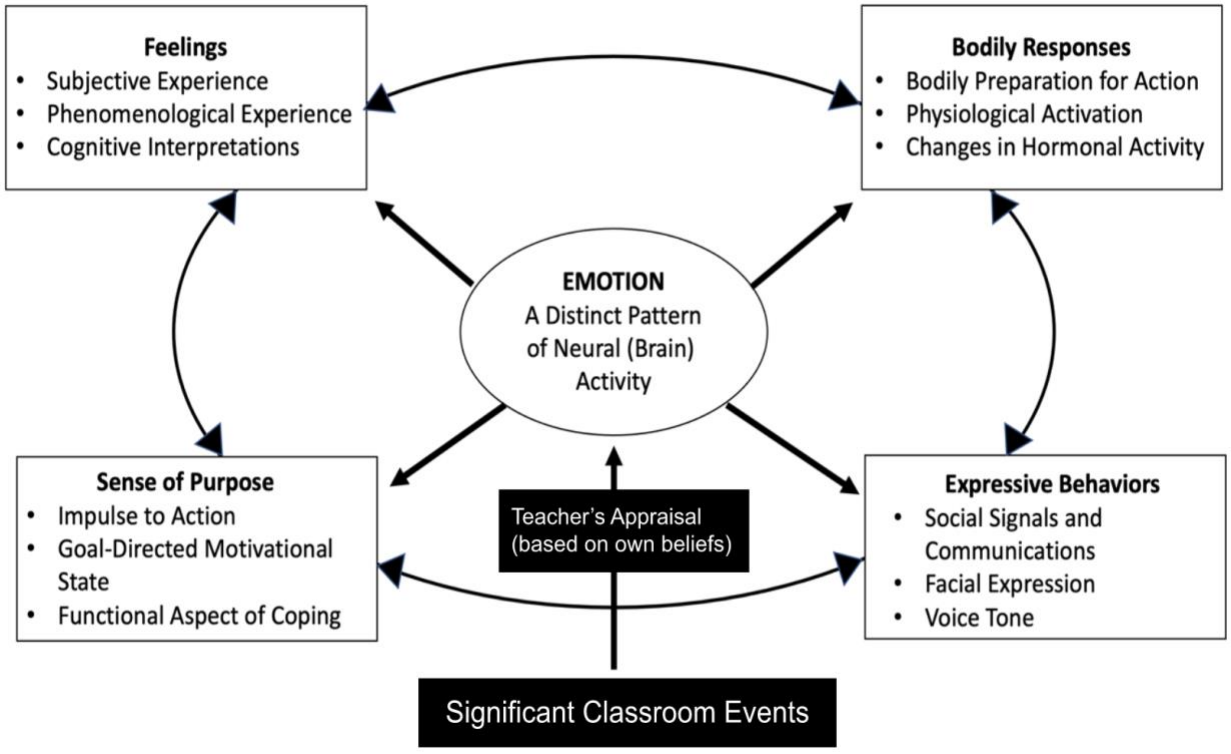
Emotional Episodes

The general definition of emotions proposed by Reeve (2018) can be compared to the concept of *emotional episodes* by Schutz and Lee (2014). Emotional episodes refer to the amalgamation of "cognitive appraisals, physiological responses, affective feeling, and behavioral tendencies" (p. 170) which teachers experience within a socio-historical context. Schutz and Lee (2014) argued that emotional episodes occur as a result of a teacher's judgment toward a particular classroom event. This judgment is based on the teachers' goals, values, and beliefs. For instance, if a teacher believes that a particular activity is important to the class, and the students cooperate with the teacher and with each other, then this ideal situation might induce positive emotions such as pride and joy within the teacher. In contrast, if the students fail to cooperate, the situation might induce negative emotions such as frustration and anger in the teacher. In addition, if the teacher appraises his or her ability to handle the situation and finds himself or herself to be lacking in confidence, negative emotions of embarrassment and shame may arise from such a

classroom event. These appraisals of classroom events which instigate particular emotions in the teacher constitute *emotional episodes*. This definition seems to parallel the conception of emotions forwarded by Reeve (2018). However, while Reeve (2018) focused on emotions in the general populace, Schutz and Lee (2014) explicitly drew the connection between a significant life event and emotions in the context of the classroom, that is, teachers appraise significant classroom events based on their beliefs, and from these appraisals, emotions arise. The modified figure of Reeve's model (Figure 3) illustrates this point.

Figure 3

Emotional Episodes in the Classroom



Note. Modified version of the figure from *Understanding motivation and emotion* (Reeve, 2018, p. 288), incorporating the concept of *emotional episodes* (Schutz & Lee, 2014).

Language Teacher Emotions

Language learning and teaching can be considered "inherently emotional endeavors" (King & Ng, 2018, p. 141). Thus, research on emotional factors which positively or negatively impact language learning and teaching is crucial in second language acquisition research. The history of research on language teacher emotions is largely tied to an increased interest in the affective factors which influence language learners. Earlier studies of language learners' motivations by Gardner and Lambert (1972) and the study of foreign language classroom anxiety by Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) underscored the importance of understanding how extra-cognitive factors shape language learning. Furthermore, the *affective filter hypothesis*, put forward by Krashen (1982), highlighted how language acquisition can be related to the amount of input that can either be facilitated or obstructed by affective variables such as motivation, self-confidence, and anxiety. These early studies underscored the importance of understanding the influences of affective or emotional factors on language learners.

On the other hand, initial research on emotions in language teaching was often subsumed under language teacher anxiety (Xu, 2018). However, language teacher emotions have been proven to be more multifaceted than this initial angle. Research into the various aspects that constitute language teacher emotions began to proliferate in the early 2000's, and along with the rise of sociocultural theory, critical applied linguistics, discourse analysis, and positive psychology in the 2010's, research on language teacher emotions also began to develop (De Costa, Li, & Rawal, 2019). Language teachers' emotions have been shown to be so complex that the term *emotional rollercoaster* (Gkonou, Dewaele, & King, 2020) has been utilized to describe language teaching.

Although research on language teacher emotions can still be considered emerging, studies have gradually become diverse. Compilations of research on teachers' emotions (e.g.

Gkonou, Dewaele, & King, 2020; Martinez Agudo, 2018; Schwartz & Snyder-Duch, 2018) have exhibited a broader range of interests in the field, including teachers' joy (Nair, 2018), motivation (Dewaele, 2020), anger (Martin, 2018), and frustration (Nagamine, 2018). Emotions toward particular pedagogical areas such as Content and Language Integrated Learning or CLIL (Hofstadler, Talbot, Mercer, & Lämmerer, 2020; Meyer, Coyle, Imhof, & Connolly, 2018) and online teaching (Azzaro & Martínez Agudo, 2018; Cook, 2018) have also been investigated. Related concepts such as emotional well-being (Mercer & Gregersen, 2020; Oxford, 2020), emotional competence (Madalińska-Michalak & Bavli, 2018), emotional intelligence (Dewaele, Gkonou, & Mercer, 2018), emotion regulation (Morris & King, 2018), and emotional stress and burnout (Nagamine, 2018; De Costa, Li, & Rawal, 2020) have also been examined. These diverse themes that branched out from research on language teacher emotions can be categorized according to cognitive, social, and post-structuralist or discursive lenses. These developments in language teacher emotion research parallel the various viewpoints which emerged from research on emotions.

Cognitive Approaches. The cognitive view on emotions is closely linked but is not inherently similar to the cognitive approaches which some researchers have assumed in their studies of language teacher emotions. The cognitive view of emotions is focused on the appraisal or evaluation of particular events, that is, emotions arise from an individual's judgment over an episode in his or her life (Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 2014). This view on emotions emerged as a response to the previously dominant biological view of emotions, which posits that emotions are innate and universal, and that physical manifestations are evidence of this innateness and universality (Benesch, 2017). While proponents of the biological view outlined a limited number of emotions, advocates of the cognitivist perspective argued for a limitless number of emotions (Reeve, 2018). Both views focus on the individual who experiences emotions. Although cognitive approaches to language

teacher emotions also consider the teacher as an individual, studies which have utilized this approach are more concerned with other points such as teacher immunity, wellbeing, and emotional intelligence (De Costa, Li, & Rawal, 2019).

Social Approaches. Similar to the social perspective on emotions, social approaches to language teacher emotion research consider factors beyond the individual. De Costa, Li, and Rawal (2019) focus on the contexts in which language teacher emotions are shaped. Macro-level contexts consist of larger sociocultural factors. These factors can be perceived in certain cultural groups' attitudes toward certain emotions and the display or suppression of such emotions. Meso-level contexts consist of middling factors which may or may not be beyond the teachers' control. For instance, school environments are areas which can influence teachers' emotions. Certain school policies such as guidelines on displaying positive emotions and suppressing negative emotions in all classroom situations can induce a plethora of emotions among the teachers who are affected by these guidelines. Micro-level contexts refer to more individualized areas such as the teachers' personal beliefs and identity. A teacher's beliefs about the appropriateness of emotions and his or her sense of professional identity may influence his or her choice to display or suppress his or her emotions. This micro-level context is important because this area highlights the notion that while the social view of emotions focuses on the contexts or external factors which shape emotions, individual teacher agency or choice is still present (Tsang & Jiang, 2018). As much as contexts shape language teacher emotions, teachers also choose how to shape their own emotions within particular contexts. Within these contexts lie societal and often covert power struggles. This issue is further explored in a subset of the social view of emotions called discursive or post-structuralist view.

Post-structuralist or Discursive Approaches. Beyond the focus on contexts which can shape language teacher emotions, researchers who have taken on a more critical stance to

the social view subscribe to the post-structuralist or discursive viewpoint. For purposes of convenience, the term *post-structuralist*, instead of *discursive*, will be used throughout this paper. The post-structuralist perspective focuses on structures of power and how such structures shape particular societal rules on the display of emotions and the teachers' choices with regard to these rules. The macro-level, meso-level, and micro-level contexts foregrounded by the social perspective are viewed as "non-monolithic" (Mercer, 2016), that is, these contexts often shift and influence each other. Researchers who utilized this perspective have studied the commodification of education and teachers' emotional vulnerability (Da Costa, Li, & Rawal, 2019).

The commodification of education begins with the idea that neoliberal ideologies have permeated modern societies, so education has also veered toward more profit-oriented and market-driven agendas. Similar to other institutions, schools and universities also operate on financial resources such as government subsidies, the tuition paid by students, and funding from private institutions. The neoliberal agenda has shifted the balance toward the "marketization of public discourse" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 133). Marketization refers to the view of particular aspects of society as commodities. For instance, the English language can be perceived as a commodity. If an individual has the resources to learn English, he or she can gain more linguistic capital or more opportunities around the world. One major consequence of this shift in perspective is that students are viewed more as paying customers or clients than as students and that their education is a commodity that they can simply purchase.

This situation further exacerbates teachers' vulnerability. The concept of *vulnerability* refers to emotions which arise from a teacher's professional identity and moral identity being scrutinized (Kelchtermans, 1996). For instance, a teacher whose professionalism is questioned may be deemed to be in a vulnerable position since this

teacher may lose his or her job. Notions of professionalism have also shifted in order to accommodate the shift in teachers' and administrators' perspectives of their students. If students are clients, then teachers must be company employees who should adhere to strict protocols pertaining to behavior and conduct toward their paying customers. The teachers' conception of their own professional identity is thus threatened. From this threat, feelings of vulnerability arise. Political action is deemed necessary in order to regain the teachers' professional self.

These four approaches toward research on language teacher emotions–the cognitive, the social, and the post-structuralist–have informed research on language teacher emotions. These approaches have also served as the background for many studies of teacher emotions in the Japanese context.

Language Teacher Emotions in the Japanese Context

In the Japanese context, research concerning teachers' emotions has often been directed toward top-down decisions imposed on the teachers by the Japanese government. Studies on Japanese EFL teachers' attitudes toward curricular reform have especially been prominent since the early 2000s (O'Donnell, 2005; Glasgow, 2014; Nishino, 2011; Underwood 2012). In particular, Japanese teachers of English were found to have mixed emotions toward the government's drive to introduce more communicative methods while maintaining a strict culture of testing and assessment. More recently, a study of 98 public junior high school teachers conducted by Machida (2019) illustrated how teachers experienced anxiety toward the policy of Teaching English in English (TEE) which they have very scant training for. Most of the teachers in the study clamored for more and better training opportunities in order to improve their English communication skills.

Apart from anxiety over the prospect of using English as a medium of instruction, general foreign language classroom anxiety among Japanese teachers has also been a

common topic of interest (Ikeda, Takeuchi, & Imai, 2020; Suzuki & Roger, 2012). Most Japanese EFL teachers, who studied under traditional grammar-translation methods, have been found to experience complex emotions toward their pronunciation and their ability to communicate in English. Moreover, in a study of 15 Japanese teachers of English in high school, Suzuki and Roger (2014) found that the teachers' anxiety is tied to their perception of their roles as teachers and their perception of their students' needs and expectations. The teachers felt that their status was threatened if their students witnessed their lack of proficiency and witnessed them using grammatically inaccurate phrases in English. At the same time, the teachers felt that students' exam-related needs would be undermined should the focus shift from grammar instruction to pure communication.

Apart from teachers' attitudes toward curricular reform, researchers in the Japanese context have also studied the emotions of university EFL teachers. In his study of experienced EFL teachers from Japan, China, the United States, and the United Kingdom, Cowie (2003, 2011) found that teachers had positive emotions of warmth toward their students and more negative emotions toward their colleagues and educational institutions. He further connected these emotions to the identities or roles that these teachers assumed, for instance, toward their students, they acted as "carers and moral guides" (p. 235). Morris and King (2018; 2020) focused on non-Japanese English teachers' emotion regulation toward frustration over their students' behaviors in the tertiary level. The participants were from the United States, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand. These teachers experienced four major frustrations, namely student apathy, classroom silence, misbehavior caused by relational strain, and less than ideal working conditions. Another related study by Smith and King (2018) focused on the silence of the students and how these instances affectively impacted the teachers. They noted how these anxiety-inducing silences in the Japanese classroom can exacerbate emotional labor on the part of teachers. The researchers

recommended the use of emotional regulation strategies to curb the negative effects of these silences on the teachers' wellbeing.

Most studies of teacher emotion in the Japanese context initially focused on attitudes toward curricular reform. However, studies in this area have since diversified to include university EFL teachers' various emotions such as warmth toward their students and negative feelings toward colleagues (Cowie, 2003; 2011). Furthermore, studies on how tertiary-level non-Japanese EFL teachers manage their frustrations through emotional regulation strategies (Morris & King, 2018; 2020; Smith & King, 2018) have also broadened the knowledge and understanding of language teachers' emotions in the Japanese context. These studies also initiated discussions on emotional labor.

Emotional Labor

Emotional labor is a concept which foregrounds the conflict between emotions that are actually experienced and emotions that are expected (Benesch & Prior, 2023). In her pioneering work, Hochschild (2003) defined emotional labor as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display [which] is sold for a wage" (p. 7). This original conception of emotional labor involves the manipulation of emotions in order to benefit the profit-oriented agenda of particular companies. For instance, flight attendants are expected to smile and to be polite despite rude behavior directed at them by passengers. These flight attendants are instructed by their airline companies to control their emotions to display positive emotions and suppress negative emotions because market research has shown that the demeanor of flight attendants affects the popularity and the profitability of the airlines. In other words, the more positive emotions the flight attendants displayed, the more likely passengers will have a great experience on the flight and will more likely book flights with the same airline in the future.

Companies' control over their employees' emotions for the purpose of generating profit is also prevalent in other service industry sectors. In the language teaching profession, emotional labor involves the "(often gendered) concealment and/or display of emotion that is expected or even demanded of [teachers] as part of their daily work life" (Acheson & Nelson, 2020, p. 64). Within this profession, the conflict between the educational institution's emotional display rules and the teachers' beliefs about language teaching can be observed (Benesch, 2017). In this section of the review of related literature, emotional display rules or feeling rules, the different types of emotional labor strategies, the various emotional labor scales, the emotional labor of language teaching, and research on emotional labor in the Japanese context are discussed.

Emotional Display Rules

Emotional display rules refer to the set of rules, policies, or guidelines on the expression or suppression of particular emotions in a workplace (Acheson & Nelson, 2020). Often, positive emotions such as joy and excitement are elected to be expressed while negative emotions such as anger and frustration are suppressed. Originally called *feeling rules* by Hochschild (2003), these rules are often "spelled out publicly" (p. 119), following the shift from basing emotional display on personal discretion and knowledge of the situation to basing emotional display on the profitability of the act. In other words, these feeling rules are part of an employee's contract. In the case of a flight attendant who encounters a rude passenger, emotional display rules would dictate that this flight attendant should remain calm and positive because an outspoken and negative flight attendant might offend passengers, thereby causing the airline to lose profits.

Based on this definition, Benesch (2019) further claimed that emotional display rules can be used as a framework for understanding emotional labor from the perspective of power. Emotional display rules occur within particular contexts. These contexts are

composed of power structures which dictate what emotions are appropriate to display and which individuals can display these emotions. In the institutional context of a language school, for instance, the management or the administration would perhaps decide on these emotional display rules and explain these rules to the teachers in orientation sessions or in manuals. In contrast, administrators in universities may not explicitly state these emotional display rules, but these rules may be embedded in the university's philosophy or vision/mission statement. Novice teachers would usually have less agency over this matter, and more experienced teachers would more likely have the freedom to deviate from these rules. Also, in the university setting, direct-hires, or teachers that are directly hired by the institution, would probably have more agency toward these rules than dispatch teachers, or teachers from *eikaiwa* or language conversation companies who are assigned to teach at universities. In order to navigate their way around these emotional display rules, teachers might use emotional labor strategies.

Emotional Labor Strategies

The three emotional labor strategies are surface acting, deep acting, and natural expression or emotional consonance. The first two are considered the classic dichotomy presented by Hochschild (1983) while the third type is a more recent addition (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brown, 2011; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005). Surface acting involves verbal or non-verbal displays of emotion that are deemed appropriate despite how the individual might actually feel (Acheson & Nelson, 2020). This type of emotional labor strategy has been characterized as "go[ing] into robot" mode (Hochschild, 2003, p. 129) since the emotions tend to be fake, mechanical, and scripted. A teacher who sees a student who is sleeping in class and is not participating in any class activities might feel angry and frustrated, but perhaps this teacher decides to conceal these negative emotions and to display cheerfulness and patience, instead. School policies might have instructed this

teacher to maintain a positive atmosphere; thus, instead of chastising the sleeping student, the teacher would pretend that the student's behavior is acceptable and display concern that he or she may not genuinely feel toward the student.

Deep acting involves "deploying strategies to sympathise and eventually create within oneself appropriate emotions for the work situation" (Acheson & Nelson, 2020, p. 66). This type of emotional labor strategy involves an individual's reframing of an event in order to manage their emotions, so that eventually these emotions align with the prescribed or expected emotions (Hochschild, 2003). For instance, the same teacher who feels frustrated or angry with the student who constantly sleeps in class may at one point attempt to understand the student's situation. Perhaps the administration might inform the teacher that the student has a sleep disorder, so teachers should be more patient with this student. The teacher's frustration and anger may turn into sympathy after being informed of the student's condition.

The third type of emotional labor strategy is emotional consonance or natural expression. This type involves "responding naturally to a job's demands" (Acheson & Nelson, 2020, p. 66). Emotional consonance was initially conceived of Hochschild (1983, 2003) as *natural feeling* and is therefore the opposite of emotional labor. For Hochschild (1983, 2003), *natural feeling* does not necessitate a manipulation or alteration of an individual's emotions in order to meet the feeling rules of a company. Thus, these naturally occurring emotions do not require effort or labor. However, research by Diefendorff, Croyle, and Gosserand (2005) have found that natural emotions are also a significant component of emotional labor. The idea that naturally occurring emotions would also require effort was originally foregrounded by Ashforth and Humphrey (1993). This initial idea was further investigated by Diefendorff, Croyle, and Gosserand (2005) and has since been included in some modified emotional labor scales. While emotional consonance may be against the

original definition of emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983, 2003), these succeeding researchers found that individuals still make a conscious effort to display emotions which align with their institution's set policies (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005). In the case of the teacher with a student who constantly sleeps in class, the teacher might naturally feel sympathetic toward the student and choose to display patience and understanding toward the sleeping student, thereby maintaining positive emotions in class. This sympathy would still require some effort on the part of the teacher.

These three emotional labor strategies are utilized by individuals who are subject to certain emotional display rules. In the English language teaching profession, emotional display rules such as maintaining positivity in the classroom can be seen in textbooks for training pre-service teachers (e.g. Richards & Bohlke, 2011). To maintain a positive learning atmosphere, for instance, teachers are encouraged to display enthusiasm. As Richards and Bohlke (2011) stated, "[i]f your students sense that you are positive and enthusiastic about the textbook or other materials that you are using, for example, they are likely to share your enthusiasm" (pp. 11-12). Given this emotional display rule, a teacher might choose to express enthusiasm over a required textbook that they might actually feel bored with (surface acting), make an effort to understand why the textbook was required and focus on the good parts of the textbook (deep acting), or naturally express their frustration over the textbook by being transparent to the class and stating what is wrong with it (emotional consonance). These emotional labor strategies are further explored in empirical research using quantitative instruments which measure emotional labor.

Emotional Labor Scales

Quantitative research into emotional labor has yielded several instruments which were based on the original work of Hochschild (1983). Most scales which are currently utilized in research (e.g. Brotheridge & Lee, 2003) follow the division of surface acting, deep

acting, and natural expression or emotional consonance. The most widely used scale, the Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003), has been employed in investigating the emotional labor of elementary school teachers (e.g. Noor et al., 2011; Philipp et al., 2010), high school teachers (e.g. Richardson et al., 2008), and both primary and secondary school teachers (e.g. Silbaugh et al., 2021; Wróbel, 2013). For conducting research on tertiary-level educators, Berry and Cassidy (2013) have utilized Mann's Emotional Requirements Inventory or MERI. Other than this particular quantitative instrument, most studies of emotional labor in this level often use qualitative methods of collecting data such as semi-structured interviews and narratives (e.g. King, 2016; King & Ng, 2018). In actuality, most research on emotional labor among teachers combines quantitative and qualitative means of gathering data, but recently, emotional labor scales which specify the condition of teachers have gained prominence or have been utilized.

The instruments specified above have been made for more general use in various service industry sectors. However, in the last decade, measures which specifically pertain to teachers have also been created. Two of the most prominent emotional labor scales for teachers are the Teacher Emotional Labor Scale or TELS (Çukur, 2009) and The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale or TELTS (Brown, 2011). Çukur's (2009) model consists of 20 self-report items and was tested for validity and reliability in a study of 190 high school teachers in the Turkish context. The original scale was written in Turkish, and the English translation was deemed insufficient in capturing the nuances of the original version (Brown, 2011). The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale (TELTS), on the other hand, consists of two sections: Emotional Display Rules and Emotional Acting. The Emotional Display Rules segment measures teachers' awareness and agreement to the positive display rules (PDR) or the expectation to display positive emotions, and negative display rules (NDR) or the expectation to withhold negative emotions (Brown et al., 2018). The

Emotional Acting segment measures the frequency of teachers' use of surface acting, deep acting, and natural expression or emotional consonance. Although both Çukur's (2009) and Brown's (2011) instruments have proven to be invaluable in the quantitative study of teachers' emotional labor, TELTS was utilized in this research thesis.

Emotional Labor of Teaching

While emotional labor can be viewed as a negative facet of work, emotional labor has been found to be necessary (Mann, 2004) and even beneficial (Humphrey, Ashforth, & Diefendorff, 2015) in some industries. In the caring profession, guidance counselors and therapists are expected to perform emotional labor. Failing to display appropriate emotions or displaying inappropriate emotions can affect the wellbeing of clients (Mann, 2004). If a client openly shares about their grief over the death of a loved one, a counselor is expected to show sympathy. If the counselor fails to sympathize with his or her client in this regard, the mental health of the client will most likely be affected. In this sense, emotional labor is performed because such performance is a crucial part of the profession and is not solely connected and concerned with profit. Thus, the original definition of emotional labor, which was put forward by Hochschild (1983), can further be expanded in order to account for discrepancies in how display of emotions is viewed and performed in several industries (Mann, 2004).

In education, particularly in English language education, this issue remains complex. Questions such as where the mandate to care originates and who really benefits from teachers "going the extra mile" (Pereira, 2018, p. 498) still abound. On the one hand, language teachers are expected to care for their students' wellbeing. For instance, teachers may have to be mindful of their students who experience language anxiety (Gkonou & Miller, 2017). On the other, teachers are also expected to be educators, that is, to mold the linguistic and cognitive abilities of their students, and to a certain extent, their attitudes

and sense of morality (Cowie, 2011). Conflicts arise when teachers are expected to adhere to certain emotional display rules which might be contrary to their personal beliefs or their teacher training (Benesch & Prior, 2023). Also, conflicting emotions might arise when administrative or managerial staff intervene and instruct teachers on how to conduct their jobs, for example, when administrators provide top-down decisions toward grading students and disregard their teachers' input in the process (Nazari & Molana, 2022). These conflicts between emotional display rules and teachers' own sense of their professional identity characterize the emotional labor of teachers.

In light of this issue, emotional labor has been shown to cause negative effects on teachers' wellbeing. Research has shown that the commitment and self-esteem of teachers can be affected by emotional labor (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Job dissatisfaction has also been closely linked with emotional labor (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Yin, 2015). Emotional exhaustion, attrition, and burnout have also been shown to have strong correlations with emotional labor (Kinman, Wray, & Strange, 2011; Philipp & Schüpbach, 2010). Also, although teachers may exhibit resilience in the face of emotional labor, over time this resilience may subside and eventually lead to burnout and attrition (Nazari & Molana, 2022). These negative effects of emotional labor on teachers highlight the complex nature of the English language teaching industry.

Emotional Labor and Sociocultural Context

Sociocultural context plays a crucial role in determining how emotional labor can be perceived. Yang and Chen (2020) outline three ways macro-level cultural contexts of individualist and collectivist cultures can shape and influence the emotional expression of certain societies. First, the expression of emotions in collectivist societies is influenced by social roles and status while in individualist cultures, emotions are expressed "in their own right and own sake" (p. 482). In collectivist societies, a teacher might be expected to display

kindness and empathy because of his or her role as a carer in society. In individualist cultures, a teacher might be kind and empathetic because these traits constitute his or her "true self" (p. 482).

Second, collectivist societies tend to be less expressive than individualist societies. This finding is supported by a correlational study between emotional display and individualism vs. collectivism, conducted by Matsumoto et al. (2008). In this study, the researchers found that individuals in individualist societies supported emotional expression more strongly than individuals from collectivist societies. The stereotypical image of a Japanese teacher, for instance, is that of a stoic and respectable expert, showing little to no emotion. In contrast, the foreign teacher in the Japanese context seems to be relegated to the role of a "clown" (Taylor, 2020, p. 1547) because of the stereotype that foreign teachers, especially from Western individualist societies, express emotions more freely.

Finally, individualist societies may regard surface acting as a "loss of identity" (Yang & Chen, 2020, p. 482) while in collectivist societies, deep acting and surface acting are utilized to "achieve the goal of harmonious relationships" (p. 482). This final difference highlights the priorities of each type of society: in individualist societies, the authentic self is held in high regard while in collectivist societies, the harmony and cooperation of the group tends to be more important. These major differences between these two types of societies are by no means exhaustive and all-encompassing. Within collectivist or individualist societies, nuances and outliers also exist. However, this dichotomy can provide insights into how emotional labor is viewed in the Japanese context.

Emotional Labor in the Japanese Context

Research on the emotional labor of EFL teachers in the Japanese context has been scarce. Prior to studies which explicitly targeted emotional labor in language teaching, researchers attempted to understand emotional labor as experienced by general education

teachers. In a study of Japanese secondary school teachers, Kimura (2010) found that teachers displayed emotional consonance or natural expression of both positive and negative emotions. Positive emotions such as joy and wonder were expressed when students unexpectedly displayed positive behavior. Negative emotions such as anger and irritation were initially controlled but were later on displayed in order to "maintain the class order and to enhance student commitment to learning" (p. 76). Kimura (2010) further concluded that the Japanese teachers' display of emotions does not equate with Hochschild's (1983) idea of emotional labor because the teachers displayed these emotions not for profit but as part of their professional identity and because these displays of emotion are deployed "semi-strategically" (p. 75) in order to create a more harmonious relationship with their students.

The strategic use of emotions is echoed in a similar research by Isa (2009). Ten elementary school teachers of general education subjects were interviewed for this study, and the results indicated that Japanese primary school teachers managed their own and their students' emotions in order to create "emotional bonds" (p. 143) between the teacher and the students. The findings also indicated that the teachers believed that these bonds with their students would enable them to "control [their] classrooms" (p. 143). These studies seem to parallel the finding that collectivist societies display emotions based on the actors' social roles and status and in order to create harmony in the society (Yang & Chen, 2020). Teachers aimed to control their and their students' emotions as a way to promote harmony in the classroom.

Emotional labor has also been examined, though not extensively, in the experiences of non-Japanese English teachers. As previously discussed, the investigation of experienced tertiary-level EFL teachers conducted by Cowie (2003; 2011) illustrates the beginnings of the use of the emotional labor framework. The study of silence in the classroom conducted by Smith and King (2018) also hinted at the emotional labor of teachers in anxiety-inducing

environments. However, the explicit study of emotional labor among non-Japanese EFL teachers in the Japanese context seems to have begun with research in the university setting (King, 2016) and in *eikaiwa* or English conversation schools (Taylor, 2020; Yarwood, 2020).

The exploratory study conducted by King (2016) involved five full-time teachers who had nine to 26 years of experience and who were in charge of teaching EFL classes at a private university. The themes which emerged include emotional labor related to caring for students, suppressing negative emotions toward uncooperative learners, and motivating students. Some teachers in the study believed that it was their duty to care for their students by creating caring relationships with them. One teacher even fully embraced this aspect of teaching and incorporated it into his professional identity. Caring for students also involved the suppression of negative emotions. Teachers in the study had to suppress irritation, frustration, and anger caused by the perceived "uncooperativeness" (p. 103) of students. This uncooperativeness included silence in the language classroom. Finally, teachers experienced emotional labor when they had to bear the burden of motivating their students by "manufacturing and exaggerating their displays of pleasant, positive emotions" (p. 105). The teachers in the study believed that the university and their students expect the foreign teachers to be "bright, engaging and enthusiastic," or simply to take on the role of an "entertainer" (p. 105), while Japanese teachers were not expected to assume such roles.

These implicit expectations point to the context-dependence of teachers' emotions and emerging identities (King, 2016). In other words, the appropriate emotions and persona that teachers are required to perform depends on their context. These required emotions and identities may be contrary to the teachers' beliefs and training, so emotional labor ensues. The prolonged performance of emotional labor in these instances were found to

cause stress and burnout among the teachers over time. Thus, teachers used depersonalization and detachment from work as coping strategies. One teacher in the study admitted to lying about her personal details to her students, so that her personal life did not mix with her professional life. Another teacher opted to rent a second apartment away from the university in order to detach himself from the job.

The experiences of emotional labor among *eikaiwa* teachers were "arguably on a slightly more severe scale" (Taylor, 2020, p. 1545). The study conducted by Taylor (2020) included twelve male participants from the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia who were working for a medium-sized *eikaiwa* in Saitama prefecture. This school was part of a Japanese *eikaiwa* chain, and as such had a rigid lesson structure in which teachers' "[p]ersonal input is discouraged" (p. 1545). According to the participants, they experienced discomfort that was "more intense than the emotional labour experienced by other occupations" (p. 1552). These emotions of discomfort were related with emotions of being "stuck" and "trapped" in "worsening" work conditions (p. 1552).

Teachers in the study shared how they were "coerced by staff to sell a product they didn't believe would be beneficial to the student" (p. 1546). Although not clearly stated, the product seems to pertain to the lessons, the method, and the textbooks, which are commonly sold in these establishments. The participants also stated that they performed their duties as "drones" (p. 1546) because they were not allowed to deviate from the prescribed lesson structure. Also, teachers experienced stress when they needed to project positivity during kids' lessons while parents watched. Other factors which contributed to these negative emotions were students who came to their classes as a form of "therapy" (p. 1547) and students who were xenophobic. On top of all of these "emotionally draining" (p. 1547) situations, the teachers felt that they were not valued by the school.

These experiences resulted in emotional dissonance and loss of job satisfaction. In order to cope with their situation, the teachers performed surface acting. Since the job of an *eikaiwa* teacher is considered a customer service occupation, teachers were expected to "smile and project an atmosphere of friendliness" (p. 1550), and teachers in the study performed this duty in order to avoid negative repercussions. Another coping mechanism which teachers utilized was camaraderie with their coworkers. The participants shared stories about "engaging in 'the usual banter'" and "being normal" (p. 1551) in the staff room. In short, the teachers were able to express their authentic selves more with their colleagues who could empathize with their situation.

The qualitative research conducted by Yarwood (2020) discussed the experiences of four female teachers (including herself) in an *eikaiwa*. While the participants in the previous study were all male, the participants in this study were all female. The male participants did not experience emotional labor related to their gender; however, one incident related to gender was mentioned by a participant in Yarwood's study. This female participant experienced receiving compliments from a customer, who then proceeded to touch her hair by the collarbone. The participant resisted, but her resistance was met with laughter from the client. After the lesson, the supervisor reacted by saying "it is not that bad" (Issues with selling conversation section, para. 3) before transferring the student to another teacher. The participant felt that this non-confrontational stance assumed by her supervisor was unsatisfactory. This incident points to the greater issue of power dynamics in the *eikaiwa* setting. Students are considered paying customers, so teachers cannot complain. As Yarwood (2020) summarized, "In an industry that sells conversation, it is generally the client who is able to dictate the terms of the conversation, and the company who endorses this power" (Issues with selling conversation section, para. 1).

The research by Yarwood (2020) echoed the findings of the two studies which were previously discussed. Similar to the participants in Taylor's (2020) research, the teachers in this study also mentioned having less freedom in modifying the prescribed materials and personalizing the company method because their *eikaiwa* companies wanted to market themselves as "professional" (Issues in quality control section, para. 2). A participant even stated that they are "not teachers, [they] are the vessels for the method that the company [...] utilised" (Issues in quality control section, para. 3). Also similar to Taylor's (2020) study, teachers shared narratives about taking on the role of a "silent psychologist" (Provision of emotional support section, para. 2), whereby the teachers had no choice but to simply listen to their paying customer and show concern to the student.

Similar to the university teachers in King's (2016) research, these *eikaiwa* teachers in Yarwood's (2020) study were also expected to assume the role of a "motivational coach" (Provision of emotional support section, para. 6). These teachers often had to motivate students who were not motivated to learn English in the first place. The main example mentioned by the teachers are salarymen who were forced by their companies to attend English lessons. The teachers in this study mentioned feeling exhausted and uncomfortable when assuming these roles which they had no training for, and when facing clients who had a disinterested attitude or questionable behavior. Yet, these teachers were "required by the expectations of the organisation to regulate their emotions for the sake of the client" (Provision of emotional support section, para. 9). This act of emotional labor over a prolonged period of time led to burnout and loss of job satisfaction. The main coping mechanism used by the teachers in this study was depersonalization, as exemplified by one teacher who just did not care about the lessons anymore and decided to "wing it" (Provision of emotional support section, para. 9).

The findings in these three studies seem to provide another layer of understanding of how emotional labor is experienced and viewed in the Japanese context. While most Japanese teachers seem to view emotional labor as a necessary and beneficial strategy for a harmonious classroom (Isa, 2009; Kimura, 2010), non-Japanese teachers of English from countries which may be individualist in orientation, seem to view emotional labor and emotion regulation in more negative terms (King, 2016; Taylor, 2020; Yarwood, 2020). The detailed accounts of the participants' emotional turmoil highlight the power imbalance, lack of support for employees, and the various emotional roles that foreign EFL teachers are expected to assume.

Identity

Teachers' identities have attracted the attention of second language learning and teaching researchers in the past two decades (Barkhuizen, 2017; Cheung, Said, & Park, 2015). Often prefaced by the question 'Who am I?', identity has long been connected to an individual's personal conceptualization of himself or herself. More recent research has also argued for the inclusion of both the personal and social aspects of identity (Vignoles, 2017). Teachers, in particular, volley between personal and social spaces, since teaching necessitates a relationship with one's students for learning to be effective (Hattie, 2009; Varghese et al., 2005). Furthermore, "[t]eachers often consider their identities [...] in a peripheral manner through discourse with colleagues, students, and stakeholders about teaching and learning" (Nall, 2021, p. 89). Thus, being a teacher is not just confined to the work performed in the classroom, but teacher identity is shaped and reshaped through discourse with individuals even outside the classroom.

Research into teachers' identities could yield critical insights into teachers' own beliefs and provide opportunities for teachers to reflectively examine their own practices

(Barkuizen, 2020; Farrell, 2015). Furthermore, investigating teachers' identities could empower teachers in their quest for agency and identity negotiation (Beauchamp, 2019). The following section of this literature review delves into the various definitions of identity, the framework of language teacher identity, key concepts that are related to language teacher identity, and instruments which measure professional English language teacher identity. This section of the proposal also expounds on various studies on language teacher identity in the Japanese context.

Defining Identity

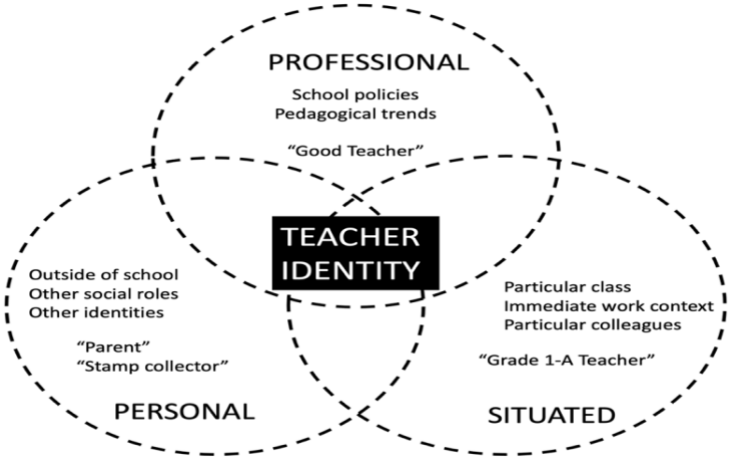
Similar to defining emotions, attempting to define identity is a difficult endeavor. Several definitions have been proposed. Each definition captures a facet of identity. Nall (2021) makes the distinction between three perspectives of identity throughout history: the traditional view, the modern view, and the postmodern view. The traditional view of selfhood situates identity in the dichotomy between the spiritual and the temporal realms. According to this view, the spiritual or perfect self takes precedence over the temporal or imperfect self that resides in the body. This traditional view was manifested in religion and mythology. The modern view, in contrast, was largely influenced by the period of Enlightenment whereby reason and science took center stage. The modern view of the self situated identity in the search for "universal truths [and the] perfectibility of human nature" (Nall, 2021, p. 90). Instead of focusing on the spiritual, the modern view focused on the physical self. Finally, the postmodern or post-structuralist perspective views identity as "decentralized, fluid, and inextricably connected to social context and to discourse" (Nall, 2021, p. 91). This view is a reaction to the search for universals that was starkly advocated by modernists. According to postmodernists or post-structuralists, the self is non-monolithic. Identity is relative and is based on the convergence of multiple variables. These

differing perspectives have influenced the ways in which societies have shaped teachers' identities, and teachers, themselves, have shaped their own identities.

Various definitions of teacher identity have also been put forward. According to Day et al. (2007), teacher identity refers to the ways in which teachers define themselves to others and to themselves. This identity is a composite of teachers' professional identity, situated or socially located identity, and personal identity. Professional identity is the identity which is connected to the policies of an educational institution and to the social trends which dictate "what constitutes a good teacher" (p. 106). Situated identity refers to the teacher's identity within their immediate work contexts. This identity could be affected by the students whom these teachers are teaching or the colleagues with whom they are working. Finally, personal identity refers to the teacher's identity outside of their educational institution. This identity is often associated with roles other than that of being a teacher such as being a parent or being a partner. These three dimensions of teacher identity interact and influence each other (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Three Dimensions of Teacher Identity by Day et al. (2007)



Note. Adapted from *Teachers Matter: Connecting Lives, Work and Effectiveness* (Day et al., 2007, pp. 106-108)

Among the three facets of teacher identity presented by Day et al. (2007), professional identity has arguably received the most attention. A survey of articles on teachers' professional identity, conducted by Beijaard et al. (2004), found four defining features of teachers' professional identity. First, teachers' professional identity is characterized as an "ongoing process of interpretation and re-interpretation" (p. 122). The professional identity that teachers assume does not only focus on who the teacher is at the moment but who the teacher wants to become. This feature points to the notion that teachers have the agency to shape and reshape their professional identities. Second, teachers' professional identities include both "person and context" (p. 122). While teachers may be influenced by the guidelines of professionalism imposed by their immediate educational contexts, teachers also differ in the ways they respond to these guidelines. Though teachers may be influenced by various teaching cultures, the teachers, themselves, can also create their "own teaching culture" (p. 122). Third, teachers' professional identity consists of "sub-identities that more or less harmonize" (p. 122). These sub-identities may be central or peripheral, depending on which facet of their identity teachers want to emphasize. A language teacher, for instance, may have a central identity that believes in language learning as a matter of communication. This identity may be supplemented by a peripheral sub-identity which also believes that some level of accuracy is necessary to improve fluency. Regardless of the seemingly contradictory nature of these two sub-identities, a teacher would most likely attempt to harmonize these sub-identities. Finally, teachers' professional identity is characterized by "agency" (p. 122), especially in the field of professional development. In this sense, professionalism is tantamount to actively improving one's own practice as a teacher. According to Beijaard et al. (2004), professional identity formation is linked with the constructivist notion of learning, that is, "learning […] takes place through the activity

of the learner" (p. 123). In other words, the professional identity of teachers is connected to their learning to become teachers.

Professional Identity Scales

Due to the prevalence of research on identity, a multitude and diversity of professional identity scales exist (e.g. Brown et al., 1986). Among studies examining teacher identities, scales and questionnaires have also proliferated (Abu-Alruz & Khasawneh, 2013; Beijaard et al., 2000; Canrinus et al., 2011; Cheung, 2008; Hong, 2010). A review of teacher identity instruments by Hanna et al. (2019) has produced a compilation of the most common domains of quantitative research on teacher identity. These domains include self-image, motivation, commitment, self-efficacy, task perception, and job satisfaction.

These domains, however, pertain to the general population of teachers. Although important in understanding identity in relation to language teaching, these instruments may not accurately measure language teacher identity because language teachers have more specific sets of concerns. More importantly, English language teachers may have facets of their identity that are particular to the profession. Very recently, two instruments have been developed to address this gap: the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Inventory (Hashemi et al., 2021) and the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021).

The English Language Teacher Professional Identity Inventory (Hashemi et al., 2021) is a 42-item Likert-scale instrument, which hinges upon the notion of identity performance (Pennington, 2015). This concept pertains to the contextualized enactment and positioning of the self. Proponents of this view of identity posit that a teacher's identity is connected to their actions of presenting or projecting themselves as teachers in several interactive contexts. Using this theoretical framework, Hashemi et al. (2021) utilized a sequential mixed methods design, which yielded a handful of factors pertaining to language

teacher identity performance. These factors include: the creation of a relaxed learning atmosphere, the tendency to impart knowledge and experience, respectful behavior, the ability to develop or select EFL materials, management skills, error correction skills, communication skills, the creation of an effective teaching environment, the tendency to develop professionally, familiarity with target language and culture, serving as an effective role model, valuing L1 or first language culture, and concern about students' ability and development. While these specific factors might benefit research on understanding English teachers' identity performance in various educational settings, certain aspects of being an EFL teacher in a university setting might be overlooked.

The English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale (ELTPIS) (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021) addresses the gaps of Hashemi et al.'s (2021) inventory. The ELTPIS similarly consists of 42 items, organized in a six-point Likert-scale format. The instrument was based on the KARDS model (Kumaravadivelu, 2012). This model aimed at capturing multiple facets of L2 teaching, which were categorized as knowing, analyzing, recognizing, doing, and seeing. In producing the ELTPIS, Mahmoodarabi et al. (2021) employed a rigorous design process which yielded six factors: (1) researching and developing one's own practice, (2) language awareness, (3) institutional and collective practice, (4) engaging learners as whole persons, (5) appraising one's teacher self, and (6) sociocultural and critical practice.

Factor 1 is concerned with *doing* in terms of research, which most university teachers are expected to conduct. Factor 2 is related to *knowing* the language as a system, as discourse, and as ideology. For EFL teachers to be able to teach in universities, this level of knowledge is required. Factor 3 is also correlated with *doing* in the sense of belonging to a community of educators and considering the institutional factors in their respective educational settings. Factor 4 corresponds with *analyzing* factors which influence students,

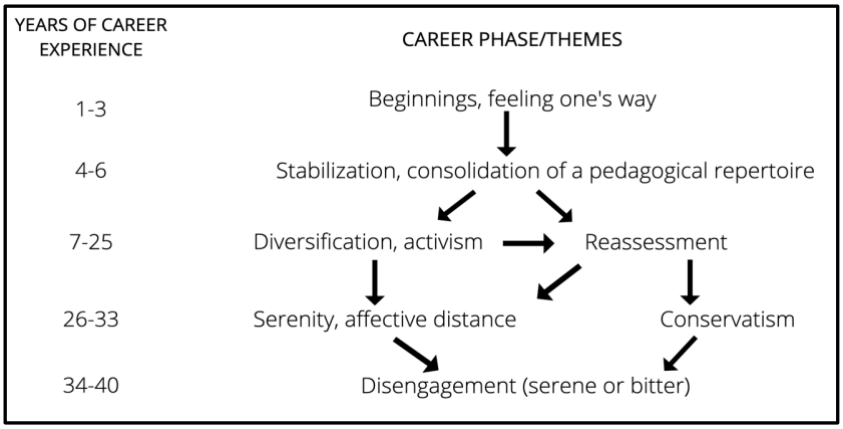
including their needs, motivations, and sense of autonomy. Factor 5 is associated with *recognizing* the teacher self, that is, identifying, evaluating, and embracing their beliefs and values as teachers. Factor 6 is also related to *doing* as in actively shaping and reshaping their professional roles and responsibilities of teaching critical and socio-cultural realities. The ELTPIS was utilized in this research thesis. The procedures of use are further elaborated in the Methodology section.

Career Stages of Teachers

Teacher identity has also been connected to teachers' experiences. These experiences can be organized and analyzed in the various career stages which teachers undergo. Huberman (1993) used the term "professional life cycle" (p. 4) to categorize the different stages of teachers' careers. According to Huberman (1993), this model is largely based on "the human life cycle" (p. 1) and consists of five distinct phases: (1) career entry, (2) stabilization, (3) experimentation and diversification or reassessment, (4) serenity and relational/affective distance, or conservatism and complaints, and (5) disengagement. These five phases are distributed over five time periods, as illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5

Professional Life Cycle of Teachers by Huberman (1993)



Note. Adapted from *The Lives of Teachers* (Huberman, 1993, p. 13)

The first three phases are centered on a teacher's initiation into the teaching profession and the subsequent decisions a teacher makes once he or she has experienced the various facets of being a teacher. Phase 1 or the career entry phase is characterized by survival and discovery. Survival is concerned with the teacher's initial shock at the difficulty and complexity of the role of a beginning teacher. Discovery relates to the enthusiasm and sense of wonder at taking on new responsibilities for the first time. Next, Phase 2 or the stabilization phase involves the decision to commit to the teaching profession as the teacher experiences more pedagogical mastery and independence in their teaching practice. Phase 3 or the experimentation phase is related to either a diversification of a teacher's pedagogical repertoire, an activism toward curricular reform, or a quest for new challenges. This phase coincides with the reassessment phase, which might involve an identity crisis or self-doubt over their career trajectory. Teachers in this phase might undergo a period of re-evaluation of their choices in life.

The last two phases in this model (Huberman, 1993) are focused on what more experienced teachers might undergo. Phase 4 or the serenity and affective or relational distance phase is characterized by self-acceptance, feelings of ease, and lower vulnerability toward the opinions of students and the administration. This phase can be summed up as "being able to accept myself as I am and not as others would have me be" (p. 10). The serenity phase is paralleled by conservatism and complaints, which are often related to the changes which are beyond a teacher's control. Teachers in this phase either complain about the changing attitudes of students or the changing treatment of teachers. Teachers might also lean toward their more conservative side and hold on to their established teacher identity. Finally, Phase 5 or the disengagement phase is related to either a serene disengagement from earlier ambitions in the teaching profession or a bitter disengagement which results in frustrations and disappointments in their careers. The five phases

proposed by Huberman (1993) were a pioneering work in comprehensively reporting the career stages most teachers undergo.

The succeeding studies of Day et al. (2007) on the professional career stages of teachers react to this initial research. Although the model proposed by Day et al. (2007) was based on the initial model (Huberman, 1993), significant differences can be observed between the two. In contrast with the professional life cycle model (Huberman, 1993), factors outside of the teachers' educational contexts such as the personal lives of teachers were considered by Day et al. (2007). Another major difference is that while Huberman (1993) found that teachers' career trajectories could be non-linear and unpredictable and could vary based on individual and institutional circumstances, Day et al. (2007) found that distinctive patterns could be predicted in the professional lives of most teachers. Also, while the model presented by Huberman (1993) consisted of five career phases distributed over five time periods, the model presented by Day et al. (2007) consists of six phases spread out in six time periods (see Table 1). These six professional life phases include: (1) commitment: support and challenge, (2) identity and efficacy in the classroom, (3) managing changes in role and identity: growing tensions and transitions, (4) work-life tensions: challenges to motivation and commitment, (5) challenges to sustaining motivation, and (6) sustaining/declining motivation, ability to cope with change, and looking to retire. Due to the small number of participants in this study, these six professional life phases were reduced to three phases in this research thesis. These three stages are novice (phases 1 – 2), mid-career (phases 3 – 4), and experienced (phases 5 – 6).

Table 1

Professional Life Phases by Day et al., 2007

Number of Years	Professional Life Phase	Sub-groups
0-3	Commitment: support and challenge	(a) Developing sense of efficacy
		(b) Reduced sense of efficacy
4-7	Identity and efficacy in the classroom	(a) Sustaining a strong sense of identity, self-efficacy and effectiveness
		(b) Sustaining identity, efficacy and effectiveness
		(c) Identity, efficacy and effectiveness at risk
8-15	Managing changes in role and identity: Growing tensions and transitions	(a) Sustained engagement
		(b) Detachment/loss of motivation
16-23	Work-life tensions: Challenges to motivation and commitment	(a) Further career advancement and good pupil results have led to increased motivation/ commitment
		(b) Sustained motivation, commitment and effectiveness
		(c) Workload/ managing competing tensions/ career stagnation have led to decreased motivation, commitment and effectiveness
24-30	Challenges to sustaining motivation	(a) Sustained a strong sense of motivation and commitment
		(b) Holding on but losing motivation
31+	Sustaining/ declining motivation, ability to cope with change, looking to retire	(a) Maintaining commitment
		(b) Tired and trapped

Note. Adapted from *Teachers Matter: Connecting Lives, Work and Effectiveness* (Day et al., 2007, pp. 69-70)

Novice Teachers (Phases 1 – 2). In this research thesis, the novice teachers consist of the teachers who have had seven years of experience or less. Based on the model by Day et al. (2007), these teachers are going through Phases 1 and 2. Phase 1 (Commitment: Support and Challenge) is characterized by the teacher's entry into the profession. At this stage, the teacher builds up his or her identity as a teacher and grapples with the realities of this new profession. Similar to the findings of Huberman (1993), most teachers in this phase experience being in survival mode, as some teachers may have "easy beginnings" or "painful

beginnings" (Day et al., 2007, p. 72). Those who experienced "easy beginnings" might fall under sub-group (a), which pertains to the teachers who "enjoy career advancement with increased self-efficacy" (p. 73). Teachers who had "painful beginnings" might be categorized under sub-group (b), or those teachers who "suffer a declining sense of efficacy which led to change of school or career" (p. 73). For either of the two sub-groups, support from senior members of the faculty and the administration and due recognition of work were found to be crucial.

Phase 2 (Identity and Efficacy in the Classroom) is characterized by the teachers' increasing levels of confidence and feelings of effectiveness in the classroom. Unlike the model presented by Huberman (1993), teachers in this phase were found to have begun accepting additional responsibilities, which further constructed and cemented their identities and motivations as teachers. Sub-group (a) in this phase consists of teachers who are able to cope and manage their struggles in their new environment. Sub-group (b) is composed of teachers who are also able to cope and manage their situation, but they have stronger concerns over their heavy workload. Finally, sub-group (c) consists of teachers who feel vulnerable and whose motivations are declining because they feel that their identities and motivations are at risk due to heavy workload. Although teachers in Phase 1 might differ significantly from teachers in Phase 2, teachers who are in both phases are grouped together and considered *novice teachers* in this study.

Mid-career Teachers (Phases 3 – 4). Mid-career teachers in this research thesis consist of teachers who are experiencing Phases 3 – 4 or who have had eight to 23 years of professional experience. Phase 3 (Managing Changes in Role and Identity) is considered the "transitional period" (Day et al., 2007, pp. 83-84). This transition, within eight to 15 years of professional experience, is mainly concerned with whether teachers accept new roles in administration or remain teaching in the classroom. Subgroup (a) in this phase consists of

teachers who sustain their motivation to teach and either assume new roles in their educational institution or continue on in their current position as teachers. Subgroup (b) is composed of teachers who feel "a sense of detachment" (p. 84) due to lack of support from leaders and colleagues, or due to personal events which lead them to consider taking a "career break" (p. 85).

Teachers in Phase 4 (Work-life Tensions) experience greater struggles because of additional administrative duties, increased workload, and excessive paperwork. These teachers typically have 16-23 years of experience. This phase is characterized by increased struggles to create work-life balance. Sub-group (a) consists of teachers who are able to increase their motivation despite their struggles and whose commitment and perception of effectiveness are sustained. Sub-group (b) is composed of teachers who are coping with work-life tensions but are able to sustain their motivation, commitment, and self-efficacy. Sub-group (c) consists of teachers whose motivation and commitment declined due to their excessive workload, competing tensions, and a sense of stagnation in their career trajectory.

Experienced Teachers (Phases 5 – 6). In this research thesis, teachers who are experiencing phases 5 and 6 and who have had 24 or more years of professional experience are categorized as *experienced teachers*. Phase 5 (Challenges to Sustaining Motivation) consists of teachers who have 24-30 years of teaching experience. This phase is characterized by "intensive challenges" (Day et al., 2007, p. 92) in maintaining their motivation and commitment to teaching. Sub-group (a) in this phase is composed of teachers who are able to sustain a strong sense of motivation and commitment, while sub-group (b) is described as the group that is "holding on but losing motivation" (p. 93). The latter group is also considering early retirement or part-time teaching because of negative factors such as being forced to "jump through hoops" (p. 92) owing to constantly changing policies, student behaviors, and continued work-life tensions.

Teachers in the final phase, Phase 6 (Sustaining/Declining Motivation, Ability to Cope with Change, Looking to Retire) have more than 31 years of experience. This final phase is negatively affected by "[g]overnment policies, excessively bureaucratic results driven systems, pupil behaviour, poor health, increased paperwork, heavy workloads, and the consequent long working hours" (p. 96). The only positive factor which helps to sustain job satisfaction is found to be the student-teacher relationships. Sub-group (a) in this phase consists of teachers who manage to maintain their motivation despite all the difficulties they experience. Sub-group (b) is characterized by increased fatigue, bitter disengagement, disillusionment, and exit from the profession.

Language Teacher Identity

In further specifying the identities of language teachers, a new framework called language teacher identity (LTI) has been established. This framework was created in order to differentiate the unique experiences of language teachers from teachers of other subjects and to understand the processes of becoming a language teacher, growing in the field, and exercising language teaching practices in various contexts (Yazan & Lindahl, 2020). Varghese et al. (2005) drew attention to the theorization of language teacher identity when they examined the parallelisms of studies on LTI. At the time of their study, language teacher identity was merely "an emerging subject of interest" (p. 21). Since then, multiple studies on LTI have flourished. In his compilation of language teachers' narratives of being language teachers, Barkhuizen (2017) offered a "composite conceptualization" (p. 3) of LTI:

> Language teacher identities (LTIs) are cognitive, social, emotional, ideological, and historical—they are both inside the teacher and outside in the social material and technological world. LTIs are being and doing, feeling and imagining, and storying. They are struggle and harmony: they are contested and resisted, by self and others, and they are also accepted, acknowledged and valued, by self and others. They are

> core and peripheral, personal and professional, they are dynamic, multiple, and hybrid, and they are foregrounded and backgrounded. And LTIs change, short-term and over time—discursively in social interaction with teacher educators, learners, teachers, administrators, and the wider community, and in material interaction with spaces, places and objects in classrooms, institutions, and online (p. 4).

This all-encompassing definition is aimed at capturing the various complex facets of language teacher identity, including the theoretical underpinnings of LTIs (cognitive, social, emotional, ideological), the actions associated with LTIs (being and doing, feeling and imagining, and storying), the construction and negotiation of LTIs (struggle and harmony), and the dimensions of LTIs (core and peripheral, personal and professional).

Language Teacher Identity in the Japanese Context

In the Japanese context, one of the most common themes pertaining to the study of language teacher identity is the distinction between non-native English-speaking teacher (NNEST) and native English-speaking teacher (NEST) identity. In his study of five mid-career Japanese NNESTs in a high school and the accompanying Course of Study (CS) documents which prescribed guidelines on how to teach English, Aoyama (2021) found that Japanese NNESTs' identities diverged into two distinct forms: their professional identity and their identity as non-native speakers of English. Similar to what the CS prescribed, these teachers provided scaffolding or *shien* and served as role models of English spoken around the world to their students. However, though not immediately obvious, preference was still accorded to the NESTs' variety of English. Thus, to these NNESTs, the non-native English speaker identity seemed to threaten their professional identity, despite their seven to 15 years of teaching experience, as they negatively viewed their variety of English as Japanese English.

The institutional construction of teachers' identities was also apparent in a study of Assistant Language Teachers' or ALTs' diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Pearce, 2021). Documents from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology or MEXT portrayed ALTs as "homogenous monolingual native speakers of English" (Pearce, 2021, p. 3). However, the majority ($n = 91$) of the 161 participants in the study reported linguistic ability in languages other than English or Japanese. More comprehensive research into the identities of ALTs was conducted by Hiratsuka (2022). In his study of ALTs who have finished their tenure with the Japan Exchange Teaching or JET program, he found that the teachers' identities consisted of their primary identities and their sub-identities which constantly overlapped and influenced each other. In particular, he found that NEST ALTs had to "negotiate their identities in complex ways – as teachers, as representatives of their home countries, as work colleagues, and as explorers of their new environments" (p.1).

This comprehensive look into the lives of ALTs is paralleled by in-depth studies of English conversation school or *eikaiwa* teachers (e.g. Hooper & Hashimoto, 2020). Of particular interest is the notion that "professional identity in eikaiwa" is an "oxymoron" (Kiernan, 2020, Chapter 13, para. 1). The idea that *eikawa* teachers could ever attain any sense of professionalism has been the subject of jokes and comics (e.g. *Charisma Man*, Rodney, 1998) because teachers in this type of institution were considered *McTeachers* (Hooper & Hashimoto, 2020). The prefix *Mc* relates to *McDonalds*, so any term prefixed with *Mc* is associated with institutions that operate as though they are fast food joints. These institutions are viewed as having low-quality products, poor working conditions, and extremely high employee turnovers.

Research has shown, however, that *eikaiwa* teachers also frame their professional identities in ways that deviate from the *McTeacher* stereotype. In a comparative study of

two *eikaiwa* teachers, Kiernan (2020) demonstrated that for *eikaiwa* teachers, professionalism and success could be achieved through several courses of action. In the case of one teacher, success meant moving quickly through the hierarchical system to become a manager who gained the autonomy to reshape the curriculum. In the case of the other teacher, success meant avoiding the management altogether in order to maintain his professional identity as an experienced teacher who uses common sense and people skills. Another layer of identity that *eikaiwa* teachers seem to assume is the multitude of emotional roles that language teachers are expected to play. In the study conducted by Yarwood (2020), participants spoke about playing the roles of the *silent psychologist* and the *motivational coach*. As a silent psychologist, the *eikaiwa* teacher simply listens to their students' troubles and worries and shows concern over their students' wellbeing. As a motivational coach, the *eikaiwa* teacher acts in an energetic manner and attempts to motivate their often passive and unmotivated students to speak. Yarwood (2020) further expressed that although *eikaiwa* teachers are not trained for either of these roles, the job seems to demand that they perform these roles, as well.

These roles do not seem to be confined to *eikaiwa* teachers, as Amundrud (2008) has illustrated in his study of non-Japanese teachers of English (NJTE) in various contexts. Roles such as being an entertainer, a decoration, and a constructive educator were also assumed by foreign teachers. As entertainers, some NJTEs had to use humor and assume "a playful personality" (p. 93) in order to create a positive learning environment. In addition, NJTEs described being used as "ornaments to and in the marketing of language schools, tertiary and grade schools" (p. 94). The teachers' looks and personalities were commonly used to attract new students or customers. While being "entertainers" and "ornaments" were roles that the teachers "felt they were expected to act by their institutions or students" (p. 95), the role of being a constructive educator was a role that the

teachers assumed, themselves. Being a constructivist educator meant not adhering to the instructivist pedagogy which seemed to dominate Japanese education, and using more communicative methods in the language classroom.

These issues pertaining to the roles of foreign teachers in Japan extend to the university setting. In a comparative study of a NNEST and a NEST in a tertiary-level institution, Lawrence (2020) found that the construction of *native* and *non-native* speaker identities was dependent on the context in which these identities were enforced. At the institutional level, the *native* and *non-native* tags were very distinct, and the teachers had no control over these markers. However, in the classroom level and in the teachers' interactions with their students, the teachers had greater agency over these identity ascriptions and were able to position themselves in ways that they preferred. For instance, in the NEST's case, the teacher was able to present himself as a "knowledgeable outsider" (Lawrence, 2020, p. 121), instead of merely being the white foreign teacher from a native-speaking country that MEXT initially portrayed him to be. This type of identity reconstruction parallels the *explicit reflexive positioning* (Whitsed & Volet, 2013) of adjunct foreign English-language teachers (AFELT) in Japanese universities. According to Whitsed and Volet (2013), teachers position themselves against identities ascribed to them in order "to preserve their sense of self-respect and self-esteem, to give meaning to their experiences and to subvert their perceived 'forced other positioning'" (p. 729).

This facet of EFL teacher identity foregrounds the discourse of internationalization in Japanese universities. According to Whitsed and Wright (2011), "[i]nternationalization is a manifestation of globalization" (p. 28). To respond to the emerging challenges of a globalizing society, the Japanese government has enacted policies of *kokusaika* or internationalization since the 1980s and aimed to attract more academics and students from around the world. However, these reforms have always been characterized by Japan's

ambivalent relationship with "the outside world" (Aspinall, 2010, p. 5). Although Japan aims to be viewed as international or global, the distinction between being Japanese and being *other* still prevails (Aspinall, 2010).

This ambivalence has trickled down to the roles of foreign university EFL teachers. In their study of AFELTs in Japanese universities, Whitsed and Wright (2011) illustrated how the reality of teachers' roles, their students, and their institutions greatly diverged from what was initially expected. AFELTs believed that the communicative English classes they were tasked to handle are deemed "necessary in order to maintain an impression of an 'international' university staffed with native speakers of English" (p. 38). Furthermore, these communicative English-language programs had no clear direction, structure, or relevance to the broader curricula of the university. Thus, most AFELTs reported experiencing a "culture of indifference" (p. 36) toward these classes and consequently to the teachers, themselves. AFELTs observed that "what happens pedagogically in their classes is not as important as keeping students happy because 'the student is the customer'" (p. 37). Keeping the students/customers happy meant that the university had to utilize teachers' identities as commodities to appeal to Japanese students. As Whitsed and Wright (2011) observed, "rather than being employed as professional language educators, participants felt exploited for their exoticism as foreigners and their utilitarian value" (p. 38).

These issues of teacher identity in the Japanese context foreground the dichotomy between NESTs and NNESTs, and the seeming preference for native speakers (Houghton & Rivers, 2013). This preference appears to be connected to the ambivalent discourse of internationalization in Japanese universities, which commodifies teachers' identities and undermines their professional credentials in favor of their appearance. Internationalization also appears to relegate students to the role of customers. Foreign teachers then believe that their students and their universities expect them to assume roles such as being

psychologists, motivators, and advertisers in order to keep their students happy. The performance of these identities, which might be against their own beliefs and training, can be viewed as emotional labor. Prolonged enactment of emotional labor can then lead to negative effects such as stress, burnout, and gradual loss of motivation to remain in the teaching profession.

Conclusion to the Review of the Literature

The study of language teachers, especially in the English teaching profession, is important in advancing knowledge and gaining more insights on second language acquisition. While the emotions and identities of language learners have been examined extensively in the past, studies pertaining to language teachers have only started to proliferate. The role of teachers in the classroom should be considered in order to improve the conditions and quality of teaching in various educational contexts. Furthermore, the affective aspect of teaching should further be analyzed because student-teacher relationships are formed through these shared emotions and identities. Student-teacher relationships have been found to be one of the most salient factors in enabling or improving second language education (Hattie, 2009). Furthermore, the emerging concerns over the negative effects of emotional labor on teachers are starting to gain the attention of researchers. In the Japanese context, studies by King (2016), Taylor (2020), and Yarwood (2020) illustrate how teachers experience emotional labor and the strategies they use to cope with their situation. While research on emotional labor still remain lacking in the Japanese context, the emerging studies that arose from research of teacher emotions and identities seem promising. This research thesis hopes to fill these gaps in literature by focusing on a cross-sectional exploration of the emotions, emotional labor, and identities of tertiary-level EFL teachers at different stages of their teaching careers in Japan.

Statement of the Problem

Despite renewed interest in teachers' emotions and the growing curiosity over the intersections of identity and emotion, considerable gaps in the literature could still be observed. In particular, a paucity in research concerning the interrelationships of emotion, emotional labor, and language teacher identity could be noted. While the "emotion-identity nexus" (Nazari & Karimpour, 2021) has gained the attention of numerous researchers (e.g. Zembylas, 2011), this combination of concepts has rarely included emotional labor. In the Japanese context, initial research (Taylor, 2020; Yarwood, 2020) into non-Japanese teachers' emotional labor in English conversation schools is an important step in further delving into teachers' emotions and emotional experiences. However, literature incorporating emotional labor into discussions of teacher emotions and identities is still scarce in the Japanese context. Furthermore, the limited number of studies combining emotions, identity, and emotional labor have also pointed to the scarcity of research examining mid-career and experienced teachers (Schutz & Lee, 2014). Research on student teachers' and novice teachers' coping strategies in the face of "emotionally challenging situations" (Lindqvist, 2019, p. 14) have attempted to link teacher emotions and emerging identities. In a similar manner, research on affective factors which influence language teacher identities in the Japanese context have leaned toward the investigation of student and novice teacher identity development (Cowie, 2011). Despite these advances in research, studies concerning mid-career and experienced EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity are still lacking.

Purpose of the Study

Research on the interrelationships between language teacher emotions and identities have rarely incorporated the concept of emotional labor. Moreover, these few

studies incorporating the issue of emotional labor have focused on novice teachers; thus, a perceivable scarcity of information on mid-career and experienced teachers' emotional experiences and identity construction could be noted. This research thesis attempts to address these gaps in literature by performing a cross-sectional analysis of tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity in the Japanese context. Specifically, the purposes of this study are threefold. First, the study explores how the broader sociocultural context of the Japanese society, the institutional contexts of the teachers' universities and educational institutions, and the individual contexts of teachers affect their emotions, emotional labor, and identity. Various contexts are foregrounded because this study subscribes to the post-structuralist framework of emotions and identity as existing within shifting and multi-level contexts (Benesch, 2017; Zembylas, 2011). Second, the proposed study attempts to understand how university-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identities interact and influence each other. Emotions and identities have often been interrelated; however, this study also endeavors to discover interrelationships with emotional labor. Examining emotional labor can perhaps facilitate a more thorough understanding of EFL teachers' emotion management and identity construction. Finally, the study compares novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers' notions of emotion, emotional labor, and identity. The various conceptions of these three key concepts can perhaps be uncovered through EFL teachers' stories of their emotional experiences. From these data on teachers at different career stages, this study hopes to further understand how the emotional experiences of mid-career and experienced teachers can aid novice teachers.

Significance of the Study

This proposed study hopes to yield theoretical and practical benefits. On the theoretical side, discussing emotional labor alongside emotion and identity can result in deeper insights into how broader sociocultural and institutional forces can influence teachers' display and management of emotions and the construction of their identities. In other words, beyond the perceivable cultural clashes between Japanese and non-Japanese cultural systems, the incorporation of emotional labor into discussions of language teachers' emotions and identity can uncover often covert ideological issues of power. In her pioneering study, Taylor (2020) found that cultural differences contributed to the emotional labor of non-Japanese teachers in the Japanese context. Perhaps more than the cultural clashes which might occur in several other contexts, socio-culturally and institutionally enforced ideologies which dictate emotional display rules might have resulted in teachers' emotional labor. A theoretical understanding of these issues can yield practical benefits. Thus, on the practical side, an understanding of how power works in the Japanese society and in various educational institutions in the country would aid teachers in recognizing their agency. If teachers understood which particular areas they have control over, they might manage their emotions and negotiate their identities in a more effective manner. These two skills lead to a more viable sense of teacher wellbeing. Proponents of teacher wellbeing (Mercer & Gregersen, 2020) have aimed at increasing more positive emotions while recognizing the presence of negative emotions in various educational contexts. In the real world, negative emotions cannot be totally eliminated and can sometimes lead to positive outcomes (Martin, 2018). More importantly, however, attaining teacher wellbeing can benefit classroom practice since "quite simply, happy teachers make for happy students" (Mercer & Gregersen, 2020, Language teacher wellbeing: Why focus on me? section, para. 2). This practical benefit can even extend toward language teacher training.

Knowledge of teacher wellbeing can aid Teaching English as a Second Language or TESOL programs in developing or incorporating courses which focus on affective factors that influence teaching. These courses can hopefully better prepare pre-service teachers for "emotional episodes" (Schutz & Lee, 2014) when they enter the profession. Moreover, Japanese universities have recently been under pressure to promote a more global outlook and have thus hired more foreign teachers. Research on the emotional lives of foreign teachers and their interactions within Japanese society and the Japanese university system might help administrators in supporting foreign teachers. Similarly, Japanese teachers of English in the university context can also benefit from studies that attempt to investigate their emotions, since Japanese teachers might have experiences which differ from non-Japanese teachers. Overall, this research thesis hopes to support Japanese and non-Japanese EFL teachers in their emotion and identity-related struggles toward teaching in the Japanese university context and guide pre-service teachers in learning from the emotional experiences of their predecessors.

Research Questions

This research thesis aims to (1) explore how various micro-level or individual contexts, meso-level or institutional contexts, and macro-level or sociocultural contexts shape EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity; (2) unpack the interrelationships of emotion, emotional labor, and identity; and (3) compare the emotional experiences of novice, mid-career, and experienced EFL teachers in Japanese universities. This study will further be guided by the following research questions:

1. What *emotions* (Reeve, 2018) have (a) novice, (b) mid-career, and (c) experienced university EFL teachers encountered?

1.1. Which *emotional episodes* (Schutz & Lee, 2014) instigated these emotions from these teachers?

2. What *emotional display rules* (Benesch, 2017) exist in the (a) novice, (b) mid-career, and (c) experienced teachers' universities or educational institutions?
   2.1. To what extent have these emotional display rules affected the teachers' suppression or display of particular emotions?
   2.2. How have (a) the sociocultural context of Japanese society, (b) the institutional context of universities or educational institutions, and (c) the teachers' individual contexts shaped these emotional display rules?
3. What *emotional labor strategies* (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Brown, 2011; Hochschild, 1983) have (a) novice, (b) mid-career, and (c) experienced university EFL teachers employed?
   3.1. How have (a) the sociocultural context of Japanese society, (b) the institutional context of universities or educational institutions, and (c) their individual contexts influenced their choice of emotional labor strategies?
   3.2. To what extent have these emotional labor strategies contributed to their language teacher identities?
4. How do (a) novice, (b) mid-career, and (c) experienced university EFL teachers in Japan describe their identities?
   4.1. What factors (roles, beliefs, etc.) constitute their identities?
   4.2. To what extent have emotions and emotional labor strategies shaped these identities?
   4.3. How have (a) the sociocultural context of Japanese society, (b) the institutional context of universities or educational institutions, and (c) the teachers' individual contexts shaped these identities?

Methodology

This research thesis investigates the emotions, emotional labor, and identities of tertiary-level EFL teachers across different stages of their careers in Japan. The data for this study was collected in a period of over two months from EFL teachers working at various universities and educational institutions in Japan. The research questions were answered through an explanatory sequential research design (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018) which began with the collection of survey results from two validated instruments (Appendix A): The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale or TELTS (Brown, 2011) and the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale or ELTPIS (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021). The data from the survey were then triangulated with data from semi-structured interview questions (Appendix B). The subsequent segments of this section further detail the elements of this study's methodology. In particular, the research context, participants, instruments, data collection procedures, and data analysis procedures are discussed.

Research Context

The research context segment of this study aims to present the current work conditions of teachers in Japanese universities. While significant differences can be observed among universities in this country, certain conventions are still in place. Some of these conventions include the types of universities and the distinctions made among teachers. In particular, universities can be classified according to whether they are public or private universities, and teachers can be categorized as native speakers or non-native speakers, and direct-hires or dispatch teachers. The type of university, the teachers' nativeness, and the teachers' contracts show their status. There are several other distinctions and classifications which influence the teachers' status. However, for the purposes of this study, only the three points above are utilized and discussed in detail.

According to the National Institution for Academic Degrees and Quality Enhancement of Higher Education (2022), Higher Education Institutions or HEIs in Japan are categorized according to the following: (1) the type of institution and (2) their establishing body. The types of HEIs according to institution mainly include universities, colleges of technology, and professional training colleges or institutions that offer specialized post-secondary training courses. Within universities, there are undergraduate programs, graduate programs, and junior colleges. Undergraduate programs are usually equated with the term *university*. The types of HEIs according to their establishing body include national, public, and private universities. *National universities* such as The University of Tokyo and Kyoto University are funded by the government and are held in the highest regard among all the other types of university because of their strict admission procedures. Public universities are also funded by the government, albeit at the local, municipal, or prefectural level. Finally, private universities are funded by private institutions, groups, or individuals. In this study, the term *university* is used in accordance with the definition designated by the National Institution for Academic Degrees and Quality Enhancement of Higher Education (2022). Furthermore, the universities of the participants in this study are classified into private, national, and public universities. The term *public university* is used collectively to refer to local universities, prefectural universities, municipal universities, and other government-funded universities below the national level.

Since the push for internationalization, which was initiated by MEXT (Aspinall, 2010), and which was realized through endeavors such as the Global 30 Project (MEXT, n.d.), universities have been hiring more foreign EFL teachers. These teachers are designated as non-Japanese Teachers of English (NJTE), in order to distinguish them from Japanese Teachers of English (JTE). NJTEs are further divided into groups of Native

English-Speaking Teachers (NEST) and Non-Native English-Speaking Teachers (NNEST). This distinction is mainly due to the traditional view in Japanese education that the proficient language user is the native speaker. This view is reinforced by what Phillipson (1992) called *native speaker fallacy*. Thus, job advertisements for university teaching positions often require teachers to be "native speakers" or have "near native speaker fluency" (Matikainen, 2019, p. 175). Although this issue is undoubtedly important in the research of language teachers in Japan, the present study does not delve into this topic. In this study, the participants were classified into NESTs and NNESTs based on their country of citizenship and ethnic or cultural background.

Apart from the dichotomy between JTEs and NJTEs, another major distinction among Japanese university faculty members is between direct-hires and dispatch teachers. Direct-hires are full-time or part-time university teachers who are directly hired by the university. At minimum, direct hires typically have two to three years of EFL teaching experience in the university level, at least three publications, preferably three or more presentations in language teaching and learning conferences, and Japanese ability of N4 or higher on the Japanese Language Proficiency Test or JLPT (Larson-Hall & Stewart, 2019). In contrast, dispatch company teachers are "low-cost, low-commitment temporary teachers" (Butler, 2019, p. 28; see also Hooper & Hashimoto, 2020) who are employed by dispatch companies, typically *eikaiwa* or English conversation schools, which send their employees to universities for semester-long contracts, mostly three months, as part of an outsourcing agreement between the company and the university. Some direct-hires view these dispatch teachers unfavorably as "teachers, often with little or no teaching experience [who are] keen to spend a few months in Japan and make a little money at the same time" and who "have become competition for [direct-hire teachers'] *koma*" (Butler, 2019, p. 28). A *koma* is one university class which typically lasts 90 minutes. In actuality, these outsourcing

agreements may run for years and are not simply temporary. Also, some dispatch teachers may actually be experienced and may also have Master's degrees and teaching certificates such as the Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages or CELTA. Three of the dispatch teachers in this study have Master's degrees, two of whom also have CELTA.

In summary, Japanese universities and their teachers have significant differences, but there are observable conventions which are used in order to determine their status. The universities are divided into private, national, and public universities. English teachers can be divided according to their nationality: JTE or NJTE. Although the study was also open to JTEs, only NJTEs responded to the request for participation. NJTEs can also be grouped as NEST, or NNEST. Furthermore, university teachers can be classified according to their contracts as direct-hires or dispatch teachers. These classifications were used in this study in order to account for the possibility that, in addition to the teachers' years of experience, their status, which is dictated by the type of university where the teachers are employed, their native or non-native speaker status, and their contract type, may also influence the ways they are affected by emotional display rules and the emotional labor strategies they employ.

Participants

The participants of the research thesis consist of 35 tertiary-level EFL teachers from various universities and educational institutions in Japan. The participants were mainly grouped according to the model of professional life phases of teachers proposed by Day et al. (2007). From this model, three groups consisting of novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers were formed. Of the 35 participants, 9 (25.7%) were novice teachers, 16 (45.7%) were mid-career teachers, and 10 (28.6%) were experienced teachers. In the novice group of

teachers, 6 (17.1%) had less than three years of experience, and 3 (8.6%) had 4-7 years of experience. In the mid-career group, 6 (17.1%) teachers had 8-15 years of experience, and 10 (28.6%) teachers had 16-23 years of experience. Finally, in the experienced group, 5 (14.3%) had 24-30 years of experience, and 5 (14.3%) had 31+ years of experience. The breakdown of this information can be viewed in Table 1.

Table 2

Number of Novice, Mid-career, and Experienced Teachers

Groups	n	(%)	Years of Experience	n	(%)
Novice	9	25.7%	0-3	6	17.1%
			4-7	3	8.6%
Mid-career	16	45.7%	8-15	6	17.1%
			16-23	10	28.6%
Experienced	10	28.6%	24-30	5	14.3%
			31+	5	14.3%
Total	35			35	

As previously stated, the participants were also classified according to the type of university where they are employed. The three types of university used in this study are private university, national university, and public university. Some teachers have more than one workplace, so the breakdown of participants according to type of university does not equate to the actual total number of teachers (N=35). The largest group, consisting of 30 teachers (77%), work in private universities. Six teachers (15%) work in national universities, while three teachers (8%) work in public universities. Overall, 24 teachers (69%) indicated only one place of employment, while 11 teachers (31%) indicated that they worked in two or more institutions. This information can be viewed in Table 2.

The participants were also classified according to their contract types as direct-hires or dispatch company teachers. 27 teachers (77%) are direct-hires, while eight teachers (23%) are dispatch company teachers. The eight dispatch company teachers are among the

teachers who indicated multiple places of employment, since they are considered employees of the dispatch company, but they also work for the university to which they are outsourced. Also, the online survey asked participants for their official designation at university. While the direct-hires indicated clear official positions for themselves, the dispatch company teachers indicated various positions, including the following: "Lecturer," "Native Language Communication Teacher," "Eikaiwa Salon," "Instructor" or "English Instructor," "Out-service Teacher," "Adjunct Faculty Member," and "Third-party Employee." The lack of official designation or position for dispatch company teachers might indicate their unclear status in the university.

Table 3

Types of Universities or Educational Institutions and Teacher Contracts

Type of Institution	n	(%)	Type of Contract	n	(%)
Private University	30	77%	Direct-Hire	27	77%
National University	6	15%	Dispatch Company Employee	8	23%
Public University	3	8%			
Total	39	100%		35	100%

Apart from the teachers' employment status, individual contexts were also asked of the participants, including the participants' country of citizenship and ethnic background, gender, and highest educational attainment. The country of citizenship and ethnic background indicate whether the teachers can be considered Native English-Speaking Teachers (NESTs) or Non-native English-Speaking Teachers (NNESTs). Based on the participants' countries of citizenship, 24 (68.6%) teachers can be considered NESTs, and 11 (31.4%) teachers can be considered NNESTs. Gender was also examined in order to account for instances when emotional labor is gendered (Acheson & Nelson, 2020). Among the

participants, 14 (40%) of the teachers were female, 19 (54.3%) were male, 1 (2.9%) was non-binary, and 1 (2.9%) preferred not to indicate their gender. Finally, the highest educational attainment of the participants was also analyzed in order to understand the degree to which teachers' educational qualifications might insulate them from emotional display rules. Among the participants, 6 (17.1%) teachers are PhD holders, 21 (60%) teachers have obtained master's degrees, and 8 (22.9%) teachers graduated with bachelor's degrees. These individual contexts were considered in order to provide a more thorough understanding of how contextual factors influence teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and language teacher identity. The summary of these individual contexts is provided in Table 4.

Table 4

Summary of Individual Contexts

Country of Citizenship	n	(%)
USA	11	31.4%
UK	5	14.3%
Australia	3	8.6%
Canada	3	8.6%
Hong Kong	2	5.7%
Others: China, France, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Japan (formerly USA), Malaysia, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Spain	11	31.4%

NEST and NNEST	n	(%)
NEST	24	68.6%
NNEST	11	31.4%

Gender	n	(%)
Female	14	40%
Male	19	54.3%
Non-binary	1	2.9%
Prefer not to say	1	2.9%

Highest Educational Attainment	n	(%)
Doctorate or PhD	6	17.1%
Master's Degree	21	60%
Bachelor's Degree	8	22.9%

Out of the 35 participants, 33 teachers elected to fill out the free space provided after the survey sections of TELTS. The responses of these teachers were coded and referenced in the Results section. Also, out of the 35 participants, 21 teachers agreed to be interviewed. These interview sessions lasted an average of 1.5 hours each. The participants' responses

were also transcribed and referenced in the Results section. To preserve the participants' anonymity, pseudonyms were used in reporting their comments and interview data. The participants, who responded to the free space and who were interviewed, along with their status, are presented in the following table.

Table 5

Pseudonyms of Respondents and Their Details

Pseudonym	Interviewee	NEST/ NNEST	Dispatch/ Direct-hire
		Novice Group	
Amina		NNEST	Direct-hire
Danny	Yes	NNEST	Direct-hire
Carol	Yes	NEST	Dispatch
Elham		NNEST	Direct-hire
Mindy	Yes	NNEST	Direct-hire
Randall	Yes	NNEST	Direct-hire
Saul	Yes	NNEST	Direct-hire
Wayne		NEST	Direct-hire
		Mid-career Group	
Catherine		NEST	Direct-hire
Eloisa	Yes	NNEST	Dispatch
Eric	Yes	NEST	Direct-hire
Gino	Yes	NEST	Direct-hire
Jane	Yes	NNEST	Dispatch
Lewis	Yes	NEST	Direct-hire
Lucas	Yes	NEST	Dispatch
Neil	Yes	NEST	Direct-hire
Ollie		NEST	Direct-hire
Rei	Yes	NNEST	Dispatch
Ruben	Yes	NNEST	Dispatch
Sam	Yes	NEST	Dispatch
Siobhan		NEST	Direct-hire
Taylor		NEST	Direct-hire
William	Yes	NEST	Dispatch
		Experienced Group	
Bethany		NEST	Direct-hire
Florence		NEST	Direct-hire
Gregory		NEST	Direct-hire
Helga	Yes	NEST	Direct-hire
Ian	Yes	NEST	Direct-hire
Kaiden		NEST	Direct-hire
Lance	Yes	NEST	Direct-hire
Patrick	Yes	NEST	Direct-hire
Percy	Yes	NEST	Direct-hire
Yvette		NNEST	Direct-hire

The 35 participants in this study work in various universities and capacities. While the number of participants may be low, the variety of participants reflects the variety of work conditions in Japanese universities.

Instruments

This research thesis utilized an explanatory sequential research design (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018). The quantitative phase of the study employed two survey instruments (Appendix A): The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale or TELTS (Brown, 2011) and the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale or ELTPIS (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021). Both instruments have been tested for validity and reliability. In the qualitative phase of the study, semi-structured interview questions (Appendix B) were utilized. In this segment of the Methodology section, the origins and features of the three instruments are discussed. Furthermore, the reasons for choosing these instruments are also explained.

The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale (TELTS)

In measuring the emotional labor of the participants, this study utilized The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale (TELTS). This scale was designed by Brown (2011) and has been tested for validity and reliability. The scale comprises two sections: The Emotional Display Rules section and The Emotional Acting section. The first section is composed of seven questions, and the second section consists of 11 items. The items are formatted in a five-point Likert scale. The first section focuses on which positive emotions teachers are tasked to display and which negative emotions teachers are instructed to withhold. The first set of rules is thus called positive display rules (PDR) while the second set is called negative display rules (NDR). This section of the instrument aims to investigate the context of what emotional display rules are being enforced in the teachers' schools. These rules can then inform the teachers' experiences of emotional labor, which are measured in the next

section. The Emotional Acting section measures the instances of surface acting, deep acting, and natural expression or emotional consonance, which the teachers perform as a response to the emotional display rules. After each section, a free space for teachers to write their thoughts and opinions about emotional display rules and emotional labor is provided.

The primary reason behind the choice of this instrument is that TELTS aims to contextualize the emotional labor of teachers through an examination of educational institutions' emotional display rules. This study follows a post-structuralist view on emotions and identity, thus, context is emphasized. Furthermore, the other instrument which was considered for this study and which was discussed in the literature review, the Teacher Emotional Labor Scale or TELS (Çukur, 2009), was originally written in Turkish. The translated version of the TELS had visible grammatical and lexical errors and unclear diction. TELTS, on the other hand, was designed and validated in English. Moreover, TELTS is relatively short, compared to other emotional labor scales. The first section is composed of seven questions, arranged in a five-point Likert scale. The second section of TELTS consists of 11 items, also arranged in a five-point Likert scale. Considering the busy schedules of EFL teachers in Japan and also the length of this study, a shorter survey was deemed more convenient for the teachers to answer.

English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale (ELTPIS)

This study also utilized the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale (ELTPIS), which was developed by Mahmoodarabi et al. (2021). The ELTPIS consists of 42 items, formatted in a 6-point Likert scale. The endpoints of the scale indicate Strong Disagreement and Strong Agreement. The two middle points indicate Slight Agreement and Slight Disagreement. These points were included to account for the nuances in teachers' responses. The items are distributed randomly in the survey but refer to one of the 6 factors: (1) L2 teacher identity as researching and developing one's own practice (8

items), (2) L2 teacher identity as language awareness (7 items), (3) L2 teacher identity as an institutional and collective practice (8 items), (4) L2 teacher identity as engaging learners as whole persons (6 items), (5) L2 teacher identity as appraising one's teacher self (6 items), and (6) L2 teacher identity as a sociocultural and critical practice (7 items).

Arguably some of the factors in the ELTPIS also parallel the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Inventory, which was developed by Hashemi et al. (2021), and which was also considered for this study, as pointed out in the Literature Review section of this paper. However, the ELTPIS may be more appropriate for use in the university setting, which is the focus of this study, due to three main reasons. First, this scale has a stronger emphasis on teacher identity as related to research. In particular, Factor 1, which consists of eight items related to research, highlights the overt and covert mandate for university teachers to conduct research and to base their practice on sound theoretical underpinnings. The Inventory by Hashemi et al. (2021) only has two items pertaining to research. Second, the higher demand for language knowledge in the ELTPIS is suitable to the setting of this study. Specifically, Factor 2, which comprises seven items related to language knowledge, shows the level of knowledge that is typically demanded of tertiary-level educators. In the Inventory (Hashemi et al., 2021), only one item mentions this factor. Finally, the conception of teacher identity as situated within the confines of particular institutional and collective practices is more complex in the ELTPIS than in the Inventory. Factor 3 in the ELTPIS, which consists of institutionally expected behaviors, is more nuanced than the "respect" and "friendly relationship" toward colleagues and managers that are included in the Inventory by Hashemi et al. (2021, pp. 17-18). Also, Mahmoodarabi et al. (2021) highlighted the reality that collective and institutional practices might be a "source of conflict" (p. 224) which could cause stress and identity crises to teachers who are expected to assume predetermined roles that might be against the

teachers' own pedagogical beliefs. This identity crisis or stress could be a source of emotional labor. Due to these three reasons, this proposed study utilized the ELTPIS.

Semi-structured Interview Questions

The semi-structured interview questions (Appendix B) focused on the same concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity. These questions were created and employed in order to provide additional information that would explain the results of the quantitative phase of this study. While TELTS (Brown, 2011) and the ELTPIS (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021) constituted the quantitative phase, these semi-structured interviews constituted the qualitative phase of this research. The semi-structured interviews consisted of 12 questions which explored the emotional lives of teachers. These twelve main questions also had three or four sub-questions each.

In summary, this study utilized an explanatory sequential research design (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018) which consisted of a quantitative and a qualitative phase. In the quantitative phase, two instruments were utilized: The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale or TELTS (Brown, 2011) and the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale or ELTPIS (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021). In the qualitative phase, semi-structured interview questions were used. These instruments were utilized to answer the research questions and were administered using the procedures described in the following section.

Data Collection Procedures

Data collection was collected in a period of over two months, from late summer to early fall 2022. The data collection procedures are broken down into the pre-collection phase, the quantitative phase, and the qualitative phase. In the pre-collection phase, the permission to conduct research was obtained, and the materials for gathering data were prepared. The procedures in the quantitative phase include the steps for gathering data

from the two survey instruments. The procedures in the qualitative phase include the steps undertaken during the semi-structured interview sessions.

Pre-collection Procedures

Prior to collecting data, permission was requested from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Soka University. While awaiting approval, the primary materials were prepared. These materials include TELTS (Brown, 2011), the ELTPIS (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021), and the informed consent forms for the online survey, interviews, audio recording, and video recording. The survey instruments were encoded and organized in Google Forms, an online survey platform. The informed consent forms for the online survey (Appendix A) were embedded in the same online platform and preceded the actual survey instruments. Once approval was granted, the necessary revisions were made and data collection commenced.

Quantitative Data Collection Procedures

For the quantitative phase, the following procedures were followed. Prospective participants were recruited through professional and personal contacts and through social media. An official email was sent to each potential participant. The email contained a brief explanation of the aims and the potential benefits of the study and an official request for participation in both the survey and the interview sessions. Follow-up messages were sent to participants through other online platforms. The link to the online form which contained the informed consent and the two survey instruments were included in the emails and the follow-up messages.

Teachers who agreed to participate in the study were instructed to do the following procedures. First, participants were asked to read the information about the study through the informed consent form embedded on the online survey. After reading the information, if the participants did not wish to proceed, they were free to leave the study. If the

participants were willing to proceed, they were asked to give their consent by clicking the "Yes, I agree" button in the digital version. Once the participants clicked this button, they were redirected to the actual survey instruments, which started with TELTS (Brown, 2011) and which was followed by the ELTPIS (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021). At the end of the survey proper, participants were asked if they were willing to participate in the interview sessions. Teachers who agreed to participate in the interview sessions were sent subsequent emails, confirming the schedule which they chose on the online form, and the participants' preferred mode, whether online or face-to-face. The semi-structured interview questions were sent in advance in order for the participants to prepare for the interview.

Qualitative Data Collection Procedures

The interview sessions were conducted after the participants finished answering the survey forms and the schedules for the sessions were finalized. The sessions lasted an average of 1.5 hours each and were conducted either in online or face-to-face format, depending on the preference of the participants. In the face-to-face sessions, two recording devices, one primary and one back-up, and other writing implements were prepared. The interviews were conducted at a location that was deemed convenient by the participant. The topic was briefly reintroduced and permission to record the session was asked from the participant before the sessions began. In the case of online interviews, Zoom was utilized. A Zoom link was sent to the participant prior to the date and time that was agreed upon. Similar to the face-to-face mode, permission to record the session was asked from the participant before the sessions began. In both types of interviews, participants were asked to confirm their professional background information. The semi-structured interview questions were then asked depending on the flow of the discussion which was mostly dictated by the participants. For sensitive topics such as negative emotional episodes and negative emotions, the interviewees were asked if they were comfortable sharing such

information before proceeding with these interview questions. Each session lasted an average of 1.5 hours. At the end of each session, the researcher expressed her gratitude to the participant interviewee.

The three data collection phases mentioned in this segment were organized in order to ensure a smooth data collection process. Also, efforts were made to maintain good relationships with the participants who shared some of their time, effort, and thoughts to complete this study. Messages of gratitude and small tokens were sent to participants who made their identities known to the researcher. Even at this stage, efforts were made to maintain the anonymity of the participants, so the notes and tokens did not contain any specific mention of the thesis itself, or the nature of the assistance the participants provided. The procedures for ensuring the confidentiality of the data collected are explained in the following section.

Ethical Considerations

As previously stated, the necessary permissions were gathered prior to conducting this study. Permission was requested from the IRB of Soka University. Permissions were also requested from the individual teachers who agreed to participate in the study. The informed consent forms for the online survey (Appendix C), for the semi-structured interviews (Appendix D), for audio recording (Appendix E), and for video recording (Appendix F) were distributed to the teachers in a condensed electronic form at the beginning of the online survey. Through the informed consent forms, the participants were made aware of the purpose, goals, and potential benefits and risks of the study. The names of the participants were anonymized, and pseudonyms were utilized. All teachers were provided the option to withdraw participation from the study at any time without any negative consequences. Gender was not a determining factor for selection of participants in

this research. A copy of the participants' responses, including their responses to the informed consent forms, was made available to the participants upon request.

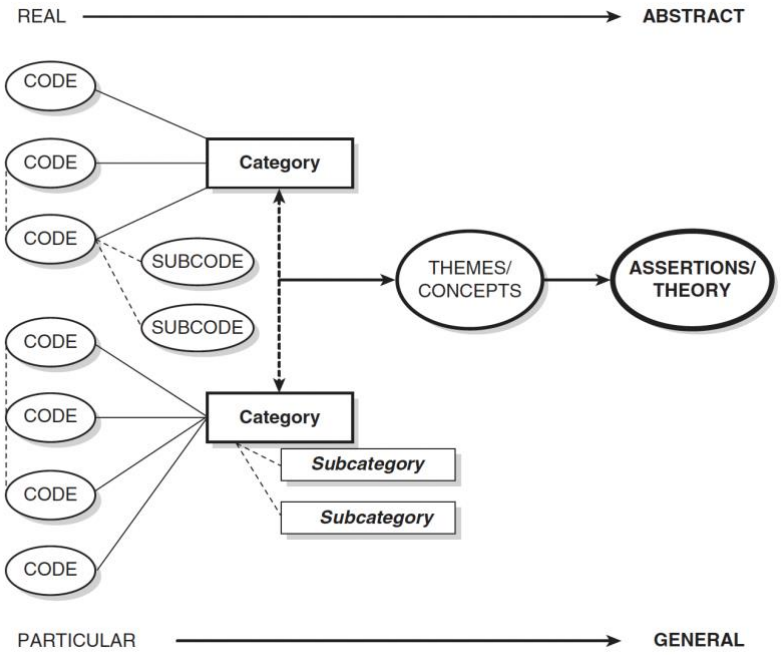
Data will be stored for ten years according to the guidelines of Soka University. All data will be stored on a portable, password-protected data storage device that will be kept secure in a locked container in the home of the researcher. Data can only be accessed through a storage device in a computer that is not connected to the Internet or Wi-Fi. All electronic data will be erased from any storage device, and all paper records of data will be shredded on April 1, 2032. All participants will have access to the results of the study upon request after publication.

Data Analysis Procedures

The data from the quantitative and qualitative phases of the research were analyzed separately. For the quantitative data, descriptive and inferential statistics of the results from the two survey instruments were calculated. In particular, the means, standard deviations, and modes of the results were calculated through Google Sheets. Following these descriptive statistics, the data was further analyzed through the Kruskal-Wallis H-Test. This test is used to determine if there are significant differences between three or more independent samples (Hatch & Lazarton, 1991). In this study, the three independent samples consist of the novice group, mid-career group, and experienced group of teachers. This test was chosen because it serves the same purpose as the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), and is considered its non-parametric version. Non-parametric tests are preferred for smaller samples, such as the data set of this study. The test was run through Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Version 29.0).

Figure 6

The Codes-to-Theory Model by Saldaña (2013)



Note. From *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (Saldaña 2013, p. 13).

The qualitative data includes the open-ended questions at the end of the survey instruments and the data from the semi-structured interview questions. For these two sets of qualitative data, the *codes-to-theory model* by Saldaña, 2013, which is pictured in Figure , was utilized. Originally designed for qualitative inquiry, this coding procedure begins with the process of recording data, re-recording or transcribing, and coding the data for any visible patterns. The codes and subcodes, which emerge from the raw data, are then categorized. Subcategories may also be formed. From these categories and subcategories, concepts or themes emerge, which are then used to form theories or assertions. In the case of this research thesis, the interview data were recorded through various recording devices. These raw recordings were then transcribed using Otter.ai (2023). Otter.ai is an online software which has the capacity to transform raw recording into accessible transcripts.

These transcripts were coded using the codes and subcodes outlined in Table . These initial codes were based on the literature, but emergent codes were also taken into account. Then, these codes and subcodes were categorized and subcategorized. From the categories and subcategories, similar themes and concepts emerged which were then utilized in answering the research questions.

In summary, the data analysis procedures comprised two parts, analyses of the quantitative data and the qualitative data. The quantitative data was analyzed by calculating the descriptive statistics of the survey results. These results were then analyzed for significance using the Kruskal-Wallis H-test. The qualitative data was analyzed using the codes-to-theory model by Saldaña (2013). The results of these analyses were then used to answer and discuss the research questions.

Table 6

Main Themes, Codes and Sub-codes

Themes	Codes	Sub-codes
Identities	Beginnings	Previous jobs, Reasons for Choosing the Profession, Reasons for Choosing Japan
	Roles	Facilitator, Mentor, Tutor, Leader, Curriculum Developer, Researcher, etc.
	Beliefs	Class Policies, Classroom Culture, Language Proficiency, Professionalism, Qualities, etc.
	Relationship with Students	Personal, Traditional, Communal, Equal, etc.
	Relationship with Colleagues	Community of Practice, Conflicts, etc.
	Changes	Linguistic, Professional, etc.
Emotional Episodes	Positive Emotions	Happiness, Joy, Satisfaction, Pride, etc.
	Negative Emotions	Exhaustion, Annoyance, Frustration, etc.
	Mixed Emotions	Pos + Neg, Neg → Pos, Neg + Neutral
Emotional Display Rules	Sociocultural Context	Face, Politeness, Keeping Cool
	Institutional Context	Implicit, Explicit, Mentor, Personal
	Individual Context	
Emotional Labor	Surface Acting	Suppression of Emotions, Display of Inauthentic Emotions
	Deep Acting	Students' Benefit
	Natural Expression	Negative and Positive Emotions

Delimitations

This research thesis is designed to operate within certain parameters and is therefore limited by these two delimitations. First, participants should have completed at least one semester of teaching in the university context. Thus, novice teachers who are still in their first semester of teaching were excluded from the study. Also, as regards participants who have multiple places of employment, their experiences in the university setting were primarily discussed. Discussion of their other places of employment were treated as peripheral information which supports their main tertiary-level experiences.

Summary of the Methodology

This section of the paper discussed the methodology of this research thesis. In the research context, the conventions used in defining Japanese universities and their faculty were discussed. In this study, the term *university* is used to describe tertiary-level institutions which provide English classes to undergraduate students. The universities in the data are classified into three groups: private, public, and national universities. The classification of NESTs and NNESTs, as well as direct-hires and dispatch teachers, were also used to describe the participants in this research. Furthermore, the participants were mainly divided into groups of novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers, based on the model of professional life phases by Day et al.(2007). This study utilized the explanatory sequential design (Cresswell & Cresswell, 2018), which consists of a quantitative and a qualitative phase. In the quantitative phase of this study, two instruments, namely The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale or TELTS (Brown, 2011), and the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021). In the qualitative phase, semi-structured interview questions were utilized. The data from these instruments were collected in a period of over two months from 35 tertiary-level EFL teachers from various

universities and educational institutions in Japan. The data collection procedures consisted of three stages: the pre-collection phase, the quantitative phase, and the qualitative phase. Finally, the data were analyzed using descriptive statistics and Kruskal-Wallis H-Test for the quantitative data, and the *codes-to-theory model* (Saldaña, 2013) for the qualitative data.

Results

The present study explored how shifting and multiple contexts shape university EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity at various stages of their careers in Japan. The objectives of this study were three-fold: (1) to outline how sociocultural, institutional, and individual contexts influence tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, (2) to understand the interrelationships of the teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, and (3) to compare the emotions, emotional labor, and identities of novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers. The results of the data collection are presented in this section as follows: (1) the quantitative and qualitative results of The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale (Brown, 2011), (2) the quantitative results of the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021), and (3) the coded responses of the participants during the interview sessions. Key findings are presented after each subsection.

The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale

The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale or TELTS (Brown, 2011) was designed to measure the emotional labor of teachers by examining their knowledge of emotional display rules and the emotional labor strategies they employ. TELTS has two parts: (1) Emotional Display Rules, and (2) Emotional Acting. Each of the two parts consists of a five-point Likert scale questionnaire and a space for teachers to share more information. In this

subsection, the statistical results for Emotional Display Rules are presented first, followed by the teachers' more detailed responses to Positive Display Rules (PDR) and Negative Display Rules (NDR) in their own contexts. Next, the statistical results for Emotional Acting are explained, followed by the detailed responses of the participants regarding the emotional labor strategies they employ. Finally, key findings are provided to summarize the results of TELTS.

Emotional Display Rules

The Emotional Display Rules section of TELTS consists of seven items: three items for PDR, three items for NDR, and one item for knowledge of the emotional display rules in the teachers' own institutional contexts. The items are presented in a five-point Likert scale questionnaire, with 1 representing "I strongly disagree," 3 representing "Neither agree nor disagree," and 5 representing "I strongly agree." At the end of this section, participants were asked to elaborate on the emotional display rules in their own context by writing their thoughts and opinions on the free space after the questionnaire.

Inferential Statistics. The Kruskal Wallis H-Test was utilized to investigate whether the differences in the responses of the three groups of teachers are statistically significant or not. After running the test on SPSS (Version 29.0), the results showed that there were no significant differences in the responses of the three groups for all items in the Emotional Display Rules section of TELTS (see Appendix G). Although the results of the Kruskal Wallis H-test showed no significant differences between the groups, a close examination of the descriptive statistics suggests possible divergences that are supported in the qualitative data.

Descriptive Statistics. Descriptive statistics were utilized to further analyze nuances in the data. The means, standard deviations, and modes of each item were calculated in order to understand the measures of central tendency and variance of the participants'

responses. The overall responses to TELTS are first discussed, followed by a more detailed breakdown for each group of teachers: novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers.

Table 7

Overall Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of Emotional Display Rules by Item

Item	Statement	M	SD	Mo
	Positive Display Rules			
1	My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.	3.09	1.17	3
2	Part of my job is to make my students feel good.	4.23	0.65	4
3	My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.	3.14	1.03	3
	Negative Display Rules			
4	I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students.	3.23	1.19	3
5	If I am upset or distressed, my school expects me to hide these emotions.	3.14	1.14	3
6	If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.	3.51	1.22	4
	Knowledge of Emotional Display Rules			
7	I know the emotional rules I am expected to display to students.	3.66	1.08	3

The overall results show that Item 2 ("Part of my job is to make my students feel good.") has the highest mean (M = 4.23). On the other hand, Item 1 ("My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.") has the lowest mean (M = 3.09). Although both items are positive display rules, the way the items were phrased seemed to have influenced the teachers' responses. Item 2 seems to focus on the teachers' own decision to make students feel good, while Item 1 starts with the phrase "My school tells me to", which seems to indicate a school rule or mandate to express positive emotions. This dichotomy between the teachers' agency and the administrators' top-down decision-making processes in terms of emotional display rules appears to affect teachers' emotions toward these rules.

Table 8

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of EDR by Item (Novice Group)

Item	Statement	M	SD	Mo
	Positive Display Rules			
1	My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.	3.78	0.83	3
2	Part of my job is to make my students feel good.	4.33	0.71	4
3	My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.	3.78	0.97	3
	Negative Display Rules			
4	I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students.	3.78	1.30	5
5	If I am upset or distressed, my school expects me to hide these emotions.	3.67	1.22	5
6	If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.	4.11	0.93	5
	Knowledge of Emotional Display Rules			
7	I know the emotional rules I am expected to display to students.	4.22	1.09	5

Similar to the overall results, Item 2 ("Part of my job is to make my students feel good.") has the highest mean (M = 4.33) for novice teachers. This item is followed by Item 7 ("I know the emotional rules I am expected to display to students.") (M = 4.22) and Item 6 ("If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.") (M = 4.11). The novice teachers' mean scores for the seven items in this section of TELTS appear to be generally higher than the overall means. These higher scores might signify that novice teachers could be more compliant to university rules because of their status.

Table 9

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of EDR by Item (Mid-career Group)

Item	Statement	M	SD	Mo
	Positive Display Rules			
1	My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.	3.06	1.06	3
2	Part of my job is to make my students feel good.	4.06	0.57	4
3	My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.	2.94	0.77	3
	Negative Display Rules			
4	I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students.	3.38	1.02	3
5	If I am upset or distressed, my school expects me to hide these emotions.	3.25	1.00	3
6	If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.	3.63	1.15	3
	Knowledge of Emotional Display Rules			
7	I know the emotional rules I am expected to display to students.	3.50	1.03	3

Among mid-career teachers, Item 2 ("Part of my job is to make my students feel good.") also has the highest mean (M = 4.06). In contrast, Item 3 ("My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.") has the lowest mean (M = 2.94). Both items are positive display rules. However, this discrepancy in results might again be due to the way the items were phrased. Similar to Item 1, Item 3 begins with the phrase "My school expects me to", which focuses on the school's top-down mandate on the teachers to display particular emotions.

Table 10

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of EDR by Item (Experienced Group)

Item	Statement	M	SD	Mo
	Positive Display Rules			
1	My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.	2.50	1.35	1
2	Part of my job is to make my students feel good.	4.40	0.70	5
3	My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.	2.90	1.29	3
	Negative Display Rules			
4	I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students.	2.50	1.08	2
5	If I am upset or distressed, my school expects me to hide these emotions.	2.50	1.08	3
6	If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.	2.80	1.32	4
	Knowledge of Emotional Display Rules			
7	I know the emotional rules I am expected to display to students.	3.40	1.070	3

Similar to the overall results and the results for novice and mid-career teachers, Item 2 ("Part of my job is to make my students feel good.") also has the highest mean (M = 4.4) for experienced teachers. Apart from Item 2, the mean scores for the other items in this section of TELTS seem to be generally lower than the overall means and the means for novice and mid-career teachers. These results might signify that experienced teachers are less affected by emotional display rules because of their status as senior teachers.

Overall, the descriptive statistics show that Item 2 ("Part of my job is to make my students feel good.") has the highest mean in all groups and in the overall results. Perhaps the way the item was phrased affected the way the teachers responded. The item seems to indicate a less top-down mandate to show positive emotions to students and more of a personal decision on the part of the teachers to show positive emotions. Also, novice teachers appeared to have the highest means, and the experienced teachers seemed to have the lowest means in general. These results might indicate that their status can influence the way they are affected by emotional display rules.

Teachers' Opinions and Thoughts on Emotional Display Rules. The coded data from the teachers' written opinions and thoughts on emotional display rules show more nuances in the teachers' experiences that the statistical results cannot present. As previously stated, at the end of the Emotional Display Rules segment of TELTS, a free space was provided for teachers to further elaborate on their opinions and thoughts. The teachers were provided with the following prompt: "Now it's your turn to comment on emotional display rules in your school. Please share anything you'd like about emotional display rules that your school expects of you" (Brown, 2011, p. 97). Out of the 35 participants, 29 (83%) teachers responded to the prompt. The participants' responses were coded using the *codes-to-theory method* by Saldaña (2013). The following themes emerged: (1) the implicit nature of emotional display rules, (2) emphasis on positivity in the classroom, and (3) the impact of Japanese sociocultural norms on emotional display rules in the university. The teachers' responses are presented verbatim.

The Implicit Nature of Emotional Display Rules. The quantitative results indicated that teachers had knowledge of the emotional display rules in their contexts, but in the free space for written comments, the teachers also emphasized the implicitness of these rules. Among the 35 participants, 19 (54%) mentioned the implicit nature of emotional display

rules. For novice teachers (n = 4, 44%), emotional display rules were never stated formally but were connected to the philosophy of their institutions or to their previous graduate program.

> I haven't heard of any formal rules regarding emotional display. I think, in my work environment, these emotional norms are conveyed implicitly through the institution's philosophy. At [my university], there is a guiding philosophy of humanism, and I think that reconsidering my anger and making students feel good about my class ties into this philosophy. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> In my recollection, I think the rules about emotional display are not explicitly stated by the university. There is an overarching theme of "humanistic education" we should abide by, but I think it is not solely focused on displaying certain emotions in the classroom. – Amina (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I don't remember instruction explicitly told me the rules about emotional control or display. My beliefs are more based on MA courses. – Mindy (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

For mid-career teachers (n = 6, 38%), the implicitness of the emotional display rules is connected to their personal choices. These personal choices involved expressing positive emotions and using negative emotions as tools.

> I don't think my university has ever expressed a clear policy about expressing emotion. I, however, do feel that I myself have decided I need to show positive emotions and hide negative emotions. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)
>
> I think any emotional display rules are pretty much implicit in my full-time and part-time university classes. That said, using anger and frustration strategically in

> class can be effective, I think, and I imagine is expected. – Neil (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

These choices were also connected to the teachers' sense of professionalism.

> I have never been directly told anything about my emotions by my school. I think it's left up to the individual teacher as long as they act professional. – Siobhan (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

A number of mid-career dispatch teachers also mentioned that these emotional display rules are not explicitly conveyed to them by the university. However, their company representatives perform the necessary transactions with the universities and relay information to the dispatch teachers about work conditions in the university. It is implied that teachers should conform to their company's expectations regarding teacher behavior.

> Sorry... since I am not a direct hire of the university, I have never had direct contact with the school... There is always a bilingual Japanese admin who does all the communication. - Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> I think my university has no rules or expectation, but if I were to have an angry face or show anger and my students commented or complained about this, the university could ask my company to replace me. – Sam (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

The discrepancy between the responses of mid-career direct-hires and dispatch teachers echo the dichotomy between teacher agency and top-down administrative decision-making, which was noted in the statistical results. Based on these written responses, the teachers' contract types seem to influence their emotions toward these emotional display rules. Direct-hires claim that the rules in their institutions are implicit, but they, themselves,

decide to project positivity and use negative emotions as tools. In contrast, dispatch teachers claim that the rules are implicit because they are not in direct contact with the university, but they have to follow these rules or risk losing their jobs.

Experienced teachers have the highest response rate to this segment of the survey (n = 9, 90%), despite generally having the lowest means. The implicit nature of emotional display rules is conveyed by some teachers as a set of expectations which are connected with Japanese culture and/or the culture in their own universities or institutions.

> I don't think my school has ever indicated anything regarding my showing emotion. But I also think Japanese culture expects restraint. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Universities in Japan have expectations of what is "good" and "bad". Leakage of emotions can be seen as unprofessional and "wrong" in some way. However, I have found [my university] has a more understanding and balanced view when it comes to teacher emotions, notably that we are all just humans, doing the best we can, and that life can be testing. I have worked in five other institutions in Japan, and emotions had to be stifled at all times. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Expectations from the school is probably not accurate. There is a campus culture but often that is determined by other teachers, not the administrative staff. At the university, it's tricky because the leaders are often teachers serving in administrative positions for short time. Depending on who takes over the feeling of the campus can change drastically. – Gregory (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Similar to some responses of mid-career teachers, some experienced teachers also connected these rules with professionalism.

> There are no rules. There may be expectations, but they are not made explicit. Professional teachers should understand that presenting a positive face promotes a positive learning environment, while also valuing the expression of genuine emotions when appropriate. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Using emotion as a tool was also expressed by one experienced teacher. However, while Neil, a mid-career teacher, only focused on the strategic use of anger and frustration, Ian, an experienced teacher, believed that all emotions can be utilized in the classroom.

> I do believe that "feeling" is a tool of communication on par with reading, writing, speaking, and listening. – Ian (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

A number of teachers also pointed to the fact that these emotional display rules were absent in their universities or institutions in the first place. The topic of emotions or emotional display toward their students has not been or is not discussed at all. In connection with this lack of discussion on emotions, some teachers expressed a lack of awareness of the existence of these rules. Hence, these emotional display rules might be present, but the teachers are unaware of them.

> My school had no such policy stated explicitly nor was it raised implicitly. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I don't know that we have any rules like this. To be honest, I've never been given much guidance about what is expected. – Catherine (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> There are no explicit emotional display rules. – Yvette (Experienced Teacher, Direct-hire, NEST)

> It is not a topic that is ever directly discussed. – Lance (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)
>
> I lecture part-time at three different universities. I am not aware of rules regarding display of emotions at any of them. – Ian (Experienced. Direct-hire, NEST)
>
> I have never, in more than 30 years of teaching, been told how to react with students. However, I have common sense and use that. – Bethany (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)
>
> At this time, I am not aware of specific rules other than rules found in harassment policies and professionalism. – Kaiden (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

The statistical results indicate that teachers are aware of the emotional display rules in their own contexts; however, as the coded data suggests, these rules seem to be largely implicit. A number of teachers seem to be unaware of any such rules in their own universities. Novice teachers seemed to connect these rules with the philosophy of their institutions or to their previous graduate programs. Mid-career teachers who are direct-hires appeared to make decisions with regard to the rules more easily than mid-career dispatch teachers whose companies mediate between them and their universities. Experienced teachers seemed to connect these implicit rules to the sociocultural norms of Japanese society and to their own campus culture.

Emphasis on Positivity in the Classroom. Positivity was mentioned by some teachers (n = 9, 31%). This concept was connected to maintaining a positive atmosphere in the classroom and showing a positive attitude toward the students by giving praise and smiling. For novice teachers (n = 2, 22%), positivity was utilized according to the contexts in which they teach. Both Wayne and Carol focused on the mandate to be positive in their own

eikaiwa or English conversation school. Although Wayne is a university direct-hire, he keeps a side job as an *eikaiwa* teacher.

> For children, I am expected to be very positive to keep children engaged. For older students, I can be more honest. – Wayne (Novice, Direct-hire, NEST)
>
> As I am technically an employee at a for profit English conversation company, those expectations extend to my work at university. I'm expected to treat my students as customers and make them want to continue using my company's services. As a result, sometimes, even though the student isn't performing well or putting in effort, I must give positive feedback and show positive emotion. I find these rules counterintuitive to the student's (customer's) goals because in the end the student doesn't progress. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

Among the mid-career group (n = 5, 31%) who mentioned positivity, three teachers also work as dispatch teachers in *eikaiwa*. However, their beliefs vary in terms of whether these rules are personally acceptable to them or not, and whether these rules are mandated by their respective companies or are self-imposed. The lack of an agent in Rei's response seems to indicate that these rules are in place and she did not decide on these rules herself.

> Emphasis is exclusively on praise, and even constructive criticism is occasionally discouraged. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

Lucas's response which begins with "I'm expected to" also does not indicate who has these expectations. However, he does not seem to dispute these expectations because he frames his teaching job as similar to any customer service job.

> I'm expected to always smile and be friendly towards students. However, I don't really mind these expectations because similar expectations apply to almost all jobs involving interactions with customers. – Lucas (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

In contrast to Lucas and Rei, Ruben seems to have a more positive attitude toward positivity in the language classroom, and even connects his belief with a research-backed pedagogical theory.

> Learning English needs to be a positive experience. We need to make students feel good in order to lower the affective filter and help students to express themselves. This is especially important in my university class, since I'm not exactly teaching, but trying to get students to speak up and overcome their shyness. The school wants students to feel happy and safe and be able to try to communicate with the instructors. – Ruben (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

The two other teachers in the mid-career group who mentioned positivity were direct-hires. One noticeable difference between the two sub-groups of teachers is that the direct hires seemed to have a greater sense of agency toward their decisions to show positive emotions.

> I don't think my university has ever expressed a clear policy about expressing emotion. I, however, do feel that I myself have decided I need to show positive emotions and hide negative emotions. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Generally we need to motivate the unmotivated, so staying positive is key. It's sometimes hard to balance with holding them accountable for late work, but mostly it's a matter of giving them additional chances and trying to find the emotional approach that works in each case. – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Among the experienced group of teachers, only two participants mentioned positivity (n = 2, 10%). One of these two teachers explicitly mentioned positivity, while the other participant connected positivity with other traits. Both teachers, however, integrated the idea of positivity with professionalism.

> Professional teachers should understand that presenting a positive face promotes a positive learning environment, while also valuing the expression of genuine emotions when appropriate. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)
>
> The general expectation is that professionalism means appearing calm, accepting and nurturing under most if not all circumstances. – Florence (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Positivity was emphasized by a number of teachers in the study. The two novice teachers who mentioned positivity connected the trait with their work in their respective *eikaiwa*. The mid-career teachers, in contrast, had more varied responses. Even among the mid-career dispatch teachers, two teachers focused on their dispatch company's mandate to project positivity while one focused on a more research-informed reason to show positivity in the classroom. While these dispatch teachers still seemed tied to their company's dictates, the direct-hire mid-career teachers seemed to exhibit more agency in their decision to show positivity. Finally, the experienced teachers who mentioned positivity connected the concept to professionalism and other positive traits.

Impact of Japanese Sociocultural Norms. A final theme which emerged from coding the teachers' responses on emotional display rules is the impact of Japanese sociocultural norms on the display of emotions in the classroom. A major point that was mentioned by the teachers is the interconnection between restraint and professionalism. The expectation

to "appear calm" (Florence, Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST) might be similar to this sense of restraint which was mentioned by some teachers (n = 3, 9%).

> We are expected to not express too much emotion. For example, if we express excitement or joy, we might be perceived as unprofessional. On the other hand, if we show exhaustion or unhappiness, they will be concerns that we might affect the image of the university. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> Universities in Japan have expectations of what is "good" and "bad". Leakage of emotions can be seen as unprofessional and "wrong" in some way. However, I have found [my university] has a more understanding and balanced view when it comes to teacher emotions, notably that we are all just humans, doing the best we can, and that life can be testing. I have worked in five other institutions in Japan, and emotions had to be stifled at all times. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I don't think my school has ever indicated anything regarding my showing emotion. But I also think Japanese culture expects restraint. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Apart from this point, one other teacher contrasted the Japanese sociocultural norm of restraining one's emotions to their own country's sociocultural norm of naturally expressing anger. The participant indicated that expressing such negative emotions in the classroom is a normal occurrence, but in Japan, the expression of such emotions seems to threaten students' face and thus affect their learning.

> Anger is complicated here in Japan. In [my country], it is socially acceptable for a professor to voice anger or disappointment at students if something happens (without abuse, obviously). It is normal to display irritation, or to state that

> expectations have not been met. I don't find that to be possible here in Japan. Students feel extremely threatened when they lose face, and learning, or making mistakes without losing face is a challenge. It takes a lot of preparation and practice to soften the blow. – Elham (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

These final written responses seem to indicate that sociocultural norms can influence the emotional display rules that teachers perceive in their universities. In particular, the teachers seemed to emphasize emotional restraint as a facet of Japanese society that is also expected in the classroom. This sociocultural norm can also clash with sociocultural norms in other countries where the expression of negative emotions is considered normal, even among teachers.

Key Findings of Emotional Display Rules. The results of the Emotional Display Rules segment of TELTS were analyzed through statistical methods and the coding of the participants' written responses. The Kruskal Wallis H-test, which was performed on the dataset, showed no statistically significant differences in the responses of the three groups. This result seems to indicate that novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers are all knowledgeable of emotional display rules in their contexts and are all affected by such rules. Results of the descriptive statistics show that Item 2 ("Part of my job is to make my students feel good.") had the highest mean across all groups. The means seem to be connected to the way the item is phrased. In contrast to the other positive display rule items which started with "My school tells me to" and "My school expects me to", Item 2 seems less about the school's direct instruction on the teachers to display certain emotions but more about their own decision to make students feel good. This can be connected to the theme of teachers' agency against top-down administrative decisions, which are influenced by either the teachers' individual context, particularly their status, and the institutional

contexts, particularly the teachers' contract types as either direct-hires or dispatch teachers. The descriptive statistics also show that in general, novice teachers had the highest means while the experienced teachers had the lowest means. This finding seems to indicate that because of their status, novice teachers felt the need to comply more with the rules and experienced teachers felt less constrained by such rules.

The results of coding the written data show more subtle nuances between the groups. Three themes emerged from this analysis: (1) the implicit nature of emotional display rules, (2) emphasis on positivity in the classroom, and (3) the impact of Japanese sociocultural norms on emotional display rules in the university. Since rules are implicit, novice teachers seem to depend on the philosophies of their universities and their graduate school studies for understanding what is expected of them. Within the mid-career group, direct-hires seem more free to make their own decisions to display or suppress emotions in the absence of explicit emotional display rules. In contrast, mid-career dispatch teachers rely on the instructions of their companies and if unable to comply, these teachers may be replaced. The experienced group of teachers appear to connect their knowledge of Japanese sociocultural norms to the implicitness of the rules in their universities and their sense of professionalism. The emphasis on positivity in the classroom was also mentioned in each group. For novice teachers, positivity seems to be more connected to their jobs at their *eikaiwa*. Mid-career teachers had varied responses depending on their institutional contexts. In conjunction with the theme of teacher agency against top-down decision-making processes imposed on teachers, mid-career direct-hires again seem more free to decide when to show positivity, while as for mid-career dispatch teachers, although there are slight variations, being positive seems to be connected to the customer service dynamic imposed on them by their companies. Experienced teachers seemed to connect positivity with professionalism and other positive behaviors. Finally, the Japanese sociocultural norm

of emotional restraint is perceived by experienced teachers as part of the institutions' emotional display rules. This norm seems to contrast with some other cultures in which natural expression, even of negative emotions, seems to be normal among teachers.

Emotional Acting

The Emotional Acting section of TELTS is aimed at measuring how often teachers utilize any of the three emotional labor strategies: surface acting, deep acting, and natural expression. The questionnaire consists of 11 items: five items for surface acting, three items for deep acting, and three items for natural expression. Teachers were asked to rate these items on a five-point Likert scale, with 5 representing "Always", 4 representing "Often", 3 representing "Sometimes", 2 representing "Rarely," and 1 representing "Never." Similar to Emotional Display Rules, this segment is followed by a free space on which teachers can write their thoughts and opinions on emotional labor strategies. The findings are presented as follows: (1) the statistical results, (2) the coded responses of teachers, and (3) a summary of the key findings of the Emotional Acting section of TELTS.

Inferential Statistics. The Kruskal Wallis H-test was used to identify any significant differences in the responses of the three groups. After processing the data on SPSS (Version 29.0), the results showed that there were no significant differences in the responses of the three groups for all items in the Emotional Acting section of TELTS (see Appendix H). Although the results of the Kruskal Wallis H-test showed no significant differences between the groups, a close examination of the descriptive statistics suggests possible divergences that are supported in the qualitative data.

Descriptive Statistics. Similar to the Emotional Display Rules section, descriptive statistics were utilized in this section in analyzing the quantitative segment of the survey. The measures of central tendency and variance of the teachers' responses were explored

through calculating the means, standard deviations, and modes of each item. In this subsection, the overall responses of the teachers are first presented, followed by a breakdown of the details for the group of novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers.

Table 11

Overall Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of Emotional Acting by Item

Item	Statement	M	SD	Mo
	Surface Acting			
7	To work with my students, I act differently from how I feel.	3.09	1.04	3
8	As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students.	3.77	1.00	4
9	Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood.	3.60	0.98	3
10	To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.	3.14	1.17	2
11	I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job.	3.09	1.01	3
	Deep Acting			
2	I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display at work.	3.31	1.08	4
4	I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.	3.17	1.10	4
6	I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.	3.00	1.08	4
	Natural Expression			
1	The emotions I show to my students match the emotions I feel.	3.46	0.78	4
3	The emotions I show my students come naturally.	3.71	0.75	4
5	The emotions I express to students are genuine.	3.91	0.70	4

The overall results indicate that Item 5 ("The emotions I express to students are genuine"), which is a Natural Expression item, has the highest mean (M = 3.91). This item is followed by Item 8 ("As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students."), which is curiously a Surface Acting item (M = 3.77). The item with the lowest mean (M = 3.00) is Item 6 ("I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show."), which is a Deep Acting item. As previously stated, the results of the inferential statistics indicated no significant differences in the teachers' responses, and this result seems to be supported by the descriptive statistics. These figures could indicate that teachers shift from one emotional labor strategy to another, depending on the situation or the context. However, natural expression seems to be the most preferred emotional labor strategy, followed by surface acting, and deep acting appears to be the least preferred strategy.

Table 12

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of EA by Item (Novice Group)

Item	Statement	M	SD	Mo
	Surface Acting			
7	To work with my students, I act differently from how I feel.	3.11	1.17	3
8	As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students.	3.78	1.20	4
9	Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood.	3.56	1.24	3
10	To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.	3.78	1.20	4
11	I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job.	3.11	0.78	3
	Deep Acting			
2	I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display at work.	3.33	1.22	4
4	I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.	3.33	1.32	3
6	I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.	3.11	1.05	4
	Natural Expression			
1	The emotions I show to my students match the emotions I feel.	3.56	0.73	4
3	The emotions I show my students come naturally.	3.78	0.67	4
5	The emotions I express to students are genuine.	4.00	0.50	4

Similar to the overall results, Item 5 ("The emotions I express to students are genuine.") also had the highest mean (M = 4.0) for novice teachers. Three items had the lowest mean (M = 3.11): Item 7 ("To work with my students, I act differently from how I feel."), Item 11 ("I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job."), and Item 6 ("I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show."). Items 7 and 11 are Surface Acting items while Item 6 is a Deep Acting item. The differences between the means have previously been found to be insignificant, which might suggest that, similar to the overall results, novice teachers also volley between emotional labor strategies, depending on the situation or the context. However, based on these more nuanced figures, novice teachers also appear to prefer natural expression as a strategy. Although the items with the lowest means belonged to different categories, a common theme that seems to emerge from the items is the lack of authenticity of emotions, as evidenced by the phrases "act differently," "hide the emotions I feel," and "work hard to feel the emotions." These results seem to indicate that novice teachers value genuine emotions over inauthentic ones.

Table 13

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of EA by Item (Mid-career Group)

Item	Statement	M	SD	Mo
	Surface Acting			
7	To work with my students, I act differently from how I feel.	3.25	1.18	4
8	As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students.	3.75	1.00	3
9	Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood.	3.75	0.93	3
10	To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.	3.19	1.05	4
11	I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job.	3.38	1.09	3
	Deep Acting			
2	I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display at work.	3.44	1.03	3
4	I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.	3.19	1.05	4
6	I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.	2.75	1.06	2
	Natural Expression			
1	The emotions I show to my students match the emotions I feel.	3.44	0.89	4
3	The emotions I show my students come naturally.	3.50	0.89	4
5	The emotions I express to students are genuine.	3.75	0.86	4

For mid-career teachers, the highest mean (M = 3.75) is for three items: Item 8 ("As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students."), Item 9 ("Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood."), and Item 5 ("The emotions I express to students are genuine."). Items 8 and 9 are Surface Acting items, while Item 5 is a Natural Expression item. Item 6 ("I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show"), a Deep Acting item, had the lowest mean (M = 2.75). These results also suggest that mid-career teachers also volley between any of the emotional labor strategies. However, the more nuanced figures seem to indicate a divided preference for surface acting and natural expression. This result might be influenced by the divide between the mid-career direct hires, who have more agency and autonomy over their emotions and emotional display, and mid-career dispatch teachers, who are expected to follow emotional display rules that are set for them by their companies. Among these emotional display rules is the performance of acceptable emotions (Item 8), and the expression of positive emotions while suppressing negative emotions (Item 9). As previously stated, these emotional display rules are set in

contexts such as in *eikaiwa* dispatch companies in order to retain their customers or students, and hence gain more profit.

Table 14

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of EA by Item (Experienced Group)

Item	Statement	M	SD	Mo
	Surface Acting			
7	To work with my students, I act differently from how I feel.	2.80	0.63	3
8	As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students.	3.80	0.92	4
9	Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood.	3.40	0.84	3
10	To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.	2.50	1.08	2
11	I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job.	2.60	0.97	2
	Deep Acting			
2	I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display at work.	3.10	1.10	4
4	I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.	3.30	1.05	4
6	I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.	3.30	1.16	4
	Natural Expression			
1	The emotions I show to my students match the emotions I feel.	3.40	0.70	4
3	The emotions I show my students come naturally.	4.00	0.47	4
5	The emotions I express to students are genuine.	4.10	0.57	4

For experienced teachers, Item 5 ("The emotions I express to students are genuine.") had the highest mean (M = 4.10), followed by Item 3 ("The emotions I show my students come naturally.") (M = 4.00). In contrast to the other two groups and the overall results, the experienced group did not have the lowest mean in the Deep Acting section but in the Surface Acting section. Item 10 ("To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.") had the lowest mean (M = 2.50). Among the three groups, the experienced teachers seem to have the lowest means for Surface Acting items. Similar to the two groups, the differences were also previously found to be insignificant; however, the nuances in these figures seem to indicate that experienced teachers value genuine emotions over disingenuous ones. Perhaps this result shows that experienced teachers have embodied the emotional display rules necessary for their context and thus feel no need to display inauthentic emotions.

Overall, the descriptive statistics appear to support the results of the inferential statistics. Although there were differences in the responses, these were not significant, which might indicate that teachers volley between one strategy to another. Item 5 ("The emotions I express to students are genuine.") seems to consistently be one of the items with the highest means in all three groups. Item 6 ("I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.") is among the items with the lowest means in the novice and mid-career group, while Item 11 ("I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job.") had the lowest mean for the experienced group. The nuances in the results of the descriptive statistics also seem to indicate that teachers prefer expressing authentic emotions over inauthentic ones. A special case can be observed among the mid-career teachers who also indicated a strong preference for surface acting. This result might be caused by the presence of dispatch teachers who are expected and instructed to display positive emotions and suppress negative emotions in order to retain customers, and thus gain more profit.

Teachers' Opinions and Thoughts on Emotional Acting. While the results of the inferential statistics show no significant differences between the groups, suggesting that teachers use any of the emotional labor strategies, and the descriptive statistics show some of the nuances in each group, the qualitative portion of the survey presents some of the circumstances surrounding the use of these strategies. As previously mentioned, a free space was provided for teachers at the end of the Emotional Acting segment of TELTS, in order for the participants to express any thoughts or opinions about emotional labor strategies in their own universities or institutions. The teachers were provided with two prompts: (1) "Teaching is an emotional practice. Perhaps as a teacher you've had to suppress your real emotions to do your job. Please explain a situation where you have had to suppress your real emotions while teaching," and (2) "As a teacher, you might have expressed emotions you really didn't feel. Please explain a situation where you have had to

express unfelt emotions while teaching" (Brown, 2011, p. 99). For the first prompt, 33 out of 35 participants (94%) responded. For the second prompt, 31 out of 35 teachers (89%) responded. Similar to the Emotional Display Rules segment, the responses of the teachers were coded using the *codes-to-theory method* by Saldaña (2013). The overarching themes which emerged from the two prompts are discussed in two subsections: (1) suppression of negative emotions, and (2) display of positive emotions. The teachers' responses are presented verbatim.

Suppression of Negative Emotions. While the first prompt called for the suppression of "real emotions" (Brown, 2011, p. 99), most of the participants (n = 29, 83%) recalled suppressing blatantly negative emotions such as sadness, exhaustion, frustration, disappointment, and irritation. These negative emotions are mostly caused by student behavior (n = 15, 43%) and personal circumstances (n = 10, 29%). Furthermore, the suppression of these negative emotions was often performed for the benefit of the students (n = 12, 34%) and due to the teachers' beliefs of professionalism (n = 4, 11%).

Among novice teachers, suppression of negative emotions was common (n = 6, 67%). The emotions mentioned by these teachers include sadness, exhaustion, upset, disappointment, annoyance, frustration, and sleepiness. The most common sources of negative emotions appear to be student behavior (n = 4, 44%) and personal circumstances (n = 3, 33%). The student behavior mentioned by novice teachers include use of phones in class, distractions, absence, lack of motivation to study, and issues with homework. On the other hand, some personal circumstances mentioned by the teachers include separation from partners, death of relatives, and family issues. Furthermore, teachers in this group mostly suppress their emotions for the benefit of the class (n = 4, 44%). These emotions, origins of emotions, and reasons for suppressing certain emotions were often combined and explained by the teachers in a narrative style.

> One time I had a student who would not stop using her phone during a group discussion. It affected not only the result of an activity but also her groupmates. I felt upset but at the time I thought it would be wrong to stop an activity and rebuke her in front of the class. Instead, I stood next to her group to apply a subtle pressure (she tried not to use her phone when I was around). Then, we also talked about this episode after the class. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I can recall a time when I was teaching a student who didn't bother to study much and who didn't retain much information from lesson to lesson. I felt some annoyance and frustration at this student after re-teaching a particular vocabulary word for the 3rd time but had to suppress those feelings to keep a positive atmosphere in the classroom. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

While most teachers in this group tend to suppress their negative emotions, a few openly share their genuine emotions to their students. These emotions can be positive or negative depending on their students' behavior.

> When students are distracted after being reminded for several times, I would not pretend as if I am good. I try to talk in a neutral tone and make them know that I am not kidding. – Mindy (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I try to hide my disappointment when the attendance is not perfect, on the other hand, I openly display my pleasure to students when we have perfect attendance. I show disappointment with students who have not done homework by questioning them. I intend to make them feel embarrassed and guilty by doing so, so that they feel they are out of the norm. I think as a teacher I am emotionally transparent to my students. – Amina (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

Another notable point in this group is how one teacher had negative emotions due to their relationship with their superiors; however, they suppressed these negative emotions for the benefit of their students.

> I was upset about the way the administration handled a complaint about me, which made me mentally exhausted. However, I had to hide these feelings of sadness and exhaustion so that it would not affect the quality of my teaching. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

One final point to note is how a novice teacher used the term "masking" to refer to the act of suppressing emotions and how masking actually had a positive benefit.

> Since getting hired, I got through two breakups, and two relatives passed away. I was not able to attend their funerals. I might be an outlier on this one, but I had to mask a lot. Masking did help me move on. It helped me disconnect from my issues. – Elham (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

Among the mid-career group, some teachers also suppressed negative emotions (n = 14, 88%). The emotions mentioned by teachers in this group include annoyance, disappointment, feeling down, anger, and irritation. Similar to the novice group, the most common causes of these negative emotions seem to be student behavior (n = 9, 56%) and personal circumstances (n = 4, 25%). The types of student behavior which cause negative emotions among these mid-career teachers include failure to complete assignments, insufficient preparation for the class, lack of engagement in class activities, noncooperation, disrespect, disruption, and plagiarism.

> Where to start? Dealing with disappointment in an activity that I thought the students could do but they aren't trying, anger at willful ignorance or pretending

> that I am not aware of students goofing off, and just general annoyance are things that I wouldn't say I haven't experienced more than once. – Neil (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I had to suppress my real emotion when my students refused to do the tasks I had asked them to do. Rather than showing my real emotions, I just asked them to do the task again. – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> I think I usually suppress negative emotion at work. I'm often in a situation where a few of my students are being disruptive and disrespectful, and I'm quite frustrated and irritated by this. I tend to make these negative emotions with a smile, which doesn't really seem to diffuse the situation. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Last year, plagiarism was rampant throughout our writing program, and coming across it tended to bring regular grading and teaching to a halt. This student thinks he can just copy-paste-translate from a japanese blog and that's fine? My initial reaction, other than "Gotcha", was sometimes anger. But I had to swallow that down, and calmly lay out the situation/consequences/steps forward for the student. I guess I agree that it is healthier to react like that, and more productive. But it's one of the more aggravating aspects of the job. (I want to note that since switching to all in-class, no-phones, paper-and-pencil writing, plagiarism has plummeted this year). – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

One notable point about the suppression of emotions is how some dispatch teachers view the act as a requirement imposed on them by individuals who are in positions of power. In the excerpt below, Rei uses the phrase "I am not allowed to." However, because of

the lack of an agent in the sentence, the person or persons who do not allow such emotions are not identified.

> Students do not do homework, do not take notes, do not bring required materials, do not listen in class and make me repeat myself several times, but I am not allowed to be upset or angry about it. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

The personal circumstances which induced negative emotions among these teachers include negative feedback, family issues, and illness.

> If I've received negative feedback or bad news just before a lesson, I've had to suppress my feelings and focus on being positive with the students. Admittedly, it's not something that happens often, but it does sometimes occur. – Ruben (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> I found out my wife had a miscarriage while I was teaching. It was hard to finish my classes that day. – Sam (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

> The thing that comes to mind here are when emotions are driven by events in my personal life that are outside of the class. For example, recent stresses over my daughter, who had been refusing to go to school, were causing me a lot of negative emotion, and these were certainly suppressed (simply because it is not fair to the students). – Ollie (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I found out my best friend was in the ICU during a class and wanted nothing more than to leave and learn more right away but I taught the class. However after lunch I honestly told me class I was a bit off that day and explained why. – Siobhan (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Moreover, most teachers in the mid-career group indicated that they suppressed their emotions for the benefit of the class (n = 6, 38%). One other teacher alluded to their sense of professionalism (n = 1, 6%).

> I didn't want [my students] to hate English, because it is not fun or the teacher is not nice to them. – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> When many students are absent I sometimes feel angry. I try to suppress this emotion because it doesn't make sense to show anger to the students who are present. – Taylor (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> If I'm feeling down because something negative has happened in my professional or personal life, I hide my true emotions from my students in order to perform my job in a professional manner. – Lucas (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

As a final note, one other teacher mentioned that other types of emotions such as amusement because of students also tend to get suppressed. Perhaps this situation also ties in with emotional restraint which is often culturally equated with professionalism, as mentioned in the previous section on Emotional Display Rules.

> It is rare I feel irritated but if that happens I will try not to display it too much Occasionally students will do something that makes me want to laugh at them. I try not to. – William (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

Among the experienced group, some teachers also recalled suppressing negative emotions (n = 4, 40%). Two teachers openly shared their experiences in their own context; one of whom suppressed negative emotions toward a colleague, not a student.

> Occasionally a student might do something rude and I have to hesitate to not lash out angrily, and instead diffuse the situation calmly. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> There have been instances in which I have had to work collaboratively to assist a student (thesis writing) with a colleague who has not acted in an equally collegial manner to me. For the sake of the student I have had to choke back my anger and offer fair constructive help to that colleague's student despite the destructive mean unfair/unwarranted comments that he had given to my own student. – Florence (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

The two other teachers who discussed emotional suppression recalled incidents in the past and in contexts other than their Japanese university.

> It has been a while, but in the past I sometimes struggled with controlling my anger. – Ian (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Not at my current position, but while teaching in [another country] I was going through a period of severe anxiety was unable to sleep. I was tired all the time, but tried to keep my interactions in class positive and fun. – Yvette (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Personal circumstances such as the death of loved ones and anxiety were also a common source of negative emotions (n = 4, 40%). These personal circumstances were also connected with the teachers' sense of professionalism and the support from their colleagues.

> Doing make up classes after returning from [my country] and my father's deathbed. – Lance (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I had my father's private "wake," followed by a final departmental meeting in which I needed to thank my colleagues for their seven-year kindness, then back to the public "wake" of my father. All on Zoom. Not teaching, but being a professional. Teaching in a new job whilst grieving for the loss of my father, my old job, my colleagues, my house, and the life I thought I would be living. Again. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Everyone has been really good to me and supportive, but I have had my own anxiety of not being able to measure up or to do my job well even though I have been told I am doing a good job. I have not really felt anger or have been upset (based on a question on the previous page). Anxiety has been my issue. When carrying out one of my academic tasks last year, I was not able to come up with substantial ideas like others. No one made me feel bad about it, but I still experienced self-inflicted anxiety because I thought I was not doing a good job. – Kaiden (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Emotional honesty was also a common theme in this group (n = 3, 30%). Most instances of emotional honesty were connected with events concerning students and the teachers' sense of professionalism.

> I have a fairly positive set point (according to Lybomirsky, Deiner, etc.) so rarely feel a need to express anger, etc. But do try to be emotionally honest. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Very rarely, a student will try to get away with less than optimal performance of assignments or classroom tasks. When such behavior might adversely affect other students in the class, I speak privately to the student and show my feelings of

> concern, and if I discover that there is no good reason for the drop in performance, then I show disappointment. I find that it may backfire to confront a student in front of other students since a loss of his or her face may not encourage future cooperation. – Florence (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I'm usually quite honest with my students, but I would not say things that would hurt their feelings or demotivate them. But I guess I put aside any personal worries about family etc and act completely normal in a class. But that is normal professional behavior, I think. – Bethany (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

One final point of interest is the issue of pragmatics. Instead of viewing the question as a matter of suppressing or displaying emotions, one teacher foregrounded the issue of appropriateness of emotional display based on the situation.

> Perhaps as a teacher you've had to suppress your real emotions to do your job= isn't this a form of pragmatics? I have lots of emotions but I convey them to the audience in an appropriate way. Sometimes it is not effective to express my emotions at the moment. Sometimes it is better to wait for another moment to broach the topic. Teaching in an EFL situation can create awkward or damaging feelings without understanding the context. Some things may upset me or make me feel happy, but the situation may or may not allow it (this is based on my interpretation). I sometimes don't know so I take a Machiavellian approach. – Gregory (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

The suppression of negative emotions seems to be a common occurrence among the teachers in this study. Some of the main causes of suppressed negative emotions include student behavior, personal circumstances, and conflicts with colleagues. Most teachers also

mentioned suppressing their negative emotions for the benefit of their students. Despite having negative emotional experiences, some teachers also mentioned naturally expressing their emotions. A few teachers also mentioned focusing on the support from their colleagues in the face of these negative emotions.

Display of Positive Emotions. Despite the second prompt inquiring about emotions in general, most teachers (n = 20, 57%) indicated that they displayed overtly positive emotions such as excitement, enthusiasm, and interest even if they did not actually feel these emotions. This display of positive emotions seems to be performed for the benefit of the students (n = 9, 26%) and is seen as positive reinforcement (n = 6, 17%). Among the novice group, displaying positive emotions seems common (n = 9, 67%). This group also mentioned utilizing positive reinforcement the most (n = 4, 44%). These positive emotions are directed toward student output such as presentations and other class activities in which participation seems to be low. Novice teachers seem to use positive emotions to encourage their students to perform such activities.

> Sometimes when my students present, I feign excitement. Once, one of my students made a great presentation with beautiful slides and a detailed script but she was so nervous that she kept reading her notes quietly without engaging the audience. I knew that she had worked hard for that presentation but I also knew that it was extremely hard to make out what she was saying. Nevertheless, I tried to cheer her up by looking excited about what she was saying. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I told the students their presentations are "great" even if I think they are subpar to my personal standards. – Amina (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I think it's important to give at least some positive feedback to help encourage students. I have however had to give disingenuous positive feedback to keep a student from getting discouraged. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

> When you encounter a class with absolute reluctance for participation, positive reinforcement is often the most annoyingly implemented yet effective way to progress. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I usually am a little excessively upbeat in class. I feel like if I'm not, students grow lethargic. That one is an easy parameter I have control over to ensure success. – Elham (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

One novice teacher mentioned displaying positive emotions not to students but to senior faculty members who displayed skepticism toward his research.

> I have experienced this, not particularly during teaching, but during meetings. Since all of us have different research specialities and teaching philosophies, there are cases where more senior faculty members express skepticism towards our teaching approaches. The issue is we know our own field of research well and we are aware of what we are doing. However, it is difficult to argue with more senior faculty members and we have to put on a smile and take it all in. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

In the mid-career group, some teachers also mentioned displaying positive emotions (n = 11, 68%). Most teachers in this group indicated displaying positive emotions to motivate and energize the students, especially when they refuse to participate in some of the activities.

> Sometimes, I want to energize the class for particular lesson stages, for example, for a game. I may not be particularly excited about the game myself, but I feign excitement to encourage my students to feel positive about the activity. When I do this, my own mood tends to change to be more positive, which is a nice result. – Taylor (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> We had planned a class activity but student energy was low. One or two students to get into it and lead the rest would have been enough, but we were at rock bottom. I had to get goofy and break them out of their shells and get the ball rolling. But it took constant effort, and I still felt like Sisyphus. Maybe it was good for me too. But it still counts as work. I really wonder how many other teachers have to do this kind of thing, or how many simply don't even attempt to. – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Another common reason cited by the teachers is their required textbooks. Although the teachers were not interested in the textbook, they still displayed positive emotions in order to encourage their students.

> The thing that comes to mind here relates to topic and textbook choices. There have been times in the past few years when I have to teach books and topics which are fundamentally uninteresting to me, but I feign more interest and importance in these topics than I really feel. – Ollie (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Performing excitement or interest about a textbook topic I have no interest in, such as marketing. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

Some teachers also mentioned displaying positive emotions toward their students, showing interest in their lives or giving them praise even if these emotions might not be genuine.

> I teach Eikaiwa Salon 4 days a week. When students give really short answers, I act really excited about my student's life when I am not really interested. I would ask them more questions just to avoid awkward silence. – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> Last semester, I had a pretty disruptive class of first-year students and when they barely met my expectations during one class, I heaped praise on them at the end. I didn't really feel like I should praise them. They're adults in my book and should be able to meet basic classroom expectations. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Sometimes you teach students that you don't really like that much but you have to pretend to like them. – Lucas (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

> In Japan, I feel that I should appear as a caring teacher, even when I do not sympathize sometimes. One example is when students haven't done their homework or assignments, I feel that I am supposed to check with them and show my concern if there [isn't] anything difficult they are dealing with, even though in my culture, students are entirely responsible for their study. In this case I would be suppressing my desire to lecture them to be more responsible. There has never been anyone demanding me to do so, but from my understanding of the culture, I feel this would be culturally appropriate. – Jane (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

One other teacher mentioned pretending to show surprise over what his students say even though he has been living in Japan for a while and is not all that surprised anymore about certain aspects of living in the country.

> Living in Japan, I've heard the same stories and recommendations many times, and sometimes I've feigned interest or surprise at hearing the same things over and over. – Ruben (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

One mid-career teacher summed up the experience of displaying positive emotions that are not necessarily felt in the phrase "happy genki gaijin" or the happy, lively or energetic foreign teacher. This stereotype seems to have propagated in Japan, especially because foreign teachers seem to be tasked to come up with games and provide fun in an otherwise dull and boring English class.

> I call it the "happy Genki gaijin" - put on a big fake smile that is obviously fake in order to feign enthusiasm and maybe get a few laughs to help things move along. That's one trick. Another is just using my charisma to get the class moving especially at the start of a lesson. I am much more myself in lessons when this isn't necessary, but sometimes the subject matter is dry or challenging or the students just aren't there, and so it's my job to make the class happen, and that includes attempting to bring up the mood some. – Neil (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

As a final note, one other teacher mentioned displaying positive emotions toward their colleagues. However, in stark contrast to the rest of the group, these emotions seem to have become genuine over time because the teacher seemed to have integrated the emotional requirement of displaying positive emotions into their sense of professional identity.

> I think part of being a professional and working successfully with others involves displaying cooperativeness, interest in the work, and sociability. There are times when I need to consciously remember to display these qualities, but doing so has gotten easier over time. I know the question is asking for a specific situation, but I find it is more of a pervasive condition than a specific situation. A normal part of doing a job is that involves others is to show that I am willing and able to work with them to achieve the goals of the job. – Eric (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Among the experienced group of teachers, display of positive emotions seems less common (n = 3, 30%) than the previous two groups. Two teachers who mentioned displaying positive emotions, which may not necessarily be genuine, discussed making this choice for the benefit of the students and in order to create a more positive relationship with their students. One teacher did not mention any specific reason for displaying positive emotions.

> One student was extremely rude, disinterested in the class, and very disruptive and disrespectful in class. Outside of class he was very friendly though, so I pretended to like him in order to encourage him to be cooperative. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Sometimes I know that by showing some enthusiasm for required topics in the curriculum I can encourage the students to keep trying so we can move on to more interesting topics. – Florence (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Happiness when in emotional pain. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Expressing genuine emotions, positive or negative, seems to be a common occurrence (n = 3, 30%) among experienced teachers. However, for some negative emotions, these tended to get hedged or softened for the benefit of the students.

> If I'm displeased with a student's work, I will tell them honestly. I do try to see the good points in it and focus on that. – Bethany (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Can't think of a time I've expressed unfelt emotions. In negative situations, I'm probably more likely to express disappointment than anger. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

One other teacher expressed ambivalence about the idea of emotional display or suppression. He suggested considering how the expressed emotions might be received and perceived and whether the emotions are appropriate in that particular situation.

> I don't think this is quite right, almost a leading question. I feel emotional, but I don't think I have to display things. For example, a compliment can be sincere but perhaps my word choice does not match the recipient's equivalent meaning. I can be coarse in my language but it's not appropriate in the classroom or for kids. Am I suppressing my emotion? To use a cultural teaching model, I watched Mr. Rodgers as a kid. One of the main teaching points is to use words to express emotion. You don't suppress your emotion but you learn to express it in a way that doesn't hurt others. You talk about your emotions. When you are required to stand for another country's flag, is that a form of emotional suppression? Often at school functions, this act is performed. Am I acting respectfully or suppressing my emotions? – Gregory (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

One final point of interest in this subsection is the teachers' choice of action words in their display of positive emotions. Most teachers used the word "feign" (n = 5, 14%) when discussing how they displayed excitement, interest, surprise, and enthusiasm. The other words used include "show" (n = 2, 6%) and "act" (n = 2, 6%) to indicate emotions of excitement, happiness, enthusiasm, and belief in students. Some other teachers expressed that they "pretend to like students" (n = 2, 6%). With regard to verbal praise, some teachers mentioned giving disingenuous feedback (n = 3, 8%). Other words used include "put on a smile", "display enthusiasm", "perform excitement", and "get goofy."

Overall, most teachers displayed positive emotions toward their students even though they were not necessarily genuine. However, this display of positivity is performed to encourage students when they are not motivated to participate in certain activities or to use the required textbooks. Furthermore, teachers also display positive emotions in order to build better relationships with their students and colleagues. While some teachers show positive emotions that may not be authentic, others, especially more experienced teachers, tend to exercise emotional honesty and display genuine emotions even though these may be negative.

Key Findings of Emotional Acting. Similar to the previous segment, the results of the Emotional Acting section of TELTS were analyzed through statistical methods and through coding of teachers' written opinions. After running the Kruskal Wallis H-test on the data, the results showed that there were no significant differences in the responses of the teachers in the three groups. The descriptive statistics show that teachers seem to use any of the emotional labor strategies, but most teachers in the novice and mid-career groups seem to have high means for Natural Expression and Surface Acting items. However, experienced teachers seem to utilize Surface Acting less than the other two

groups and use Deep Acting more than the novice or mid-career groups, which may reflect their longer association with Japanese culture and possible integration of local mores.

The coded responses also show the circumstances surrounding the choice of these emotional labor strategies. Most teachers indicated that they have suppressed negative emotions (n = 29, 83%) and displayed positive emotions even if these were not genuinely felt (n = 20, 57%). The negative emotions were mostly caused by unwanted student behaviors and personal circumstances. Teachers also indicated that they chose to suppress these emotions for the benefit of their classes. The same reason was expressed when teachers indicated displaying positive emotions. However, similar to what the statistical results indicate, the experienced teachers seemed to prefer expressing genuine emotions more than suppressing negative emotions and displaying positive ones that might not actually be felt.

English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale

The English Language Teacher Professional Scale or ELTPIS (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021) was created to understand the professional identities specifically of English language teachers. ELTPIS measures six factors: (1) L2 Teacher Identity as Researching and Developing One's Own Practice, (2) L2 Teacher Identity as Language Awareness, (3) L2 Teacher Identity as an Institutional and Collective Practice, (4) L2 Teacher Identity as Engaging Learners as Whole Persons, (5) L2 Teacher Identity as Appraising One's Teacher Self, and (6) L2 Teacher Identity as a Sociocultural and Critical Practice. All six factors were distributed among 42 items, which were formatted as six-point Likert scale items. The six points of the scale are equivalent to the respondents' level of agreement or disagreement to the items, as follows: 1 – Strongly disagree, 2 – Disagree, 3 – Slightly disagree, 4 – Slightly agree, 5 – Agree, and 6 – Strongly agree. Unlike TELTS, no section for explanations is provided for the participants; thus, the data was analyzed only through

statistical methods. Each factor is discussed separately, with the results of the Kruskal Wallis H-test presented first, followed by the descriptive statistics.

Factor 1: L2 Teacher Identity as Researching and Developing One's Own Practice

The first factor in the ELTPIS is concerned with the research and development of teachers' practice. The eight items which comprise this factor are centered on the confluence of research and practice. In particular, the belief that practice should be informed by research, and that teachers could benefit from conducting research, themselves, are examined in this factor. Also, the idea that research should be aimed at developing one's practice is analyzed.

Inferential Statistics. The Kruskal Wallis H-Test was used to investigate any statistically significant differences in the responses of the three groups of teachers. After running the test on SPSS (Version 29.0), the results revealed no significant differences in the responses of the three groups for all items in Factor 1 of ELTPIS (see Appendix I). Although the results of the test showed no significant differences between the groups, a close examination of the descriptive statistics suggests possible divergences that are supported in the succeeding interviews.

Descriptive Statistics. Descriptive statistics were utilized to further analyze nuances in the teachers' responses. In order to understand the measures of central tendency and variance of the participants' responses, the means, standard deviations, and modes of each item were calculated. The responses of each group to ELTPIS Factor 1 are presented in detail below.

Table 15

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of Factor 1 by Group

Item	Statement		M	SD	Mo
2	I should examine the theoretical principles and instructional strategies proposed by scholars in order to see if they are appropriate for my teaching context.	Nov	4.89	0.93	4
		Mid	5.50	0.73	6
		Exp	5.00	1.56	6
3	I should take responsibility for my own professional development (e.g., by attending conferences, workshops, reading books and articles).	Nov	5.44	0.73	6
		Mid	5.31	1.08	6
		Exp	5.60	0.52	6
4	I should act as a problem-solver (identify, examine, and solve the challenges) of my classroom practice.	Nov	5.22	0.67	5
		Mid	5.44	0.63	6
		Exp	5.50	0.53	6
6	If I make any changes to the classroom content and process, I believe I should investigate their effects and outcomes through some form of classroom research.	Nov	3.78	1.09	4
		Mid	4.00	1.37	5
		Exp	4.50	1.08	5
8	I should develop the research skills that help me to explore problems in and outside the classroom which may affect my teaching practice.	Nov	4.67	1.00	5
		Mid	4.94	0.93	5
		Exp	5.30	0.67	5
10	I should develop my knowledge to use technology as a teaching-learning tool (e.g., possible uses of software, online discussion, blogs).	Nov	5.22	0.67	5
		Mid	5.25	0.77	6
		Exp	5.30	0.67	5
11	I should not only use theories produced by scholars but also develop my views of teaching and use them in my teaching practice.	Nov	5.44	0.53	5
		Mid	5.06	0.85	5
		Exp	5.50	0.53	6
32	I should develop my knowledge of other relevant disciplines in addition to EFL teaching (e.g., linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics).	Nov	4.56	0.88	4
		Mid	4.69	1.14	5
		Exp	5.30	0.67	5

The breakdown of results by item and by group can provide a more in-depth understanding of the teachers' responses. One notable finding in this dataset is how Item 6 ("If I make any changes to the classroom content and process, I believe I should investigate their effects and outcomes through some form of classroom research.") produced the lowest mean for novice teachers (M = 3.78), mid-career teachers (M = 4.00), and experienced teachers (M = 4.50). This result might indicate that the three groups of teachers are not inclined to conduct research. In contrast, Item 3 ("I should take responsibility for my own professional development (e.g., by attending conferences, workshops, reading books and

articles).") produced the highest mean for novice teachers (M = 5.44) and experienced teachers (M = 5.60). For mid-career teachers, Item 2 ("I should examine the theoretical principles and instructional strategies proposed by scholars in order to see if they are appropriate for my teaching context.") had the highest mean (M = 5.50). These results suggest that teachers are willing to improve their teaching skills by attending conferences and reading the work of other scholars. However, teachers are not willing to conduct research themselves, possibly due to lack of time and energy. Furthermore, research is not a requirement for dispatch teachers because they are hired as company employees, so some of them may feel that they are not actually university teachers and that they are not paid to do a research job.

Factor 2: L2 Teacher Identity as Language Awareness

The second factor in the ELTPIS consists of seven items which focus on the teachers' knowledge of the English language. This knowledge includes the interrelationship between form, meaning, and use, the varieties of English, and the different aspects of the language including phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, and pragmatics. This knowledge also entails an awareness of the social, cultural, political, and ideological meanings of the language. Moreover, this factor also points to how teachers should be able to transmit this knowledge into practice.

Inferential Statistics. After running the Kruskal Wallis H-test on SPSS (Version 29.0), the results revealed no significant differences in the responses of the three groups for all items in Factor 2 of ELTPIS (see Appendix J). Even if the results showed no significant differences between the groups, a thorough examination of the descriptive statistics suggests possible divergences that are supported in the succeeding interview sessions.

Descriptive Statistics. Descriptive statistics were used to further understand nuances in the responses of each group. In order to understand the measures of central

tendency and variance of the participants' responses, the means, standard deviations, and modes of each item were calculated and presented below.

Table 16

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of Factor 2 by Group

Item	Statement		M	SD	Mo
15	I should have a knowledge of the relationship between the English language form, its meaning, and its use in real life.	Nov	5.56	1.01	6
		Mid	5.56	0.63	6
		Exp	5.50	0.53	6
18	I should know about how different varieties of the English language are used in multilingual and multicultural contexts.	Nov	5.22	0.67	5
		Mid	5.25	0.86	6
		Exp	5.40	0.52	5
19	I should have a knowledge of how the English language is used to express social, cultural, political, and ideological meanings.	Nov	5.44	0.53	5
		Mid	5.44	0.73	6
		Exp	5.40	0.52	5
20	I should be proficient in English textual analysis (e.g., cohesion, lexical relation).	Nov	5.22	0.83	6
		Mid	4.81	0.83	5
		Exp	5.50	0.53	6
22	I should examine the teaching materials to see how linguistic content is handled (e.g., authenticity).	Nov	5.44	0.73	6
		Mid	4.94	0.85	4
		Exp	5.40	0.52	5
23	I should be able to speak about English itself (e.g., how it works, how it is analyzed).	Nov	4.56	1.13	5
		Mid	5.25	0.68	5
		Exp	5.20	0.63	5
39	I should have adequate knowledge of different aspects of the English language (e.g., phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, pragmatics).	Nov	4.67	1.22	5
		Mid	5.13	0.96	5
		Exp	5.40	0.70	6

Analyzing the results per item and per group can provide a more thorough understanding of the teachers' responses. One notable point is how Item 15 ("I should have a knowledge of the relationship between the English language form, its meaning, and its use in real life.") produced the highest mean for novice (M = 5.56), mid-career (M = 5.56), and experienced (M = 5.50) teachers. This result might signify the shift from more traditional form-focused language instruction to more usage-oriented and communicative methods. Apart from simply knowing about the language and teaching its form, teachers may feel that they should also be teaching meaning and extending their students' knowledge of the language to use in real-life situations.

Another interesting point is how Item 20 ("I should be proficient in English textual analysis (e.g., cohesion, lexical relation).") produced the highest mean for experienced teachers (M = 5.50), but the same item produced the lowest mean for mid-career teachers (M = 4.81). This result might signify the difference in teachers' priorities in the classroom. More experienced teachers may feel that textual analysis is an important component of language learning, but mid-career teachers may not put as much emphasis on teaching texts. Perhaps for some mid-career teachers, especially dispatch teachers who are employed by *eikaiwa* or English conversation schools, communicative activities are preferred more than textual analysis.

Factor 3: L2 Teacher Identity as an Institutional and Collective Practice

Factor 3 of the ELTPIS is concerned with teaching as an institutional and collective practice. This factor consists of eight items which deal with belonging to the school or any educational institution in which the teachers work. Belonging in such institutions might entail following particular values, norms, and patterns of social behavior which may already be in place. Furthermore, participation in such communities might require teachers to share their knowledge and expertise to other teachers in order to build a more harmonious environment.

Inferential Statistics. After running the Kruskal Wallis H-test on SPSS (Version 29.0), results show a statistically significant difference in the teachers' responses for Item 9 ("I should join language teacher communities and actively participate in their activities (e.g., joint events, seminars, panels).") ($H(2) = 6.252$, $p = 0.044$), with a mean rank of 13.50 for novice teachers, 16.59 for mid-career teachers, and 24.30 for experienced teachers. A Pairwise Comparison was conducted as a post-hoc test, which revealed a significant difference ($p = 0.017$) between the novice (M = 4.00, SD = 1.41) and experienced teachers (M = 5.50, SD = 0.71). However, a Bonferroni adjustment was applied due to the number of

tests conducted, and the adjusted significance of $p = 0.052$ between novice teachers and experienced teachers showed no significant difference in the results (Appendix K). Although the final results indicated no significant differences between the groups, a close examination of the descriptive statistics suggests possible divergences that are supported in the succeeding interviews.

Descriptive Statistics. To further examine nuances in the teachers' responses, descriptive statistics were utilized. The means, standard deviations, and modes of each item were calculated in order to determine the measures of central tendency and variance.

Table 17

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of Factor 3 by Group

Item	Statement		M	SD	Mo
5	I must fully follow the set syllabi, textbooks, and lesson plans in language centers/schools in which I teach.	Nov	3.78	1.20	4
		Mid	3.75	1.61	5
		Exp	3.90	1.20	5
9	I should join language teacher communities and actively participate in their activities (e.g., joint events, seminars, panels).	Nov	4.00	1.41	3
		Mid	4.38	1.54	6
		Exp	5.50	0.71	6
16	I must confine myself to the specific values, norms of practice, and patterns of social participation of the school/language center in which I teach.	Nov	3.67	1.58	4
		Mid	3.81	1.47	5
		Exp	3.40	1.58	5
26	I must give high priority to the interests and benefits of the language center/school where I teach.	Nov	4.44	0.73	4
		Mid	4.06	1.24	4
		Exp	4.80	0.92	5
27	I should willingly interact with the other teachers and share my knowledge, experiences, and resources with them.	Nov	5.56	0.73	6
		Mid	5.13	0.81	6
		Exp	5.60	0.52	6
29	I should learn from my colleagues through, for example, observing their classes and asking for their feedback on my own teaching practice.	Nov	5.11	0.78	5
		Mid	5.00	1.10	6
		Exp	5.40	0.70	6
34	I must have a good understanding of the institutional context (e.g., the ethos, policies, rules, rewards) in which I teach.	Nov	5.22	0.67	5
		Mid	4.94	0.85	4
		Exp	5.20	0.79	5
42	I believe that the language center/school's goals and policies have a great impact on the way I teach.	Nov	5.22	0.83	6
		Mid	4.44	1.50	5
		Exp	4.40	1.17	5

Breaking down the results by item and by group can provide a more detailed view of the responses of each group. One notable point is how Item 27 ("I should willingly interact with the other teachers and share my knowledge, experiences, and resources with them.") produced the highest mean for novice (M = 5.56), mid-career (M = 5.13), and experienced (M = 5.60) teachers. This result might signify the teachers' willingness to learn from other teachers. In contrast, items which denote conforming to particular values and norms produced the lowest means. In particular, Item 16 ("I must confine myself to the specific values, norms of practice, and patterns of social participation of the school/language center in which I teach.") had the lowest mean for novice (M = 3.67) and experienced (M = 3.40) teachers. Also, Item 5 ("I must fully follow the set syllabi, textbooks, and lesson plans in language centers/schools in which I teach.") had the lowest mean for mid-career teachers (M = 3.75). This finding might echo the dichotomy between teacher agency and top-down administrative decision-making which was discussed in the TELTS section. For most dispatch teachers, abiding by the company philosophy, following the set syllabi and using company materials are rules imposed by their companies. On the other hand, direct-hires may have more options and more autonomy with regard to university norms of practice and choice of materials.

Factor 4: L2 Teacher Identity as Engaging Learners as Whole Persons

The fourth factor of the ELTPIS consists of six items which are concerned with teachers' interpersonal relationships with their students. In particular, this factor focuses on teachers' treatment of their students, including knowing their students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and understanding how the students' sociopolitical, personal, and educational contexts shape their learning. While the other factors delve into the cognitive and linguistic factors of language learning, Factor 4 mostly revolves around extra-cognitive factors and moves beyond language learning to more holistic views of education.

Inferential Statistics. After analyzing the data through Kruskal Wallis H-test on SPSS (Version 29.0), results show a statistically significant difference in the teachers' responses for Item 35 ("I should involve my learners, where possible, in planning, monitoring, and evaluating their own learning in order to learn on their own (e.g., using cooperating learning, learners' self-report).") ($H(2) = 9.316$, $p = 0.004$), with a mean rank of 22.50 for novice teachers, 13.50 for mid-career teachers, and 18.45 for experienced teachers. A Pairwise Comparison was conducted as a post-hoc test, which revealed a significant difference ($p = 0.002$) between the novice group ($M = 5.89$, $SD = 0.33$) and mid-career group ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 0.81$). A Bonferroni adjustment was applied due to the number of tests conducted, and the adjusted significance of $p = 0.007$ between novice teachers and experienced teachers confirmed the statistically significant difference in the responses of the teachers in these two groups (Appendix L). A more thorough examination of the descriptive statistics suggests possible divergences that are supported in the succeeding interviews.

Descriptive Statistics. The nuances in the teachers' responses are further examined through the use of descriptive statistics. In order to determine the measures of central tendency and variance, the means, standard deviations, and modes of each item were calculated.

Table 18

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of Factor 4 by Group

Item	Statement		M	SD	Mo
13	I should know about my students' backgrounds (e.g., linguistic, cultural background).	Nov	5.56	0.53	6
		Mid	5.50	0.63	6
		Exp	5.50	0.71	6
17	I should know about different factors (e.g., personal, educational, sociopolitical, cultural) which impact my students' language learning.	Nov	5.44	0.53	5
		Mid	5.50	0.63	6
		Exp	5.30	0.95	6
24	I should engage my students' sense of who they are and how they relate to the world they live in through activities (e.g., real activities of daily living, writing diaries).	Nov	5.56	0.73	6
		Mid	5.00	0.89	4
		Exp	5.30	0.67	5
25	I should use classroom techniques that encourage students to think deeply about their own thoughts, feelings, and behavior.	Nov	5.67	0.71	6
		Mid	5.19	0.75	5
		Exp	5.20	0.63	5
31	I should consider learners' interests, learning needs (e.g., social-emotional, linguistic needs), and life experiences when selecting classroom content and topics.	Nov	5.67	0.50	6
		Mid	5.31	0.95	6
		Exp	5.10	0.88	5
35	I should involve my learners, where possible, in planning, monitoring, and evaluating their own learning in order to learn on their own (e.g., using cooperating learning, learners' self-report).	Nov	5.89	0.33	6
		Mid	4.88	0.81	4
		Exp	5.30	0.82	6

The breakdown of the results by item and by group can provide a more detailed understanding of the responses of each group. One notable point in this set of results is that there seems to be a general agreement to the items across all three groups. Almost all items had a mean that is greater than 5.00 and a standard deviation that is lower than 1.00. Only the mean for Item 35 ("I should involve my learners, where possible, in planning, monitoring, and evaluating their own learning in order to learn on their own (e.g., using cooperating learning, learners' self-report).") for mid-career teachers had a mean lower than 5.00 (M = 4.88).

Also, as reported in the results for inferential statistics, a significant difference was found in the responses of novice and mid-career teachers for Item 35. For novice teachers,

Item 35 has the highest mean (M = 5.89), but for mid-career teachers, the same item had the lowest mean (M = 4.88). This result might indicate that more novice teachers, compared to mid-career teachers, use techniques which promote learner autonomy. Upon closer inspection of the raw data of mid-career teachers, six teachers rated the item "4" (Slightly agree), six teachers rated the item "5" (Agree), and four teachers rated the item "6" (Strongly agree). Out of the six teachers who rated the item "4", five were dispatch teachers. In the previous section, it was established that dispatch teachers had less agency in their decisions for their classes, and the top-down administrative decisions probably extend to a prescribed methodology. In most of these dispatch companies, a methodical teacher-led technique is marketed to students, and teachers are instructed to use only such a method. This situation might have affected the dispatch teachers' response to this item, which in turn affected the results of the entire group.

Factor 5: L2 Teacher Identity as Appraising One's Teacher Self

Factor 5 in the ELTPIS delves into teachers' evaluation of their teacher selves. The points that need to be assessed, according to this factor, include teaching practices, beliefs, pedagogies, behaviors, and value systems. A component of the appraisal process is the ability to revise one's teacher self after evaluation. This factor assumes that teachers do not only assess themselves, but they also learn from these self-evaluations. Moreover, the factor highlights the assumption that these self-appraisals are conducted in order to review and improve teachers' practice. In other words, appraising one's teacher self is conducted in order to improve one's skills and knowledge of teaching.

Inferential Statistics. After running the Kruskal Wallis H-test on SPSS (Version 29.0), the results revealed no significant differences in the responses of the three groups for all items in Factor 5 of ELTPIS (see Appendix M). Although the results showed no

significant differences between the groups, a close examination of the descriptive statistics suggests possible divergences that are supported in the succeeding interview sessions.

Descriptive Statistics. Descriptive statistics were utilized to further examine nuances in the teachers' responses. The means, standard deviations, and modes of each item were calculated in order to determine the measures of central tendency and variance. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 19

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of Factor 5 by Group

Item	Statement		M	SD	Mo
1	I should evaluate my views of teaching, the way I teach, and the outcomes of my teaching.	Nov	5.56	0.53	6
		Mid	5.63	0.72	6
		Exp	5.10	1.52	6
7	I should be aware of how my background (e.g., culture, learning, and teaching experience) affects my teaching views and practices.	Nov	5.44	0.53	5
		Mid	5.50	0.63	6
		Exp	5.30	0.48	5
12	I should think about the ideas that shape my teaching behavior.	Nov	5.44	0.53	5
		Mid	5.31	0.60	5
		Exp	5.40	0.52	5
28	I should question the assumptions and values (e.g., personal teaching beliefs, teaching philosophy) I bring to teaching.	Nov	5.11	0.60	5
		Mid	5.13	0.72	5
		Exp	5.50	0.53	6
38	I should be able to revise my teaching practice continually based on my own evaluation.	Nov	5.44	0.53	5
		Mid	5.25	0.68	5
		Exp	5.30	0.67	5
41	I should develop an awareness of my own teaching strengths and weaknesses.	Nov	5.67	0.50	6
		Mid	5.56	0.51	6
		Exp	5.50	0.53	6

The breakdown of results by item and by group can provide a more detailed understanding of the teachers' responses. One notable point in this set of results is that, similar to Factor 4, there seems to be a general agreement to all the items across the three groups of teachers. All items had means that are greater than 5.00, and the standard deviations, except for Item 1 ("I should evaluate my views of teaching, the way I teach, and the outcomes of my teaching."), were less than 1.00.

Another interesting point is that Item 28 ("I should question the assumptions and values (e.g., personal teaching beliefs, teaching philosophy) I bring to teaching.") produced the lowest means for novice teachers (M = 5.11) and mid-career teachers (M = 5.13) but the highest mean for experienced teachers (M = 5.50). Perhaps the discrepancy between the teachers' responses for Item 28 indicates that experienced teachers, having more experience with changes, trends, and advancements in pedagogical research, tend to question the assumptions and values behind their own beliefs. However, a closer look at the means shows that the differences in the means are negligible, implying that the teachers may have no significant differences on this point.

Item 1 ("I should evaluate my views of teaching, the way I teach, and the outcomes of my teaching.") also yielded interesting results as it produced the highest mean for mid-career teachers (M = 5.63) and the lowest mean for experienced teachers (M = 5.10). Perhaps the result for mid-career teachers can be attributed to their self-evaluation of their teaching careers, as they either continue in the profession or find other avenues to pursue. The result for experienced teachers can be explained by the divergence in their responses. A closer look at the raw data reveals that out of the ten teachers in the experienced group, five teachers rated the item "6" (Strongly agree) and the other five rated the item "5" (Agree), which also can also explain the standard variation (SD = 1.52).

Factor 6: L2 Teacher Identity as Sociocultural and Critical Practice

The sixth factor of the ELTPIS is also concerned with extra-linguistic and extra-cognitive factors and delves into the sociocultural and critical aspects of teaching. Factor 6 examines teachers' understanding of social justice, community building, intercultural understanding, and a more critical approach toward pedagogy. This factor is also focused on developing critical thinking among students and exposing students to sociopolitical events that might shape their learning.

Inferential Statistics. The data was analyzed by running the Kruskal Wallis H-test on SPSS (Version 29.0). The results show no significant differences in the responses of the three groups for all items in Factor 6 of ELTPIS (see Appendix N). Even if no significant differences were found between the groups, a thorough examination of the descriptive statistics suggests possible divergences that are supported in the succeeding interviews.

Descriptive Statistics. To further analyze the nuances in the teachers' responses, descriptive statistics were utilized. The means, standard deviations, and modes of each item were calculated in order to determine the measures of central tendency and variance. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 20

Means, Standard Deviations, and Modes of Factor 6 by Group

Item	Statement		M	SD	Mo
14	I should educate myself and my students about forms of inequality and injustice.	Nov	5.22	0.67	5
		Mid	4.63	1.31	4
		Exp	5.10	0.88	5
21	I should use different language teaching strategies to develop a sense of community among my learners (e.g., using group-based activities, changing seating arrangements).	Nov	5.56	0.53	6
		Mid	5.50	0.63	6
		Exp	5.70	0.48	6
30	I should improve my students' intercultural understanding by familiarizing them with English-speaking and non-English speaking cultures.	Nov	5.33	0.71	5
		Mid	5.44	0.81	6
		Exp	5.50	0.53	6
33	I should have a critical approach toward different aspects (e.g., socio-cultural, institutional, pedagogical, political) of my teaching.	Nov	5.11	0.78	5
		Mid	5.13	0.81	6
		Exp	5.30	0.67	5
36	I should help my students to become critical thinkers (e.g., through problem posing activities).	Nov	5.67	0.50	6
		Mid	5.25	0.77	6
		Exp	5.40	0.52	5
37	I should think of social events as learning resources when selecting classroom materials.	Nov	5.11	0.6	5
		Mid	4.63	1.09	5
		Exp	5.00	0.67	5
40	I should encourage learners to critically analyze and discuss the content (e.g., cultural, social elements) of the classroom language textbooks.	Nov	5.11	1.17	6
		Mid	5.00	0.82	5
		Exp	5.30	0.67	5

Analyzing the statistical results by item and by group can present a more nuanced understanding of the teachers' responses. One interesting point is how Item 37 ("I should think of social events as learning resources when selecting classroom materials.") produced the lowest mean for novice teachers (M = 5.11), mid-career teachers (M = 4.63), and experienced teachers (M = 5.00). Perhaps this result can be attributed to the reluctance of teachers to utilize social events as learning tools.

Another interesting point is how items that seem to lean toward a particular political angle had the lowest means. In particular, Item 33 ("I should have a critical approach toward different aspects (e.g., socio-cultural, institutional, pedagogical, political) of my teaching.") and Item 40 ("I should encourage learners to critically analyze and discuss the content (e.g., cultural, social elements) of the classroom language textbooks.") produced the lowest means (M = 5.11) among novice teachers. For mid-career teachers, Item 14 ("I should educate myself and my students about forms of inequality and injustice." had the lowest mean (M = 4.63). Perhaps these results indicate that some novice and mid-career teachers prefer to be politically neutral.

A final point to note is how some teachers emphasize critical thinking and community building in their classes, which seem to contrast with their desire to be politically neutral. For instance, Item 36 ("I should help my students to become critical thinkers (e.g., through problem posing activities).") had the highest mean for novice teachers (M = 5.67) and Item 21 ("I should use different language teaching strategies to develop a sense of community among my learners (e.g., using group-based activities, changing seating arrangements).") had the highest mean for both mid-career teachers (M = 5.50) and experienced teachers (M = 5.70). Perhaps these results can be attributed to the teachers' desire to incorporate critical thinking and community building into their language classes, without resorting to discussions on political matters.

Key Findings of the English Language Teacher Professional Identity Scale

The ELTPIS measures the identity of language teachers based on six factors: (1) researching and developing one's own practice, (2) language awareness, (3) institutional and collective practice, (4) engaging learners as whole persons, (5) appraising one's teacher self, and (6) sociocultural and critical practice. The data was analyzed through Kruskal Wallis H-test, which was run on SPSS (Version 29.0). Although significant differences were found between the novice and mid-career teachers only for Item 35 ("I should involve my learners, where possible, in planning, monitoring, and evaluating their own learning in order to learn on their own (e.g., using cooperating learning, learners' self-report)."), descriptive statistics were utilized to further analyze the nuances in the teachers' responses. The key findings are presented by factor below.

For Factor 1 (L2 Teacher Identity as Researching and Developing One's Own Practice), results indicate that teachers believed that they should improve their practice by attending conferences and reading research. However, they also showed reluctance to conduct research themselves. For dispatch teachers, research is not considered a requirement. For Factor 2 (Factor 2: L2 Teacher Identity as Language Awareness), results show that teachers believe that they should be knowledgeable about the formal elements of the English language. However, teachers seemed to focus more on teaching English for real-life communication. Also, the preference for more communicative activities over textual analysis could be noted, possibly due to the shift toward more communicative methods, or for dispatch teachers, due to the mandate to focus on communication by their companies. For Factor 3 (L2 Teacher Identity as an Institutional and Collective Practice), results indicate that teachers seem to be willing to learn from their fellow teachers. However, teachers seem not to show preference for conformity to social norms and values promoted by their institutions. This result might parallel issues on the dichotomy between teacher

agency and top-down administrative decision-making. For dispatch teachers, in particular, conformity is required. For Factor 4 (L2 Teacher Identity as Engaging Learners as Whole Persons), there was general agreement among the three groups overall. However, the significant difference between the responses of novice and mid-career teachers for Item 35 ("I should involve my learners, where possible, in planning, monitoring, and evaluating their own learning in order to learn on their own (e.g., using cooperating learning, learners' self-report).") seems to show that the involvement of students in the decision-making process might be a contentious issue. For mid-career dispatch teachers especially, whose materials and methods have already been decided, involving students in making decisions seems to be out of the question. Similar to Factor 4, Factor 5 (L2 Teacher Identity as Appraising One's Teacher Self) also produced general agreement across all groups. This finding seems to indicate that teachers generally agree that they should evaluate and assess their own teaching methods, beliefs, and practices in order to improve their own skills. Finally, for Factor 6, (L2 Teacher Identity as Sociocultural and Critical Practice), the results seem to indicate that although teachers agree that they should develop critical thinking and promote community building, teachers also showed reluctance to use social events in their language classes and preferred to remain politically neutral instead.

Semi-structured Interview Questions

Following the two survey instruments, interview sessions were conducted using semi-structured interview questions. 21 teachers were interviewed, including 5 novice teachers, 11 mid-career teachers, and 5 experienced teachers. Their responses were coded using the *codes-to-theory model* (Saldaña, 2013). Four overarching themes emerged from the coding process: (1) teacher identities, (2) emotional episodes, (3) emotional display rules, and (4) emotional labor. Other points of interest which emerged from the interview sessions

were also noted. In this segment of the results section, the four main themes are discussed. Under each main theme, the most common sub-themes are explicated, including some notable responses that each group mentioned. After the discussion of the four main themes, the other points of interest are also explored.

Teacher Identities

The first main theme, teacher identities, appears to be the most complex and most diverse of all the themes. When asked to reflect on their identities as teachers, each group mentioned several facets of being and becoming a teacher, including the following sub-themes: (1) their beginnings, including why the participants chose this profession and this country, (2) their roles, (3) their beliefs, (4) their relationships with students and colleagues, and (5) any changes their identities have undergone.

Beginnings. In the discussion of teachers' introduction to the language teaching profession in the university setting, most teachers mentioned why they became tertiary-level EFL teachers and why they chose to live and work in Japan. One major influence on this decision is the participants' previous professional experiences. The interviewees mentioned earlier jobs including working as Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program teachers (n = 4, 19%), *eikaiwa* teachers (n = 3, 14%), kids' teachers (n = 2, 10%), and other teaching-related jobs such as tutoring, working as a teaching assistant, teaching in a senmon gakkou or a vocational school, volunteering to teach immigrants, and teaching at a government organization. Some of the interviewees also did non-teaching jobs such as translation (n = 3, 14%), research for the Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT), office work, and customer service.

Another major influence on the decision to become EFL teachers is the participants' experiences as students. Some of these experiences were mostly positive, such as being accepted and encouraged by good teachers and having good rapport with English language

classmates. Other experiences were mostly negative, such as being discriminated against by their teachers. These experiences became catalysts for their choice of a career path.

> After I came to Japan, I was living in an international dormitory, so there are many Japanese and also international students. A lot of my Japanese friends told me, "Oh my English is poor. So *hazukashii* [embarrassing]." Then I said to them, "Your English [is] not poor, but you're just not confident, or actually we can understand each other well, so that means you have a good language skill." So the experience triggered me, it became the starting point of wanting to be an English teacher in Japan." – Mindy (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I had extremely horrible teachers during my secondary schooling years, and in the later part of my primary schooling years.[...] Because of office politics, I've had really bad teachers who were extremely prejudiced and/or extremely just, they just treated me differently. So I did not like that. [...] It's like, I just hated every single moment of it. It was like, get me out of here. Get me out of here. Get me out of here. So it's just a downward slide. [...] I just wanted to think to myself, if I could become a good teacher, that's one less horrible teacher in this universe. So that's why I entered this career. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I met really supportive professors who made me feel that I had some sort of value to offer people, that I had some sort of worth as an academic. And I was like, yeah, I want to be a university professor. You know, I want to be someone like that. That's awesome, you know. So I think that definitely shaped me. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Another prevalent reason for choosing to enter the English teaching profession in tertiary-level institutions is financial considerations. Often, these financial considerations are connected with a familial obligation, especially for mid-career teachers. The financial prospects in Japan appeared to attract some teachers, especially since the situation in their own countries was not as inviting.

> Honestly, if you're a teacher in my country, in the public sector, like in a public school, the salary's kind of, well, not good, pretty low. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> The salary in my country is quite low for a teacher. – Mindy (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> It's quite shallow, but to make money basically. I met my wife in my country. And then we'd live together there. But after teaching English for about a year, I mean, it was a good job but to live there, you'd have to make a lot more money than teaching English. Yeah, we decided we would come to Japan for at least a year. You know, the JET Program is one year minimum, at that time a maximum of three. So I really didn't think I would stay longer than three years. – Sam (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

> I would have gone to live in another country. It's one thing I've always wanted to do, but then there was the Asian financial crisis in 1997. And that kind of changed the whole atmosphere in that country [...] so it didn't seem like an ideal time to start looking to build a career there. So yeah, that's when I kind of gave up on that country and just, oh, I'm gonna become an English teacher [in Japan] instead. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

The influence of studying the Japanese language at university was also a major deciding factor among some teachers. Primarily, some interviewees wanted to experience living in Japan while using their knowledge of Japanese. These teachers ended up entering the English language teaching profession and staying longer.

> I've always liked Japan. I love the Japanese language. So I came here first in 2015 to study Japanese. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

> In university I had studied Japanese. I had joined this Japanese speaking living group so part of the language theme house or Lang dorm. And you know, some of the alumni had come back, and they said JET was a good opportunity, you know, not just to live in Japan but improve your own language, get some experience, and I applied. I didn't really expect it to become my life, let alone my entire career, but it was it was a really good experience. – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

One final motivation for entering the English language profession in Japan is regarding teaching English as a "dream job" or not. While some interviewees definitely mentioned that EFL teaching, especially in the university setting, was indeed their dream job, other teachers explicitly stated that it was not their dream to be teaching English. The latter group mostly consisted of dispatch teachers who primarily worked at eikaiwa or language centers.

> This is my dream job. Actually, I've wanted to work in a university in Japan. So technically, this is already my dream job. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> So, from an early age, I wanted to teach and then I did pursue a teaching opportunity in another country, but for a whole variety of reasons, once I heard

about the opportunity of teaching in Japan, I thought it would be useful at that time in my life to move to another country and kind of broaden my perspective. And it was useful, I found, to come to Japan and learn about different ways of doing things and learn about, you know, just like meet people from different countries. I just had a hunger to kind of develop, and I didn't feel that I would have that kind of opportunity where I was from and the kind of job I was looking at. Yeah, so that was where I was at university. – Eric (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

I was unhappy that I was working at an eikaiwa. And like, this is all I can do? Why did I leave? You know, but I just needed to wait and, you know, wait for opportunities. And yeah, and then eventually, in the end, a long story. I found kind of a dream job in a way. You know, many people want to have the stability of a permanent position [at a university]. And yeah, that's nice. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

To be honest, it's never been my goal, or my passion. But I've always felt like I could be good at it. Because I like sharing information. And I like explaining things. I like talking. So when I was, you know, in high school or university, I was good at tutoring simply because I was a good student. So I felt like I could do it. Because I knew stuff. Of course, I know that it's very different to know something and to be able to teach something. But as long as the student does the work assigned, I always feel like it is effective, even though it was never my dream. So I don't think I'm bad at it. But I do think I do not often feel satisfaction. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

Roles. Another major sub-theme which emerged from the interview sessions was the teachers' perception of their roles. The teachers' roles appear to be deeply connected to the teachers' identities as these roles define who the teachers are and what the teachers do in their respective educational institutions. The most common role, which was mentioned by all three groups, is the role of a facilitator. While some teachers viewed being a facilitator as their primary role, other teachers vacillated between being a facilitator and performing other roles. Other teachers also mentioned that they would like to be facilitators; however, this role necessitated the cooperation of students.

> I see myself more as a facilitator. Well, at least I do like to see myself that way. Yeah, someone who enables students to discover their autonomy. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I think we should be facilitators. I feel very strongly about that. We shouldn't be preaching, we shouldn't be talking, we shouldn't be doing any of that, you know, you know. Student talk time should be higher than teacher talk time. And, you know, if there's more than one student, you should get them talking. – Ruben (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> That's what I see my role has been like, I'm the language facilitator. I'm not, I'm not there to promote my views on human rights or my views on whatever. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Maybe a facilitator. So like for the language courses, I do need to take a leadership role. Otherwise the students will freak out. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> The ideal is, according to the literature, is to have the teacher be a facilitator. However, in reality, when you have 18 students in the class, facing a simple question of, what did you do last weekend, and no one is willing to answer, it is quite difficult to be a facilitator. So, generally speaking, it's part-teacher, part-advisor, like maybe 5% facilitator. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I've always wanted to be a facilitator. But again, a facilitator only really works where the people have a certain amount of A knowledge and B motivation. So that's quite difficult I think to do with the kind of classes I have. So, no, I would say I would like to be a facilitator. – Lance (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

One other interesting role which arose from the conversations is customer service provider. This role was especially prominent among university teachers who are primarily dispatch company employees. The teachers who mentioned the role of customer service also indicated that they did not feel as though they are real university teachers, especially since they are not directly hired by universities. Furthermore, these teachers also mentioned not really seeing themselves staying in the profession for long.

> I don't think of myself as a teacher anymore. [...] You know, Japanese people say plus alpha, like the extra thing. I just think oh, I provide service to my customers. Teaching them English, it's just something extra. That's how I think now. – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> I feel a little bit like an impostor. Because I don't want to be a teacher for my career. Like, this isn't the career that I envisioned for myself. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

> If I'm being honest, like, I don't really see myself as a teacher, like, I don't think, that's not really what I want to do for my career. It's not something I'm passionate about, if I'm being honest. – Lucas (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

Some other teachers connected their roles to their own pedagogical goals. These goals were interrelated with their perceived roles of aiding in societal development. These roles include developing communities through communication, helping students achieve their own goals, expanding their students' worldviews, and empowering their female students.

> If I were to talk a lot about my role in terms of English teaching in Japan, or even in society, I would say, it's to sort of spread a language, so that I can help people connect with one another. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> The best teachers that I've had have really taken me towards the goals that I had, but they also opened up new goals and kind of helped me see potential that I didn't know existed, and they gave a lot of guidance to me, and I want to do that for the students I have. I want to help them see that they can achieve a lot and give them the tools to do that. – Eric (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> The thing about my university students is when we meet them in April, they are very sheltered. And they have believed everything that was taught to them in their lives. So it's very interesting watching them go ah, Oh the world isn't like that. Yeah, they are very, very nice. But yeah, this is my job to kind of get them to expand their worldview. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I think everybody, almost everybody in the department, we have this kind of, you know, what do we do? We make strong women. That's our job. And some of us are more overtly feminist than others in what we're doing. But I think there is that assumption in a women's university that, from what I've heard from, like other universities, in a co-ed university, the professors might tend to put their energy into the men, because they're the ones who are expected to go off and be captains of industry, right? Whereas all of us in our department are like, bullshit, we're going to make strong-ass women. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

The other roles mentioned by the teachers include being a tutor, researcher, curriculum developer, lecturer, and administrator. A number of teachers also mentioned performing duties associated with their university's self-access center. Overall, the teachers seem to have a plethora of roles which intersperse with their own teacher identities as well as their identities outside of the university. This amalgamation of roles is summarized in the comments by mid-career teachers below.

> There's a bit of a self-dissociation involved, but I think to some extent, that's like a lot of social roles that we have. Now that I'm a dad, I've got two kids, you know, I'll end up talking to my students like I talk to my kids, or I talk to my kids like I talk to my students. And, you have to remind yourself, wait a minute, I shouldn't do that. But then also, it sometimes is effective, right? The kids are behaving. When my students are naughty, then I can scold them, because I know the words to do that in Japanese now. I know the mannerisms to do that […] And I'm sure you've seen this with other people, you know, when you switch roles, you have to do that. So it's a part of my repertoire, I guess. – Neil (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> A little bit teacher, a little bit facilitator, little bit friend, little bit older uncle type, not father, but uncle, maybe. I try to be funny. I try and get them to loosen up a bit. I couldn't imagine being a really super strict teacher there. – Sam (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

Beliefs. The interviewees mentioned their numerous beliefs about being a teacher. Most of these beliefs were tied to professionalism, including the fulfillment of certain duties such as research and professional development, proficiency in both English and Japanese, and particular qualities which teachers should imbibe. The interviewees did not unilaterally agree on these beliefs, and even had conflicting views within themselves.

Research. With regard to research, several beliefs about conducting research being a component of teaching emerged. Some teachers believed that being a teacher involved conducting research. Others believed that their universities expected them to conduct research, while others believed that research should not necessarily lead to publishing papers.

> So I immediately got involved with JALT [...] And because, well, that's just what teachers do is get involved in professional organizations. I quickly got involved with publishing, you know, academic articles and stuff, just because that's what teachers do. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> We're not required to do research. We are highly encouraged. In a sense that they're more likely to keep you around after two years if we were to engage in research. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> We're technically hired as teacher researchers, you know, in that I mean, we do have a research budget. And I think research is kind of built into it. But I think I'm not

> sure how much they actually care about that. I mean, I know that us publishing does help raise the rating of the university. So in that sense, it's important to them, but if they really wanted us to do research, they wouldn't have us teaching so many classes each week. – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I don't think all teachers need to do that kind of research [paper writing]. I do think that, if you're serious about progressing in the professional sense, then that would be a useful thing for you to do in terms of career and also in terms of personal growth as a teacher. I don't do those things as a teacher, probably because I'm not serious about this being my career for my whole life. But I think that all teachers sort of go through some kind of research, even if it's not for the purpose of publishing a paper, like, while you're teaching a class, so you have certain outcomes that are successful, and some that are not successful. And so in that way, you kind of are always doing an experiment. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

> No, that's not our job [to research] because we're not really university teachers really like we're not. […] I wonder how many teachers at my university actually do that. A lot of the language teachers, I think they don't do that. They just, they're just teachers, like they just teach classes. Because I think my university, they hire a lot of staff on a part-time or casual basis. They have a lot more part-time staff than full-time staff, I think. – Lucas (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

Professional Development. The same opinions can also be observed about professional development. While some teachers judiciously attend the professional development sessions at their universities, others did not think these sessions were a

requirement. Some teachers also found that learning from their colleagues and peers were also useful for developing their teaching skills.

> I attend every professional development session in my department. But also there are some conferences I attend, as well. – Mindy (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I do think teachers should [attend professional development sessions]. I think I certainly have learned a lot. I do have some training as a teacher. I did an Oxford seminars training course to learn how to do ESL teaching, but I've learned so much just by communicating with other teachers. And I think if you don't do that, you would certainly miss out and the quality of your teaching would go down. So I think, yeah, teachers should take steps to learn more about how to teach. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

> I don't do [professional development sessions] unpaid. I simply do not do that on my own time. I think if, you know, if teaching were my passion, as I mentioned, I would probably do that, because when I am very passionate about something, I research everything I can about it. But teaching is just a job. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

Language Proficiency. Proficiency in English, as well as Japanese, was also mentioned in connection with being a professional teacher. English language proficiency was deemed necessary for teaching students effectively; however, some interviewees mentioned that the level of proficiency should be dependent on the students and their purposes for learning English. Japanese language proficiency was thought necessary for administrative tasks and for understanding how their students process language.

I would say the teacher should be proficient, proficient to the point of being able to teach the students at their level. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

If, according to CEFR, maybe C1 at least, native-like [because] in my case, I teach undergraduate students. So they already have a foundation of English knowledge, and also the grammar structures. If my professional level is like, B1, B2, no, that was too low, just for example, then I may not be capable to figure out some teachable moments. – Mindy (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

I think it really depends on what the English is going to be for. Is the student using it to communicate with people in India? Or is the student communicating with, you know, Wall Street bankers? Like who are they communicating with? So I think that the proficiency of the teacher should be related to the proficiency needed by the student. I think even if you are barely proficient in English, you can still teach it. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

I haven't gone to a Japanese class in probably at least 10 years. I studied Japanese because everything I do in my work outside of my teaching and my research is Japanese so I have to read a lot on committees where I have to speak and I'm learning to deal with that. – Neil (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

As a teacher, I think it's really important for someone working in Japan, to understand Japanese, the Japanese language, and to have to, to show that they can communicate in it, you know, they don't have to be perfect. I don't expect my students to be perfect either. [...] You know, it's just amazing, to even be able to express even simple ideas in a foreign language is amazing. And so, as a language teacher, if you can't, like if you don't have that, that point in common with students, I feel that you're

> kind of lacking something. You should be able to understand perhaps where they're struggling. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Qualities. In terms of the qualities teachers should imbibe, one interesting trait mentioned by teachers is charisma. This trait was compared to language proficiency and pedagogical knowledge by some teachers, and was found to be similarly necessary or even more necessary for effective instruction.

> From my limited experience, the knowledge of a teacher is certainly helpful. And it's certainly helpful in both providing instructions and establishing authority. Helpful! But they are not the most important characteristics of an effective teacher, I would say, I think the most important characteristic of an effective teacher is still charisma. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> You have to have the knowledge base. But without, if you just have the knowledge, you don't have the charisma, then it's not going to work either. When I was less knowledgeable, I leaned heavily on the charisma. Now that I am knowledgeable, I have the charisma as a support. […] Charisma is getting butts off seats, both literally and figuratively. It's getting the class moving in the direction you want them to move. It's being able to get the occasional glimmer of a smile on the face of people that wouldn't normally smile. – Neil (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Charisma may be related to friendliness and kindness, which some teachers have also mentioned. Some teachers claimed that friendliness has to be balanced with professionalism. Other teachers have also noted that instead of being kind or friendly, being helpful to students should take precedence.

> It's a 90-minute performance for one class and then do another one after a 10-minute break. And you have to be like a teacher, but you also have to be kind of friendly. You got to lay it out. But you also have to be kind of joking. And I think it's just something that served me well, you know, at my former company especially, you know, being professional but friendly. – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Personally, I don't feel happy when students say "Oh [Mindy], you're so kind, you're so nice." But I feel happy when they say you are so helpful. So I tried to be a helpful teacher instead of a kind teacher because we were also students before, so for students, if you say a teacher is very nice or kind, maybe he or she doesn't assign a lot of homework. He or she forgives you easily, even if you didn't finish your homework, even if you didn't actively participate in class. So I tried to avoid those comments. But if they say, Okay, you are helpful means I'm helpful in language learning, or even in kind of like, moral formulation. I feel happy if they say, "You are a helpful teacher." – Mindy (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

Another quality which can be related to friendliness and helpfulness is empathy. Some teachers believed that being a teacher entails understanding the situation of students as language learners. Perhaps this can be connected to how some teachers believed proficiency in the Japanese language is necessary for understanding students' language needs. Empathy was also seen as a fundamental aspect of living in society.

> It's really important to have empathy with students and as a language learner myself, to be able to put myself into their shoes. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I think that society would fall apart if we didn't have those concepts of appropriate emotions to show to certain people. I think that we should always be thinking about

> the other person in an empathetic and sympathetic way. And, you know, trying to imagine what they might be going through and then show those emotions accordingly. So if someone's having a really bad day, how can I be angry with them? Because that's not helpful for anyone. So I think that yeah, we should just be mindful of the experiences that others are having when we show our emotions to them. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

Finally, openness to criticism and the desire to improve oneself as a teacher was also deemed to be desirable qualities by some interviewees. These qualities were connected with a developmental mindset, self-reflection, and the humility to understand that teachers need other teachers' perspectives to improve their craft.

> Reflecting on your own practice, and seeing what other people are doing, and not being afraid of criticism, like if people want to observe your class, [...] So having, you know, the humility to say, that's completely fine, give me criticism, I want to be a better teacher. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Definitely have your qualifications. So you know, everybody has to have at least a master's degree. And then even for part-time, you expect some kind of research history, but yeah, and professional development and be open to criticism, constructive criticism, or just having a developmental mindset. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Relationships with Students. The interview transcripts suggest that teachers' relationships defined certain aspects of their identities. One of these relationships is the teachers' relationships to their students. The positionality of teachers vis-à-vis their students determined whether the teachers took on the role of a leader or an equal or

another role. For some teachers, the relationship with their students is straightforward, that is, the teacher is the teacher and the students are students. For others, the relationship is closer and more nuanced. The relationship between the teacher and student was also compared to a community.

> There's no other ways to characterize it—teacher-student. That's just plain and simple. If you're friends, you're not doing your job well. If you're enemies, then you really aren't doing your job well. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> With a student who is 19, I will always be a teacher. I don't think we can be friends. And so that's why I don't even get into it. Even you know, for example, another co-worker has gone to lunch with five or six students. And she said she had fun, but I just feel like you will always be the teacher to them. [...] So it would be awkward. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> My attitude is they're university students, you know, they're adults, they're not children. I'm not a high school teacher. If the students don't want to do the study, it's not really my problem. I know I sound a little bit off-hand in that way. I think compared to other teachers who are well, we really have to nurture the students, you know, we really need to take an interest in pastoral care. And I think that's it, I don't think so. I'm a language teacher, I just teach English to these guys. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> My country is very formal. So there's a big teacher-student gap. So things [in Japan] are kind of less. I think and especially in language teaching, it has to be. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Very close, very close. I see the classroom as like a community, […] So I kind of, I do a lot of things to try to build this community. So my relationship with them is like, sometimes yes, it's like a friend. But sometimes it's also like a mentor. […] The division between the teacher and the student is not like the authority over you know, it's more like a guide. It's to guide the students and sort of help them through, encourage them. It's a caring kind of mentor, kind of relationship and also, in a way like the teacher and student is viewed as equal. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I think teachers should be approachable, equal but respected. So not authoritarian, but not your friend, but like a senpai, more than a sensei. Yeah, that's what I want, that's the relationship I hope to cultivate with my students. So I want them to be able to talk to me about things and not feel too afraid of me or anything. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

> I think university teaching, I think it can be really enriching for the students and the teachers. And I think we grow together. And that's when it's really working at its best, you know, you're learning from them, and they're learning from you. – Eric (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

For some teachers who work in dispatch companies, the customer service dynamic also influences the relationship teachers have with their students. Viewing the students as customers seems to force teachers into a position where they have to treat the students with more tolerance. For some other dispatch company teachers, working in the university meant they could act as teachers and not as customer service representatives in their language centers.

> At the beginning, I thought I was there to teach and students would listen to me. But now, I think I also provide service, I try to keep the customers happy. Now students, they're customers to me. – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> At my university, I feel like I can sort of just be a teacher basically. But yeah, at my dispatch company, definitely, it feels kind of like you're doing customer service as well as teaching. [...] But I think that my university probably views them as customers. Yeah, it's a private university. It's a business basically. […] Some standards are pretty low bar, right? Just like turning on your camera and microphone. Just be prepared basically but because of the customer service provider dynamic, you kind of have to just tolerate some of that. – Lucas (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

> Probably students, yeah. More or less. [...] Yeah. I mean, if I'll still probably see them in the language center, I'll probably think of them as customers. – William (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

This customer-service dynamic seems to have changed at least for one teacher, who modified the way they viewed their students after obtaining more education in language teaching. The same teacher also connected being a facilitator with their treatment of students as equals. This example seems to illustrate the dynamic nature of identity. Teacher identities can be transformed as well as intersperse with other facets of the profession, such as the roles teachers assume.

> When I first started working at [the dispatch company], I saw them as customers, because everyone was talking about customers all the time. But then I studied a little bit more about teaching and, and, you know, I got some certificate. And, you know, I started to see them more as students and I do believe that they are equal

> and in some ways, they are superior, you know, because they are experts in their subject matter, especially business, if you're talking about one-on-one at [the dispatch company]. At university, they're equals. I mean, being a facilitator means that you tend to see everyone equally. […] I see them as students. And as wanting to learn. Yeah, a lot of instructors may say that, you know, they don't want to learn, they're not motivated or stuff like that. But I do think you can get people to talk, or to want to, even if it's not to learn, but to at least spend some time speaking in another language. – Ruben (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

Relationships with Colleagues. The teachers' relationships with their colleagues appear to influence their identities in a similar manner. The teachers' positionality is determined by their relationship with fellow teachers, as well as administrators. However, these relationships appear to be influenced more by the power dynamics in the university. Teachers in lower social strata such as part-timers, teachers from dispatch companies, and novice teachers tend to modify their behavior more, especially in relation to those who are superior or who hold more power such as more senior teachers, management, or administrative staff. These dynamics tend to instigate conflicts between coworkers.

> I feel like, especially in recent years, we have become a little stricter. So, even though we have, you know, general autonomy in the classroom, we're not allowed to decide anything outside it. And I guess it is a little frustrating when things that are even small and easy and quick to decide, have to go through all these channels to be approved. Very minimal things. [...] Unnecessary. It just feels a little like the bureaucracy is only a waste of time. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> I think the bulk of the conflict maybe comes more between me and my superiors. I came from a very different background, financially, culturally, educationally. And, you know, my department has these observation [sessions]. But sometimes, some senior teachers see it as like a grilling session where they scrutinize your teaching, and then they say, No! Like that. Maybe it's the way, you know, they were brought up. I don't really have hard feelings towards them. But I just don't agree, because I have my own opinion. I feel that observations should be more like, you observe to learn and not observe to scrutinize. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I tend to distrust my employers. Every university is a black kigyou. Have you ever heard the expression black kigyou? A black kigyou is a company that basically cheats you on hours that underpays you, you know, they're not doing everything by the book, right? They're not treating their employees fairly. Every university is a black kigyou, you know, they're doing their best to cut, you know, cut costs to get the most out of their employees to get the most out of their workers. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> [The management is] basically screwing every yen out of us that they can, that they can get. So it's taken any of the nice little bonuses from working at my university. The only good thing is we still get our completion bonus. But besides that, there's very little benefit to doing it now. – Sam (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

Apart from these conflicts, teachers also mentioned good relationships between colleagues. These relationships were characterized by mutual support and respect. Also, the interviewees who experienced these good relationships mentioned learning from their colleagues in terms of language teaching.

> I learned so much from my colleagues that year. And you know how to connect with students, and also CALL, computer assisted language learning. That's where I first kind of went, oh this is good for the toolbox. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> What we did before at the beginning of the semester, a colleague and I would have a pizza lunch for everybody. Just so the teachers could get to know each other, and then we'd share stuff and get everybody hopefully, sharing and I mean, it's not just top down, but it was like everybody talking to each other. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I fortunately had a good network of other teachers, like more experienced teachers, and they provided a lot of mentoring, in terms of, if you face this type of situation, you might consider doing such and such. And then, you know, I would try out some of the ideas and I would like, learn from my own experiences and try out my own ideas. – Eric (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Obviously, we have a really good team of people. The coordinators are really good. And, you know, I really respect nearly all of my co-workers. They're all smart. Some are easier to get along with than others, but they know their stuff. They've all got their strengths. And, you know, it is standardized across the classes, but they still give us enough flexibility. And I think that's a really good balance. We've got the core, but we can approach it differently. So I like that. – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Changes. The data from the interviews suggest that teachers' identities are not stagnant but undergo several stages. Some of these changes were triggered by particular

events in the teachers' lives. Other changes occurred gradually over time as the teachers progressed in their teaching careers. Some interviewees connected these changes with developmental processes, of teachers learning how to teach and how to manage their emotions in class. These transformations seem to be connected to the changes in their identities as teachers.

> I think for the bulk of my first year teaching, I didn't really express [my emotions]. I didn't actually. I did all the tatemae stuff. And I would just be like, okay, okay, okay, you know, but I think the breaking point came when my coordinator actually tried to force me to get every single one of my lesson plans approved at the start of the week. Yeah, this actually happened, you know. So I felt that if I were to do that, I would lose my entire identity—my entire approach, or my philosophy as an educator, because now it's not my lesson. This is someone else's lesson that I'll be trying to get approved all the time. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I went through different phases teaching at my university. In my first year, I only used the book and then after one year, the second year I asked for a room with a computer and a projector, that's when I started making PowerPoint slides. [...] In my second year, I get it, I guess not every room has a computer, has a projector, but sometimes I'll get put in a huge room like a room for 120 people. I only have 20 students, they would sit at the back so every lesson, I would tell them to please move forward. [...] In my third year, I started playing all these games. And then they really liked it. But at the same time as I was questioning myself, are they learning, like how much do they learn in one semester? After one semester, how much do they improve? – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> When I started as a teacher, I did yell, not all the time, but it was pretty frequent, because I had lots of really little classes and I didn't really know how to control them. I didn't really have a clear idea of how to teach them, so I just got frustrated because they didn't do what I wanted them to do. And yeah, that wasn't effective, but I did learn. That's learning how to teach. So, no teacher is perfect their first year in the job, you know, right? Learning how to deal with frustrations on the job is part of the course. […] I've learned to manage certain emotions. I'm older. So things that used to frustrate me don't frustrate me anymore because I've seen them hundreds of times. And I've managed my curriculum, my syllabi, so that there's things that caused problems that don't cause problems anymore. – Neil (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> Teachers also go through a process of development, you know, where they can start to become more in tune with the goals of the institution and have a better sense of their mission and have a better sense of how, where the students are in their life, where the students are going in their life, so have more of a kind of a holistic picture of the process of their development. – Eric (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Emotional Episodes

The second main theme which emerged from the coded interviews is a collection of the teachers' emotional episodes. These experiences are embedded with positive and negative emotions. Often the emotions are mixed or transition from positive to negative or negative to positive. These emotional episodes are discussed in four sub-sections: (1) positive emotional episodes, (2) negative emotional episodes, and (3) mixed emotional episodes.

Positive Emotional Episodes. Positive emotional episodes are mostly connected to experiences with students and colleagues. The most common emotions that were mentioned by the novice group of teachers include happiness, joy, excitement, pride, satisfaction, enjoyment, engagement, love, readiness, and amusement. For the mid-career group of teachers, the most common emotions include happiness, ease, enjoyment, excitement, motivation, feeling lucky, feeling moved, and feeling impressed. Among experienced teachers, the most common positive emotions that were mentioned include love, enjoyment, happiness, gratefulness, pride, feeling lucky, feeling impressed, and having great memories.

For some novice teachers, the positive emotions which they experienced were connected to the progress of their students or their progress as novice teachers in their first few semesters of teaching. The progress these teachers witnessed in their students was linguistic or holistic in nature. In contrast, the progress the teachers witnessed in themselves was related to their pedagogical development.

> The first class that I ever taught at my university is a really special class to me, all of the students are amazing. I love all of them, and would like happily hang out with any of them outside of university. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

> I felt happy. But also just really touched, I think in a way, happy for [my student who struggled at first] as well, you know, that he was able to grow so much as a person. And at the same time, happy that I was able to achieve what I wanted to achieve in my learning outcome. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I asked students, okay, what worked, what didn't work? And I was really pleased to see, as we progressed into the semester, I was really pleased to see some critical comments from my students. Because occasionally I'm happy to see feedback along the lines of oh, it is perfect. I liked it so much. Like, well, it's great. It makes me

> happy as an educator, but I also want to see students criticizing, and I didn't get it in the beginning. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

Similar to novice teachers, the main sources of positive emotions among mid-career teachers appear to be the progress of their students and their own development as teachers. Some teachers also mentioned having a good work environment, which resulted in their growth as teachers.

> I cried. I just felt so happy. Every time one of my students gets into their first choice hospital or their first choice graduate program, and I contributed even like this much to it. I am so so happy for them. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I learn a lot from [my students]. I like it when they give me feedback. After the lesson before they left, some of them [came up to me and said], "I really liked the game. Can we do that again?" Or I would [hear], they would talk to each other [and say], "*A, tanoshikatta ne*? (That was fun, yeah?)" Or a recent one was the higher level class I had last year who would come to the [language] salon. One student told me, "Oh I used the word all-you-can-eat, you taught it to me!" This was her part-time job, like things like these, like small things. – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> From watching somebody trembling in front of [the class], and holding his sheet, and not making eye contact, to seeing him at the end, being confident using gestures, and making eye contact, it was very rewarding, I have to say it was. And like I said, I don't take the credit for it at all. I just think that they had a really good chance to see each other and practicing and getting ideas. So that was good. […] I learned a lot about about teaching in general. I learned all about Japanese culture, about

> students. I would definitely do it again, without hesitation. I want to continue teaching at universities. I think it's great. – Ruben (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> It's a very positive working environment there. I would describe probably the best ever that I've ever worked in. – Jane (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

One notable point in the group of mid-career teachers is the mention of luck or fortune. A number of teachers used the word "lucky" or "fortunate" to describe positive situations in which they were able to obtain employment. Some teachers used the word "lucky" to describe situations in which they would have otherwise experienced a negative event.

> I was fortunate to get the job here at my current university, which is also a five-year contract. – Neil (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I got lucky at the time because I, just kind of weird, I got lucky in the sense that my wife and baby went to live with her mom in while I stayed in my university and worked. And we would only see each other once a month, but I was able to write a lot. And because I got a lot of pieces published, it really helped with job hunting. And so I got really lucky the year I was job hunting, I found four jobs in in my wife's hometown, and I applied to all of them. I got an offer from one. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I guess I count myself lucky that I do not have the same experience as my coworker who has witnessed [a special student's] episode, because I would not have known what to do. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

Similar to mid-career teachers, the word "lucky" was also used by some experienced teachers to describe their employment status. For some teachers, obtaining employment in Japan was a stroke of luck. Other teachers considered themselves lucky to be working in environments where foreign teachers were treated in an equal manner as the Japanese teachers.

> I was lucky, I was just very lucky, I think because my country's qualifications aren't necessarily similar to what Japanese universities expect. A couple of [the recruiters] had done study abroad at my university and they thought, Oh, this guy should be good. So they gave me a job, so I was lucky to get that job. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I've been very lucky. Since almost the beginning, the foreigners here at my school have been treated the same as Japanese faculty. So we go to the same meetings, we're treated the same. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Also similar to the two other groups, another main source of positive emotions among experienced teachers is the growth and development of their students. Some interviewees used the word "love" to refer to their experience of teaching certain students. Other teachers reminisced memories of students who were grateful to them.

> I love [my students]. I know that this is like having a favorite child, like you're not supposed to say it, but I love teaching them, they are amazing! [...] You can just see, in every class, their minds are getting bigger. So they're brilliant. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I've always loved what I do. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I enjoy teaching still, and yeah, I love the work and the compensation is much more attractive. […] I think teaching does that. And I think, you know, being with younger people gives me energy. I've had a few students over the years who thanked me at the end of the course, saying that they enjoyed the course, which, because it's so rare, it is memorable for me, grateful to them for having shared that. – Ian (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> My best memory of not so much in the classroom, but a result of the classroom was at my university. One of my students, she came to my office and told me that she had successfully passed a high-level exam. And she was like, Thank you! Thank you, thank you, I got a really high score because of your class. And that was lovely. That was really, really nice. That was a great memory. – Lance (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Negative Emotional Episodes. Apart from positive emotions, teachers also delved into their negative experiences. Among novice teachers, the most common negative emotions include uncertainty, worry, anxiety, cluelessness, disorientation, disappointment, annoyance, upset, shock, loneliness, anger, tiredness, stress, tension, difficulty, frustration, and discouragement. For mid-career teachers, the negative emotions which were mentioned include frustration, irritation, disappointment, upset, awkwardness, annoyance, friction, uncertainty, anger, confusion, dissatisfaction, tiredness, exhaustion, nervousness, discomfort, regret, indifference, distrust, and animosity. In the group of experienced teachers, the most common negative emotions include difficulty, boredom, exhaustion, stress, lack of energy, detachment, unwillingness, failure, regret, indifference, and the feeling of giving up. The most recurrent sources of negative emotions are student behaviors and conflicts.

For novice teachers, the negative emotions mostly arose from situations which they have not encountered in the past due to lack of experience and due to lack of training. For some teachers, these situations involved classroom management issues. For other teachers, the lack of training and preparation for more serious behavioral problems was a source of negative emotions.

> I'm worried. Okay, what do I do? So usually, my most negative emotion in class will be just that: Okay, what the hell do I do now? What the hell do I do now? Okay, what can I do to salvage this? That student had no idea what was going on? Okay, the next class, what can I do? What can I do? – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> At my master's program, we had practice-oriented classes only in the last semester. We had a methodology class, and it was great. It was more practice-oriented than other classes. A lot of interesting theory nonetheless, but not extremely helpful when you walk into the class. And when you have behavioral problems, or if you need to manage the class, and I wasn't taught this, they've never mentioned it. This is not a part of the deal. I was kind of expecting them, but I didn't know how to deal with them exactly. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> That part of classroom management, my uncertainty and lack of training with special needs students, has been a struggle. I mean, that's also a part of the frustrations or the struggles as you can see things happening, but it's not my place to say, "Hey, you should go to a doctor." Do you know what I mean? I can't say that to them. So I don't know who can say that, you know. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

Another source of negative emotion among novice teachers is the conflict they experience with more senior teachers and with administrators. One such negative emotional episode involved the handling of student complaints.

> I was a bit shocked because I spoke to the academic affairs office, and they said that these kinds of complaints are very common. I was mentioning earlier, a lot the higher ranks in my department come from Western-educated environments. So they think that if it's a complaint, it means that it's really, really bad, but the academic affairs office said, "No, it's not a big problem, you don't have to worry about it." Because it's just one student out of like 50-something students, but my department sort of launched an official investigation into me, and they gave me this huge document. At the end of the document, they said, at the end of the investigation, we could terminate your contract. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

Among mid-career teachers, conflicts with individuals who are in positions of power were also a common source of negative emotions. For some teachers, especially those employed by dispatch companies, negative emotional episodes arose out of the scarcity of information and training about the classes they are assigned or a complete lack of control over the decisions made at their universities.

> I have zero decisional power. I'm just there, even though, and this is probably the sticking point, even though I know both the students and the course, and the environment, much better than the people who are in charge of approving these decisions, because I've been doing it for six years. And these people have been to the university twice. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> Every year, every semester, they don't tell us one week or two weeks before the semester starts. So we have no time to prepare. For me, I just wish they could tell us the changes earlier. It seems [the managers] think, teachers don't need that much time to prepare, because they prepared the manual. People in Human Resources, the ones who made the teachers' manual, they just assume that we can read the manual and go into a lesson. – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> It's exhausting. Yeah, it's kind of a little bit frustrating because all of the burdens are put on the teachers, like [the managers] don't give you any support. Aside from giving you the base, the technology like, okay, you have a camera now. So, figure out how to do your lessons hybrid. They don't give you any tips or anything. – Lucas (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

> One thing that irritates me, especially at this university, they don't listen, they don't listen to teachers. So if a teacher has a suggestion, nah we can't do that. No, we don't have the money for that. No, no, no. And it really frustrates me, it's really irritating. So what I've learned to do is, I tell students, if they want it, I tell them at the next opportunity, the next anketto (questionnaire) you get, write it down. Because the school will listen to you. They won't listen to me. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Apart from these conflicts with superiors, student behaviors were also perceived as a source of negative emotions by mid-career teachers. Some of these student behaviors include rudeness, dishonesty, and lack of effort. Emotions such as anger, stress, discomfort, and frustration were prevalent among some of these teachers.

> I feel a little bit uncomfortable when students are making some sort of excuse, but I'm supposed to accept it, and that's making me uncomfortable. – Jane (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> I think I've gotten angry a couple of times, but there's not much I can do about it. It's mostly just that I've run out of patience, or there's rudeness from students. They're entitled. They say, "No, I don't understand this. I don't really speak English." – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I guess I'm just a little disappointed when I see very little effort being put in the lesson when I'm not really asking for even 10% of the amount of effort I put in my time in my coursework. You know, asking them to write three sentences with the new grammar is really the bare minimum. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

Experienced teachers did not mention as many negative emotional episodes as the previous two groups. However, the most common sources of these negative emotions also arose from student behaviors and low levels of English proficiency. One emotion that was unique in this group was detachment or a sense of giving up.

> Just dealing with that kind of level, general English was quite difficult, because all of my experience was preparing students for graduate studies […] So yeah, just teaching general English was quite different. Teaching undergraduate level was quite different and having to do big classes. Even though the classes at my university are not so big, but I was used to just 10 maximum 16 students in a class. – Percy (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> If there was any flicker of desire to learn English, I would certainly have upped my game. But very often there wasn't. And I mean, you hear all these stories, or

> wonderful stories and watching documentaries about these incredible teachers who can reverse terrible classes and bring the best out of students that everybody had rejected, and I can't do that. I certainly can't do it eight times a week at four different universities, you know? Not anymore. I tried when I was younger. But not anymore. – Lance (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

One final point to note is that even among experienced teachers, conflicts with individuals who are in positions of power are still prevalent. One example mentioned by an experienced teacher is dealing with an administrator who clashed with their pedagogical beliefs.

> I really enjoyed working at my former workplace. But in the end, I was having 3AM panic attacks. So it was not good. […] Oh, just the stress. And yeah, the new boss. So he lacked the academic vision. He had come from a company and was very rule-driven. And my previous boss was just fantastic. He just was the nicest, kindest man. And then I got this person who would like, we did not like each other at all. Not his fault. But yeah, just a bad fit. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Mixed Emotional Episodes. The mixture of positive and negative emotions is also a recurring theme across all three groups. In some instances, positive and negative emotional episodes tend to co-occur. In other situations, a transition ensues either from positive to negative, or negative to positive. Some of the emotion words that were not entirely positive nor entirely negative include challenging, interesting, and getting used to a situation. Among the most common sources of these mixed emotions are relationships with students and colleagues, and professional and pedagogical changes which some teachers have undergone.

For some novice teachers, the emotional experience of encountering an unfamiliar situation seems to trigger mixed emotions. Some of these new encounters include entering a classroom for the first time and being faced with students who have special needs, which the teachers are not trained for.

> I faced students for the first time not as a teacher but as a TESOL student doing my practicum. I felt a little bit overwhelmed. But the students were really nice. And they were also a little bit overwhelmed, a little bit nervous, and it kind of gave me confidence. Because I'm not the only one. It makes things so much better. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> It's interesting because I don't know how to handle the situations that come up in class. So to be specific, there was a student who struggles with an emotional disorder and she has to leave the room sometimes. So that's been kind of a challenge because I'm not trained to help those students, and so I don't really know what to do to help her. Especially since I'm not allowed to speak Japanese, I can't communicate with her. That's been a challenge. And interesting because it's a challenge. It's kind of like a new thing to figure out. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

These mixed emotions are echoed by mid-career teachers who also experienced certain situations for the first time and eventually learning from them or getting used to them. Most of the situations mentioned by the interviewees also revolved around classroom dynamics and relationships with administrators.

> I was warned, coming in that [the remedial classes at the university] would be, it's not that it would be easy, but it would be a bit more relaxed than usual. Because on the one hand, for repeating students, they might not attend. So that would mean you

> would have a bit more free time. At the same time, the students who did attend, they might be dealing with some difficulties in their especially after COVID. – Ruben (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> Once I got better at it, I think things became more positive. […] Not much change in feeling, I think. Probably, by the end of the semester, I thought I was quite good at it. And I got on well with the students. But it's kind of frustrating because I think I'm better at it. I'm preparing more for it. But I'm technically being paid less for it. So my feelings towards my employer was frustration. That's one of the reasons I left at the end. – William (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

> Those first two years of teaching part-time at university, I would say, often, I felt it was a very intense period. And my first year of teaching university, that year was just very memorable for me. And I often think about it, because, you know, you're just dealing with a lot of firsts. When you have a lot of firsts, it's memorable, it leaves an impression. And now, when something happens, I feel an echo of past situations where things have happened. And so I process it differently. – Eric (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

For experienced teachers, mixed emotions were also instigated by classroom occurrences and clashes with administrators. Similar to the previous two groups, the mixed emotions were seen as a sign of growth and professional development.

> [One university] gave me part-time, meaning nineteen koma. Not 90 minutes, 95-minute komas. I was exhausted. But it was the best training ever. Because after that year, I felt like I can do anything. I learned so much from my colleagues that year. And you know how to connect with students and also CALL computer assisted

language learning. That's where I first kind of went, Oh this is good for the toolbox. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

One of my better students in another country, you know, we had a shouting match across the classroom. But the next day, we apologized to each other. Which is a good memory to have and that it's okay. And it's okay to disagree, and sometimes loudly, but let's work together to resolve this situation. – Ian (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Another point of interest for experienced teachers is the support from colleagues amid critical points in their careers such as job changes and illness.

I had to turn off my camera and get myself together and then switch it back on [...] So anyway, my colleagues, after listening to [the negative incident] was like, I've only known Helga since April. But this is bullshit [...] Then all the other colleagues jumped in and said, yeah! [...] I love my colleagues. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

I've got [a serious illness] which obviously is a negative. But last year when I was diagnosed, and I told my department chair and curriculum, they have all been so supportive. And this is really weird, but I wouldn't wish this on anybody. But if I have to have it, this is the best possible time. Because with COVID any kind of classes are okay. So if I can't be face-to-face, I can do on demand. [...] So I have an incredible amount of flexibility. But so the school has been very, very positive that way. [...] So it's a negative situation, but the school responding in a very positive way. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Emotional Display Rules

Emotional display rules comprise the third main theme which emerged from the interview sessions. Similar to the prevalent results in TELTS, the emotional display rules at university appear to be implicit and are often influenced by the sociocultural norms of Japanese society. Some explicitly stated rules were also required of a few teachers, especially teachers in the novice and mid-career groups. These explicit guidelines were often associated with professional behavior and are often delivered by an individual who is in a position of power, such as administrators, managers, and senior professors.

Implicit Guidelines. As mentioned in all three groups, no explicit guidelines were provided to the teachers. In lieu of explicit guidelines, some teachers claimed that they use their common sense, knowledge obtained from their graduate program, and personal beliefs pertaining to professional behavior. Some teachers, who are employed by dispatch companies, claimed that they relied on their company's guidelines and that these guidelines carried over to their university work.

> I tried really hard to remember. It's like no explicit guidance, no explicit guidance. It's like yeah, I'm pretty sure that there were no explicit rules. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> Just use of common sense. I mean, you know how to be a human being, you just use your common sense. My university, they never really explicitly stated any policies on teacher behavior. Just don't be weird. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I can't remember. But it wasn't explicit. Wasn't explicit. It was probably the dispatch company, so it's very likely that sort of happened. But I don't know, I just ignore it! Most of it's common sense anyway, isn't it? – William (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

> During the practicum, we have a practicum advisor, right? And we kind of picked up the way he dealt with the students. I was like okay, so that's how you do it in this university. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> Generally speaking, that is not something that universities do. Like, prepare teachers, teachers are generally given a great amount of freedom to do what they want to do. – Lance (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

Influence of Japanese Sociocultural Norms. Some of the professional guidelines which the teachers follow are shaped by the sociocultural norms in Japanese society. The most common sociocultural norms mentioned by the teachers include the concept of face and the suppression of emotions. The face mentioned by some teachers refers to the persona or identity presented to others, depending on the situation. Some foreign teachers, who are new to Japan, found that they had to make adjustments to their persona in order to fit into their school. On the other hand, the suppression of emotions entails keeping cool in positive or negative situations. One teacher also cited the suppression of loud laughter.

> In terms of how a teacher thinks they should behave or like, you know, how to maybe present themselves in a class, that's kind of the thing that I think I have to adjust myself, because I will say that that's quite new for me. I didn't realize that when I moved to Japan, and facing Japanese students, I needed to make some sort of adjustment. I feel that my foreign face is probably a little different from my [my country's] face in a sense, maybe? Because I guess like, I don't know when I make the switch. – Jane (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> Does the school have rules about showing emotion? Well, no, but the culture does. And you gotta be cool. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> In Japan, I think, you know, to mask one's emotions is more common especially in the eastern side of Japan, the Kanto side rather than Kansai. – Ian (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> It's kind of an implicit, you know, more like a culture thing. It's not stated but when you're in the community, you kind of see, oh, that's how we do this, how we deal with it. I think that Japanese people are even more reclusive. In terms of emotion, you know, because in Japan, you kind of have to preserve your face. You have to act cool. […] I cannot express it but in Japanese it's like kakotsukeru. You act cool when you act as if you don't care, it's kind of [shrugging off] the matter. – Randall (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> So laughing loudly. I have kind of a loud laugh. And here in Japan, if you laugh loudly, everyone's like, what's wrong with you? Are you okay? People view it as not jovial, jolly, saying it's an annoying trait to have a loud laugh. I feel that I had to really regulate or tone down any expression of emotion that I normally in my country wouldn't have even thought twice about. – Carol (Novice, Dispatch, NEST)

These adjustments in identity or emotions seem to be more apparent in foreign teachers. When deviations to these Japanese sociocultural norms is observed in fellow foreign instructors, some teachers mentioned experiencing "collective shame." This type of embarrassment seems to be influenced by the more collective orientation of Japanese society than other Western cultures. One mid-career teacher relates the story of how one of their colleagues lost their cool in the teachers' room in front of the foreign and Japanese staff alike. This teacher mentioned experiencing collective shame.

> I think part of it was a collective shame. You know, I think four or five of us were also at the desks. The Japanese staff on the other side were clearly aware of this. We were like, "Dude, you're making us all look bad. Take it somewhere else, you know, go take a walk or something." – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Apart from the collective nature of Japanese society, some teachers have also pointed to the risk aversion and conflict aversion that are prominent in the culture. The aversion to risks is connected to uncertainty avoidance. One teacher pointed out that this avoidance is most prevalent among Japanese students who refuse to take risks in the classroom. On the other hand, conflict aversion in Japanese society can be connected to the concept of maintaining harmony in society. Another teacher pointed to how teachers suppress emotions in order not to receive any complaints from students. Such complaints were viewed as *mendoukusai* or troublesome because teachers would then have to address them and the harmony in the classroom might be jeopardized.

> Hofstede says there are six different parts to culture. Let's put in Japan first. The one I want to show you is uncertainty avoidance. This is risk aversion. So students do not like taking risks. And this has a really big impact in our teaching classrooms. – Helga (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I'd never seen a Japanese teacher angry. I remember there was one, we went to one Japanese literature class. It was so boring. I'd say 90% of the students were asleep. [But] she didn't say anything. She didn't wake us up either. She just continued teaching. At that time, I thought, that's the norm. Thinking back, now I know the culture better, I think they just don't want anyone to complain. They don't want any

> trouble. It is *mendouksai* (troublesome). Like, what if I get angry and someone complained? – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

Explicit Guidelines. Not all guidelines were completely implicit. Some teachers who belonged to lower social strata seemed to receive more of these explicit guidelines. These teachers are often novice teachers, part-timers, and teachers who were not directly hired by universities. The administrators, managers, and senior teachers often provided these explicit guidelines. Some guidelines appear to be pieces of advice delivered for the benefit of younger colleagues. Other guidelines seem to be rooted in expectations from universities which were then communicated to dispatch companies, whose managers would relay the information to their employees.

> Actually, a senior professor told me "Do not smile until the Golden Week." This professor and another one said that I'm too young. And I'm also a new teacher. I don't have much experience and the students might not respect me. And once I lose my power, I will never get it back again. – Mindy (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> Actually, several times I have been told that I need to really increase the praise and pull back the criticism, because these students are too sensitive. I've been told that they really need encouragement, that I should really, really focus on praise. Even though, as I said, their level this year, and the past year is incredibly low, and it's very difficult to get them where they need to be at the end of the lesson. I have been told that I cannot scold them, I cannot say no technically. I have to give them a lot of prompting, a lot of praise. The usual thing basically. [...] These requests came from the Japanese teacher, and then also from the manager. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> I remember one year, my manager talked to me and said that there was one student who complained about me saying I was not fair, that I had favorites. That's when I started to think, 'Oh, do I have favorites? Have I been doing something wrong? Or what could I have done better?' That's when I started seeing them as my customers, not students. And it was my manager who said that. We had a meeting and he said, Oh, try to think of them as customers, not students. – Eloisa (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

Emotional Labor

The fourth sub-theme which emerged from the coded interviews is emotional labor. In particular, the interviewees in this study discussed whether they chose to suppress or display their emotions. The transcripts seem to reveal that most teachers used several emotional labor strategies and do not simply prefer one. Also, the teachers often did not consciously decide on which strategy to use in particular emotional episodes. Rather, the choices to display or suppress certain emotions seems to be informed by their own beliefs in those particular moments. Thus, the teacher might use surface acting, deep acting, or natural expression depending on the situation. Examples of these three strategies, as discussed by the interviewees, are presented in the sub-sections below.

Surface Acting. Surface acting is the suppression of genuine emotions and the display of inauthentic emotions. This choice to display and/or suppress emotions is often dictated by the emotional display rules which are present in the teachers' contexts. Thus, the teachers who utilize surface acting only do so in order to fulfill their obligations to the school, and not because the teachers made an effort to truly understand these emotional display rules and truly align themselves with what their universities or educational institutions believe. Some teachers have likened surface acting to putting on a mask or

participating in a performance. An interesting point to note is that none of the experienced teacher interviewees mentioned this strategy.

> I feel like I should put my face on for class. That's what a former colleague would always say like, "Alright, gotta get into character." – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I think it is kind of my role. You kind of turn on a switch when you have to teach. I don't know if I could teach with a frown on my face. There are some days when I am tired or depressed or, you know, something bad has happened. But it's kind of a performance. – Sam (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

> I personally think you should suppress negative emotions. And, yeah, I'm sure there's an expectation. If you got mad at students during your observed lesson, it's not going to reflect well. – William (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST)

> I remember. I remember, I had an upsetting breakup. And I had to teach the next day, basically. And I was just devastated. […] I had to teach an open campus high school lesson, in which you have to be really genki (energetic). You've got to make the university feel appealing to these students, you know, so you can't be walking around, you know, sad and upset. I can pretty easily switch between emotions, you know. So I basically turned it off. And just kind of forced it out of my mind and taught my class, and I was personable and friendly. – Lewis (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I think if you let your annoyance show in your face, it's over, that class is just done. And then it'll show up in a report card. So you kind of have to just no matter what

> happens just like either maintain passive emotion. Or be happy, be energetic, I would say. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

Deep Acting. While surface acting is concerned solely with the display or suppression of emotions, deep acting entails making an effort to understand the emotional display rules required in a particular context and aligning one's emotions with such emotional display rules. Thus, for teachers, deep acting might necessitate understanding why a positive learning environment could positively influence learning outcomes, instead of simply following the university's directive to create a positive environment in the classroom. Deep acting also seems common for most teachers who choose to display or suppress particular emotions for the benefit of their students. One teacher has compared this experience to being an actor who attempts to actually experience the emotions of their assigned character.

> Of course, sometimes it feels like I'm holding my emotions and trying to put a smile to the entire class, right? I didn't want to actually affect the entire class environment. And of course I didn't want them to feel embarrassed as well. So that's why it is the main reason why when I go to class, I don't necessarily show it if I'm upset. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> As an English instructor, if you're having a bad day, I think that it's not the students' fault, so they shouldn't be aware of it, so I try to hide it. And if you're having a good day, then that just helps with your teaching anyway, it may help to motivate the students. – Ruben (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> I have kind of an acting background in high school, and I think part of the key to acting effectively is to really convince yourself that you are feeling these emotions.

> And I think that it certainly does help with being dramatic. And so, I guess I do kind of try to create those emotions for myself, that this is the persona that I want to feel and so I'm going to put it on the outside and they kind of go together, if that makes sense. – Gino (Mid-career, Direct-hire, NEST)

Natural Expression. Natural expression is simply the display of emotions which are genuinely experienced by the individual. These emotions are either positive or negative. For a number of teachers, negative emotions are expressed in more private settings such as in a one-on-one conversation with a student. However, for other teachers, the expression of negative emotions is used as a form of feedback to the class. For some teachers, the natural expression of their emotions constitutes their identity.

> I would [show negative emotions]. But usually one-on-one. I prefer not to do it in front of the entire class. Typically, if I was upset about something with a student, I would kind of just call them on the side or ask them to talk personal. I will be a lot more genuine with them one-on-one. – Danny (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I tried to control myself. I think I showed some negative emotion at that time. So they know I'm serious. – Mindy (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I don't have a separate personality. No. This is what you get in class. Unlike some other people. I don't have a persona for the class, no. That's just unhealthy. I don't do that. This is what you get. – Saul (Novice, Direct-hire, NNEST)

> I think there are cultural rules even though the school has never said anything about it, but I do feel free to express emotion with students. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

The Role of Context

One other notable point mentioned by the teachers is the role of context in the choice to display or suppress emotions. Some teachers have already pointed to the influence of the sociocultural context of Japanese society in the emotional display rules implemented in each university or educational institution. Additionally, some teachers have also focused on how institutional and individual contexts influence their immunity to such rules. With regard to institutional contexts, some teachers have highlighted the fact that the business aspect of dispatch companies tends to subject the teachers to stricter rules. This situation is exacerbated by the lack of knowledge of decision-makers with regard to education and language learning.

> That situation [of being sent out by a company] is particularly bad. Because usually the company people don't really know anything about education. They know business. – Patrick (Experienced, Direct-hire, NEST)

> I feel like there's this friction there. Because it is kind of a small, personal learning environment. But it is within the context of a very codified business. […] I think that it's just an eikaiwa problem. Because they apply the exact same method to the university lessons. You're not supposed to prepare lessons because you're supposed to be familiar with the material, and always do the same thing with it every time you open the book, which is so not the case in a university lesson, because every student is different, their levels are different, and they do not actually follow the syllabus in the same way. In fact, I would say I don't think you can apply eikaiwa structures or methods to university students even though that's what the framework is. – Rei (Mid-career, Dispatch, NNEST)

> I think maybe it's just a problem with privatization. Because all [private universities] really care about is money. So we don't really give a *** if [students] get a good education or not, that's on them. As long as we get paid, that's all we care about. I think that's a problem. Better to have public schools, where the teachers are actually a little bit strict. But I think teachers should be able to hold the students to certain basic standards. It will be better for the students as well, actually. – Lucas (Mid-career, Dispatch, NEST

The individual contexts of teachers also influence their relationship with the emotional display rules which exist in their universities. Some teachers have pointed out that their positionality can either affect or insulate them from such rules. Teachers who are in higher levels of the social strata tend to have more immunity.

> Being older, male, white, native speaker, and I'm not saying these are good things, I'm just saying this is the way it is in Japan. Older male and white and a native speaker, and also being directly employed by the universities and having the PhD, it insulates me from having some of these [emotional display] requirements. – Neil (Mid-career Teacher, Direct-hire, NEST)

Key Findings of Semi-structured Interviews. Four overarching themes emerged from the coding of semi-structured interview sessions: (1) teacher identities, (2) emotional episodes, (3) emotional display rules, and (4) emotional labor. Under the theme of Teacher Identities, five sub-themes emerged: (1) the teachers' beginnings, including why they chose to become English teachers in Japan, (2) their perceived roles, (3) their beliefs, (4) their relationships with students and colleagues, and (5) any changes their identities have undergone. Under the sub-theme of Beliefs, teachers focused on three points: research and

professional development, proficiency in English and Japanese, and qualities that teachers need to embody. One other sub-theme which emerged is the role of context in shaping the teachers' choices or lack of choice to display and/or suppress emotions based on emotional display rules. Some teachers recognized that the institutional context of working in a dispatch company sometimes subjects certain teachers to particular business-coded rules. Also, some other teachers recognized that their positionality, especially if they belong to the higher social stratum, immunizes them from such rules.

Discussion

This research thesis explored how the sociocultural context of Japanese society, the institutional contexts of Japanese universities, and the individual contexts of teachers shape university EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity at various stages of their careers in Japan. Specifically, this study aimed to examine how shifting and interrelated contexts influence tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, to analyze how teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity are interrelated, and to compare the emotions, emotional labor, and identities of novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers. This study attempted to achieve these objectives by addressing the following research questions:

1. What *emotions* (Reeve, 2018) have (a) novice, (b) mid-career, and (c) experienced university EFL teachers experienced?
2. What *emotional display rules* (Benesch, 2017) exist in the (a) novice, (b) mid-career, and (c) experienced teachers' universities or educational institutions?
3. What *emotional labor strategies* (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Brown, 2011; Hochschild, 1983) have (a) novice, (b) mid-career, and (c) experienced university EFL teachers employed?

4. How do (a) novice, (b) mid-career, and (c) experienced university EFL teachers in Japan describe their identities?

This section focuses on each of these research questions and discusses the results in light of the existing literature on teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity.

Research Question 1

The first research question focused on the *emotions* (Reeve, 2018) of each group of teachers and the *emotional episodes* (Schutz & Lee, 2014) from which these emotions emerged. This question was primarily addressed in the semi-structured interview sessions and in some of the teachers' written responses to TELTS (Brown, 2011). This research aimed to discover teachers' emotions and emotional episodes first because as Hargreaves (1998) stated, "Emotions are at the heart of teaching" (p. 835). Positive, negative, and mixed emotions were mentioned by all three groups. Similarities and differences can also be observed in each group's responses. These emotions reflect the contexts in which teachers experience emotional episodes.

Emotions and Emotional Episodes of Novice Teachers

Among novice teachers, the most common positive emotions mentioned were happiness, joy, excitement, pride, satisfaction, enjoyment, engagement, love, and amusement. The emotional episodes from which these emotions arose include the teachers' observation of their students' progress, which encompassed their linguistic skills and their moral maturation, and the teachers' own development in the teaching profession, particularly in their pedagogical skills. These positive emotions seem to parallel the *emotions of warmth* toward students which Cowie (2003; 2011) found in his participants. In contrast, the most common negative emotions mentioned by this novice group include uncertainty, worry, anxiety, cluelessness, disorientation, disappointment, annoyance, upset, shock, loneliness, anger, tiredness, stress, tension, difficulty, frustration, and

discouragement. The negative emotional episodes from which these emotions emerged include unexpected situations which these inexperienced teachers have not encountered and for which they lacked adequate preparation and training.

Another emotional episode mentioned by a novice teacher is the conflict with more senior faculty members. Although not all novice teachers reported experiencing this emotional episode, this result reflects the influence of status on teachers' relationships and how this might affect the novice teacher's longevity in the profession. As Day et al. (2007) noted, some novice teachers may have "painful beginnings" (p. 73). For these teachers, support from fellow faculty members and administrators and recognition of work are deemed crucial.

The mixed emotions experienced by this group were mostly instigated by emotional episodes of experiencing unfamiliar situations such as conducting a class for the first time or being faced with students who have special needs. The first kind of emotional episode can be considered common for anyone entering any profession, and adequate training and support may circumvent any negative emotions of anxiety and stress. However, the second kind of emotional episode, of handling students with special needs, is not a common occurrence. The dispatch novice teacher who reported experiencing this emotional episode described the experience as a "struggle" (Carol, Novice, Dispatch, NEST) because not only was she placed in a position that she was not trained for, but neither the university administrators nor the managers in her company were willing to do anything about the situation. This finding seems to parallel the study of *eikaiwa* teachers by Yarwood (2020), in which students were considered paying customers, so the teachers and the staff are instructed to cater to their students/customers' needs. Teachers especially are expected not to cause any trouble to the customer because complaints might mean a reduction in profits.

Although Carol's experience was set in a university, she was still considered a dispatch teacher from an *eikaiwa*, thus she could not complain about her situation.

Emotions and Emotional Episodes of Mid-career Teachers

For mid-career teachers, emotions of happiness, luck, ease, enjoyment, excitement, motivation, feeling moved, and feeling impressed were mentioned. The emotional episodes from which these positive emotions emerged include the progress of their students, the teachers' own pedagogical progress, and work environments which are conducive to the teachers' growth in the profession. In contrast, the most common negative emotions experienced by mid-career teachers are frustration, irritation, disappointment, upset, awkwardness, annoyance, friction, uncertainty, anger, confusion, dissatisfaction, tiredness, exhaustion, nervousness, discomfort, regret, indifference, distrust, and animosity. Similar to the novice group, emotional episodes involving unwanted student behaviors such as rudeness, dishonesty, and lack of effort were also cited by mid-career teachers as sources of negative emotions.

Two prominent kinds of emotional episodes, which were mentioned by dispatch company instructors, include the lack of information and training for their university classes, and the lack of autonomy, especially in decision-making, which resulted in conflicts with superiors and managers. These emotional episodes seem to be more prominent among the dispatch teachers than the direct-hires. Dispatch teachers claimed to lack information concerning their classes and class schedules because information seems to be channeled to the teachers through a Japanese staff who mediates between the dispatch teachers and the university. This bureaucratic process causes distress among the teachers due to lack of preparation. As Eloisa, a dispatch NNEST, stated, "the ones who made the teachers' manual, they just assume that [teachers] can read the manual and go into a lesson." The top-down administrative decisions, which originate from the university administrators or

the customers and are funneled down to the teachers through the company managers who act as the mediators, also seem to highlight the dispatch teachers' lack of agency in the decision-making process. As Rei, another dispatch NNEST said, "I have zero decisional power." These emotional episodes seem to reflect the experiences of *eikaiwa* teachers which were documented by Yarwood (2020) and Taylor (2020). Similar to *eikaiwa* teachers who were not allowed to deviate from the prescribed methods and materials, mid-career dispatch teachers from universities also seem to lack the agency to make decisions about their classes.

Emotions and Emotional Episodes of Experienced Teachers

In the group of experienced teachers, the emotions mentioned include love, enjoyment, happiness, gratefulness, pride, feeling lucky, feeling impressed, and having great memories. Similar to the first two groups, the main emotional episodes from which these positive emotions arose involve the students. In particular, the experienced group of teachers referred to the growth of their students as positive experiences and recalled good memories of grateful students and classes that the teachers loved to teach. In contrast, the negative emotions mentioned by these teachers include difficulty, boredom, exhaustion, stress, lack of energy, detachment, unwillingness, failure, regret, indifference, and the feeling of giving up. The emotional episodes from which these emotions arose include undesirable student behaviors and low proficiency levels, and conflicts with more senior members of the faculty. The mixed emotions experienced by this group seem to arise from the emotional episodes of conflict with administrators, job changes, and illness, from which experienced teachers had support from their colleagues.

These results seem to echo the findings of Day et al. (2007) in their description of the final two professional life phases of teachers. Two characteristics, which were common in these phases, were the dwindling sense of motivation and bitter disengagement, which

seem to be similarly cited as negative emotions by the teachers in this study. The study of experienced teachers' emotions by Cowie (2011) also revealed similarities in the teachers' positive emotions toward student progress and the mixed emotions toward colleagues. While some teachers in the study by Cowie (2011) also expressed positive emotions toward coworkers, especially "emotional warmth based on friendship, respect and collegiality" (p. 238), conflicts arising from differences in values and beliefs also resulted in negative emotions among teachers.

Research Question 2

The second research question is concerned with emotional display rules in the novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers' universities or educational institutions. This research question also explores the extent to which emotional display rules affect teachers' display or suppression of particular emotions. The question also analyzes how these emotional display rules may also be influenced by the sociocultural context of Japanese society, the institutional context of universities or educational institutions, and the teachers' individual contexts. This second research question and its two sub-questions were answered using the first section of TELTS, Emotional Display Rules, and the semi-structured interview questions.

Emotional Display Rules

Similar to the original conception of feelings rules in service industries by Hochschild (1983), the primary emotional display rules of most English language learning contexts encompass two points: (1) positive emotions should be displayed, and (2) negative emotions should be suppressed. The statistical results indicate an overall agreement to the items in the Emotional Display Rules section of TELTS. This finding seems to coincide with earlier studies concerning language learning and positive learning environments (Krashen, 1982; Richards & Bohlke, 2011). The belief in the connection between positivity and

learning is also echoed in teachers' responses in the semi-structured interviews. One such instance is the response of an experienced, direct-hire NEST, Percy, who mentioned, "Professional teachers should understand that presenting a positive face promotes a positive learning environment, while also valuing the expression of genuine emotions when appropriate."

Nuances in the teachers' responses can also be observed in the descriptive statistics. Item 2 ("Part of my job is to make my students feel good.") has the highest mean in all groups. In contrast, Item 1 ("My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.") and Item 3 ("My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.") produced the lowest means in all three groups. The way the items are phrased seems to have influenced the responses of the teachers. Contrary to Items 1 and 3, Item 2 seems to indicate less of a top-down directive to show positive emotions to students and more of a personal decision from the teachers to show positive emotions. This result seems to echo the issue of teachers' agency in their classes versus top-down bureaucratic decision-making processes. The discrepancy of the results within the same category seems to suggest that most teachers prefer to make their own decisions pertaining to the display of positive emotions.

Implicitness of Rules

Contrary to how Hochschild (2003) contended that these rules are "spelled out publicly" (p. 119), emotional display rules in English language teaching contexts in Japan seem to be implicit in nature. Most teachers indicated in the semi-structured interview sessions that these rules or guidelines were not explicitly laid out to them, but are connected to the institutional context of their university's philosophy or campus culture and/or the broader sociocultural context of Japanese society. University philosophies such as humanistic education seem to provide guidelines on how teachers should conduct

themselves toward their students. One such instance is when a novice direct-hire NNEST, Randall, stated, "At [my university], there is a guiding philosophy of humanism, and I think that reconsidering my anger and making students feel good about my class ties into this philosophy." In the same vein, Japanese sociocultural norms also seem to shape teachers' beliefs on appropriate emotional display. One such norm is emotional restraint or "keeping cool," such as when Patrick, an experienced direct-hire NEST, mentioned, "Does the school have rules about showing emotion? Well, no, but the culture does. And you gotta be cool." These institutional and sociocultural contexts seem to inform the emotional display rules in these tertiary-level institutions.

These responses to the structured interview questions hint at the surface-level influences of sociocultural contexts and institutional contexts of emotional display rules on teachers. However, a more in-depth analysis of *who* are affected by these rules and to what extent they are affected foregrounds the issue of individual contexts influencing emotional display rules. As King (2016) has shown in his exploratory study, foreign university EFL teachers, although they were not explicitly told, seem to believe that it is their duty to care for students, suppress negative emotions toward uncooperative students, and motivate unmotivated learners, through taking on the role of the "bright, engaging and enthusiastic" (p. 105) foreign teacher. This description seems to match what one of the mid-career direct-hire NESTs, Neil, called "the happy Genki gaijin." These expectations to express positive emotions and suppress negative emotions seem evident in the responses of the teachers in the study, who are all foreign teachers. Although the study was open to all university teachers in Japan, there were unfortunately no Japanese respondents, so a comparison of Japanese and non-Japanese teachers' experiences cannot be performed. However, the results of this study seems to suggest that foreign teachers may be subject to these implicit emotional display rules.

Research Question 3

The third research question is concerned with the emotional labor strategies (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brown, 2011; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Hochschild, 1983) utilized by teachers. This research question is also aimed at understanding to what extent emotional labor can influence language teacher identities. Also, the influence of the sociocultural context of Japanese society, the institutional context of the teachers' universities or educational institutions, and the individual contexts of teachers on these emotional labor strategies was analyzed. The third research question, along with its two sub-questions, were answered through the Emotional Acting section of TELTS and the semi-structured interview questions.

Based on the data gathered from this study, the teachers' choice of which strategy does not seem to vary across all groups. Instead, the teachers' choice of which strategy to use seems to depend on the immediate situation and the teachers' beliefs about this particular situation. For instance, Gino, a mid-career direct-hire NEST, mentioned "put[ting] his face on for class" (surface acting), "try[ing] to create those emotions for [himself]" (deep acting), and "getting angry" (natural expression) at his students. Teachers in this study seem to utilize a plethora of these strategies and are not confined to just one strategy.

However, slight nuances can be observed upon closer examination of the descriptive statistics. One such nuance is how experienced teachers seem to utilize Deep Acting more than the novice or mid-career groups. This result may reflect their longer association and familiarity with Japanese culture. The way they refer to sociocultural norms in the country when discussing emotional display rules seems to support this idea, such as when an experienced direct-hire NEST, Patrick, stated, "Does the school have rules about showing emotion? Well, no, but the culture does. And you gotta be cool." Another experienced direct-

hire NEST, Helga, also supported this norm of emotional restraint when she said, "Universities in Japan have expectations of what is 'good' and 'bad'. Leakage of emotions can be seen as unprofessional and 'wrong' in some way."

Another notable point mentioned by the teachers in the study is that the display of naturally felt emotions can be used as a tool. As mentioned by Ian, an experienced direct-hire NEST, "feeling is a tool of communication on par with reading, writing, speaking, and listening." This statement was echoed by Neil, a mid-career direct-hire NEST, who stated, "Using anger and frustration strategically in class can be effective, I think, and I imagine is expected." Furthermore, Mindy, a novice direct-hire NNEST, specified this use of emotional display as a form of feedback when she explained, "When students are distracted after being reminded for several times, I would not pretend as if I am good. I try to talk in a neutral tone and make them know that I am not kidding. […] I tried to control myself. I think I showed some negative emotion at that time. So they know I'm serious." These results seem to align with the findings of Kimura (2010) who found that Japanese teachers displayed negative emotions to their students in order to maintain order in the classroom. Similarly, Ysa (2009) also indicated that Japanese teachers expressed genuine emotions in order to create a harmonious relationship with their students which would help teachers "control [their] classrooms" (p. 143). These similarities between Japanese and non-Japanese teachers seem to differ from previous studies (King, 2016) which do not mention examples of natural expression among non-Japanese teachers.

Research Question 4

The final research question is focused on language teacher identities, particularly how novice, mid-career, and experienced university EFL teachers in Japan describe their language teacher identities. This research question is also concerned with what factors constitute the teachers' language teacher identities, to what extent have emotions and

emotional labor shaped these language teacher identities, and how the sociocultural context of Japanese society, the institutional context of universities or educational institutions, and the teachers' individual contexts shaped these language teacher identities. These questions were answered using the ELTPIS and the semi-structured interview sessions.

Components of Language Teacher Identity

The statistical results of the ELTPIS seems to suggest a general agreement to all six factors. This result suggests that teachers believe that their identities include the following factors: researching and developing their own practice, being aware of the components of the English language, becoming members of an institutional and collective practice, engaging learners as whole persons, appraising their teacher selves, and engaging in sociocultural and critical practice. These findings seem to coincide with the theme of Teacher Identities in the semi-structured interviews. This theme consists of five sub-themes including (1) the teachers' beginnings, (2) their roles, (3) their beliefs, (4) their relationships with students and colleagues, and (5) any changes their identities have undergone. The factors mentioned by the teachers in this study seem to reflect the multiple facets of Language Teacher Identity (LTI) pointed to by Barkhuizen (2017). These results also appear to coincide with the conceptualization of teacher identity put forward by Day at al. (2007)

The Role of Context in Identity Construction

Teachers' identities seem to be constructed and reconstructed based on their emotional episodes and the macro, meso, and micro-level contexts surrounding their identities. The sociocultural context of Japanese society seems to dictate which emotions are most appropriate to display. In particular, emotional restraint or "keeping cool" seems to be preferred. Thus, a teacher who would lose their cool might be seen as unprofessional. The institutional context of particular universities also implicitly provides guidelines on

appropriate behavior. Thus, teachers' ideas of who a professional teacher is or should be would perhaps align with these philosophies. Finally, the individual contexts of teachers could shape their ideas of appropriate emotional display and professionalism, as shown by how some teachers referred to their beliefs when discussing who a professional teacher is and should be.

On top of all these factors is the influence of the discourse of *internationalization* (Aspinall, 2010), which seems to permeate all three levels of context. Policies aiming to make Japanese universities and by extension, Japan, more globally competitive have focused on attracting more foreign students and academics into the country. However, the ambivalent attitudes toward internationalization seem to have trickled down to foreign teachers. Similar to the teachers interviewed by Whitsed and Wright (2011), teachers in this study seem to understand that their roles as EFL teachers include displaying positive emotions and suppressing negative emotions for the benefit of their students. This phenomenon seems to more frequently occur among dispatch teachers who have been explicitly instructed to display and suppress particular emotions. The statement of Rei, a mid-career dispatch NNEST, seems to illustrate this point: "Actually, several times I have been told that I need to really increase the praise and pull back the criticism, because these students are too sensitive. I've been told that they really need encouragement, that I should really, really focus on praise, even though, as I said, their level this year, and the past year is incredibly low, and it's very difficult to get them where they need to be at the end of the lesson." The statement seems to reflect the notion that teachers should not offend university students because they (or more accurately, their parents) should be considered paying customers. Even if Rei wanted to uphold her standards for the benefit of the students, her managers and the university seemed more concerned about keeping the students happy. This seems to reflect the finding of Whitsed and Wright (2011): "what

happens pedagogically in their classes is not as important as keeping students happy because 'the student is the customer'" (p. 37).

Limitations

This research lacked some points which were initially incorporated in the proposal for the study. In particular, Japanese teachers of English did not join the study, even though invitations were sent to both JTEs and NJTEs. An understanding of how JTEs view emotions, emotional labor, and identity would have yielded a richer set of data, which would contrast with non-Japanese teachers' perspectives. Another limitation is the number of female interviewees. Some female teachers indicated their availability for interviews, but due to schedule conflicts and personal circumstances, these interview sessions did not take place. More female interviewees would have provided viewpoints which would show how gender affects and is affected by emotional labor. Furthermore, more non-binary participants would have also contributed to this research. The LGBTQ+ community seems to be the most underrepresented group in most SLA research, so further studies focusing on this community would perhaps yield more insights of how gender affects language teachers.

Recommendations

This cross-sectional study of tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity was conducted to fulfill three overarching goals: 1) to outline how sociocultural, institutional, and individual contexts influence tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, (2) to understand the interrelationships of the teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, and (3) to compare the emotions, emotional labor, and identities of novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers. In order to better fulfill these goals, additional recommendations for research are presented in this section. In particular, three main recommendations are discussed: (1) perform a longitudinal study of

tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, (2) conduct a broader cross-sectional research, which includes EFL teachers in pre-school, primary, and secondary schools, and (3) expand the research on EFL teachers who are also employed by various dispatch companies.

The first recommendation revolves around understanding the changes which teachers' identities undergo while also analyzing their emotions and their experiences of emotional labor. Longitudinal studies on pre-service and novice teachers' identities and emotions have been conducted (e.g. Lindqvist, 2019). However, the framework of emotional labor has not been utilized in longitudinal studies. Analyzing how emotional labor strategies might shift from one to the other over an extended period of time may be important in understanding how teachers' identities develop. Understanding how deep acting may develop from surface acting, for instance, and how the shift to deep acting could affect a teacher's beliefs about their professional identity could be an interesting area to explore. Furthermore, examining the transformations of teachers who are on the cusp of shifting from the novice group to the mid-career group, or from the mid-career group to the experienced group might be an intriguing point to study alongside the model presented by Day et al. (2007). Longitudinal studies would allow researchers to examine EFL teachers' changes in their identities, emotions, and experiences of emotional labor over time.

The second recommendation involves the inclusion of a larger population of teachers, including EFL teachers in preschools, elementary schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools. The limited number of participants in this study only focused on university-level EFL teachers. The experiences of teachers in other levels of education would perhaps broaden researchers' understanding of how emotional labor is performed in these contexts and how emotional labor affects these teachers. The continuing research on the constantly changing MEXT mandates on English instruction in Japan would perhaps add another

layer of institutional context that is more prevalent in primary and secondary schools. Understanding these differences would perhaps diversify researchers' perspectives on emotions, emotional labor, and language teacher identities.

The final recommendation of this study is concerned with conducting research on the adjunct faculty members who are employed by dispatch *eikaiwa* companies. Research on the emotions, emotional labor, and identities of this group of teachers appears to be very scarce, especially in the Japanese context. Previous studies on EFL teachers working in *eikaiwa* or English conversation schools have been conducted (e.g. Taylor, 2020; Yarwood, 2020). However, research on EFL teachers who work in both their *eikaiwa* companies and are dispatched to universities is limited, perhaps because dispatch agreements between *eikaiwa* companies and universities are a relatively recent phenomenon. The increase in the number of these agreements is perhaps brought on by the internationalization of universities and the rising costs of hiring qualified foreign instructors. As expressed by the dispatch teachers in this study, their experiences of emotional labor seem to result from the business-oriented rules of their companies. This clash between business and education appears to cause a number of negative emotions among these teachers. Thus, the conditions of teachers in this particular context need to be understood better.

This present study has attempted to understand the emotions, emotional labor, and language teacher identities of novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers. This study is limited in various ways. Therefore, three recommendations were proposed. Longitudinal studies might provide a better picture of the development of teachers' identities and emotions. Research on other work contexts can diversify the knowledge of teachers' emotional episodes and emotional labor. Finally, focused research on dispatch teachers in universities can further explore the effects of policies of internationalization on English language teachers.

Educational Implications

Emotional labor has been shown to cause negative effects such as excessive stress, attrition, and job dissatisfaction. This research has also presented instances in which teachers experienced negative emotional episodes due to particular emotional display rules and prolonged performance of emotional labor. Thus, the educational implications in this study revolve around reducing these negative effects. Three main themes are presented in this section: (1) how teacher education can help, and (2) what university authorities can do, and (3) what teachers can do, themselves.

How Teacher Education Can Help

Teacher education can help reduce the negative effects of emotional labor by focusing on two points: (1) including the emotional aspect of teaching into teacher training, and (2) mentoring pre-service teachers. First, the emotional side of teaching should be included in teacher training curricula. Perhaps a subject dedicated to the affective factors which influence teaching can be created. This subject might include issues of emotional labor but also the rewards and joys of teaching (Dewaele, 2020). More importantly, this subject should develop awareness among pre-service teachers that emotional labor exists and that they should prepare for the reality that they might experience emotional labor in their teaching career. This subject can also introduce strategies which might help teachers manage their time and energy, and create a better sense of work-life balance.

Second, mentoring pre-service teachers creates a foundation of trust and collegiality between trainers and future teachers (Lindqvist, 2019). Sometimes the gap between trainers and pre-service teachers seems too wide to bridge, so trainees may feel intimidated and hesitate to approach teacher trainers, who are often more senior faculty. Also, social hierarchies among faculty members might prevent pre-service teachers from forming meaningful relationships with their trainers. These situations can be prevented if trainers

or more senior faculty members, who are in positions of power, take the initiative to mentor pre-service teachers. One of the teachers in this study made the distinction between his current supervisor and his former supervisor whom he admired: "I remember the difference between these two bosses. My boss now would tell me, my door's always open, why don't you come? Okay. My old boss would come to us. Every morning, he would do the rounds, he would check in on all of us. [...] there was always a little bit of time for just small talk, you know. And other than that, how's life, you know, what's going on? And it was like, so great working for him." Perhaps trainers or more senior faculty can employ similar strategies.

What University Administrators Can Do

University administrators include university leaders or authorities, program heads, program advisers, university staff, and other stakeholders who can influence university policies. In the case of dispatch teachers, these supervisors include the managers, the Japanese mediators, and all the other individuals who are involved in the decision-making process. University administrators can help prevent the negative effects of emotional labor in three ways: (1) implementing policies which are emotionally beneficial to teachers, (2) involving teachers in the decision-making process, and (3) respecting teachers' autonomy and agency in their classrooms.

University administrators can help mitigate the negative effects of emotional labor by recognizing that emotional labor does exist and that policies should be in place to avoid its negative effects. The participants in the studies conducted by King (2016), Taylor (2020), and Yarwood (2020) seemed to have reverted to using unhealthy coping strategies such as detachment and depersonalization, mainly because they did not seem to see any other way around their emotionally stressful situations. One teacher in King's (2016) study resorted to lying about her personal details to her students, and another teacher moved to a second apartment away from the university. These detachment strategies were employed because

the teachers wanted a divide between their personal and professional circumstances. Even if teachers' jobs do not end when they exit the classroom, perhaps policies which ensure a clear distinction between what is personal and what is professional might create work-life balance for teachers. For one, if housing is provided to teachers, perhaps administrators should ensure that teachers have a choice in the matter. Teachers who feel more comfortable living away from the university might be granted housing allowance, instead of housing. For another, if teachers are tasked to perform extra duties such as administrative tasks, research, and duties in self-access centers, on top of their teaching responsibilities, then teachers must be allotted a specific time to perform these tasks. The time needed for these tasks should not encroach upon teachers' personal time. Even in dispatch companies, managers should recognize that their dispatch teachers need time to prepare for their lessons and that even if a manual is provided, teachers do not simply read it and magically go into a lesson fully prepared. Ample time for preparation and enough support should be provided to teachers.

Support can also come in the form of providing tangible and immediately accessible resources. Simple classroom implements such as a supply of markers, pens, paper, notebooks, and other classroom supplies can be helpful to teachers. In addition, better internet and wi-fi connection, devices, and technical support can also make online classes run more smoothly. Provision of services such as photocopying, printing, and scanning can also help facilitate better planning for classes. Administrators might also provide stress check services and access to mental health facilities to teachers. Also, similar to other jobs, overtime work should be paid. Administrators should remember that teaching is a passion, a vocation, and a commitment. However, it is also a job, and teachers must be fairly paid for the work that they do.

Involving teachers in decision-making processes not only validates teachers' contributions but it also shows trust. In Taylor's (2020) study, the teachers shared how the top-down decisions imposed on them by their language school made them feel devalued, as if the teachers, themselves, did not have the capacity to make good decisions for their students. In Yarwood's (2020) research, teachers were prevented from injecting their own input into the prescribed materials and method, and teachers were asked to comply with these rules because the language school wanted to ensure the 'professional quality' of their products. Professionalism here was equated with uniformity and conformity. This rigid situation caused one teacher to detach herself from the situation and conduct lessons in an offhand manner. These negative emotions and situations can be prevented by including teachers in the decision-making process. Listening to teachers' input shows that they are capable human beings who can contribute to the development of their language programs.

University authorities should also respect teachers' autonomy and agency in their classrooms. Supervisors and managers should understand that teachers have reasons for choosing particular methods or techniques. These reasons may not be readily apparent to an observer, and authority figures may not necessarily agree with these reasons. However, allowing teachers the freedom to decide for themselves what is best for their classrooms not only shows respect and trust, but this act also allows the teachers to improve their own skills in their own terms. This study has shown that there is general agreement among teachers that they should evaluate their own teaching selves (Factor 4 of ELTPIS) and strive to learn from other teachers (Factor 3 of ELTPIS) and from current research and conferences (Factor 1 of ELTPIS). Thus, authority figures do not need to dictate and prescribe methods that may not necessarily be the best for the students. Administrators should let teachers, themselves, figure out what is most beneficial for their classes.

In addition, upholding a professional brand might be a priority for some dispatch companies. This professional brand might entail ensuring that uniform services are delivered to customers. However, rather than equating professional branding with a uniform method, dispatch companies should consider investing in the training of their teachers. The books and the method will not teach the students. The teachers will. Thus, having highly skilled and more pedagogically knowledgeable teachers who can make better decisions for their students can uphold a better image of professionalism for these dispatch companies than uniform methods can.

What Teachers Can Do

Apart from teacher training and administrative decisions, teachers themselves can also perform certain actions which can help curb the negative effects of emotional labor. There are three main action points which teachers can do: (1) promoting collegiality among each other, (2) respecting fellow teachers' autonomy and agency in their own classrooms, and (3) taking care of their own physical, mental and emotional wellbeing.

Promoting collegiality means creating authentic and meaningful relationships among faculty members. Teachers experience almost the same struggles and stresses. Empathizing with a fellow teacher and actively listening to them can help another teacher get through a tough day. Active listening entails listening to understand and not just listening to respond or give advice. In terms of communication, teachers should strive to communicate with openness and respect. Instead of talking *at* other teachers, teachers should practice talking *with* their fellow teachers. Instead of focusing on superficial displays of courtesy, teachers should strive to engage in meaningful and honest conversation. Similar to the teachers in Taylor's (2020) study who used the opportunity in the staff room to break away from their prescribed teacher personas and just be

themselves, teachers should endeavor to create an authentic community characterized by genuine respect, honesty, and concern for each other.

Teachers should also respect their fellow teachers' autonomy and agency in their own classrooms. Authority figures and certain repressive policies already encroach upon teachers' own decision-making processes. If teachers do the same to their fellow teachers, they are just helping to propagate a culture of policing, monitoring, and top-down decision-making, which just adds to a teacher's list of daily stresses. Teachers would always have opinions about other teachers' methods and teachers will always have disagreements, but teachers should recognize that, similar to them, their colleagues have reasons for choosing particular methods, techniques, and activities in their classrooms. Thus, instead of simply criticizing their colleagues, immediately giving unwanted and unwarranted feedback, and questioning their fellow teachers, perhaps teachers can first strive to understand the reasoning behind their colleagues' decisions and engage in respectful dialogue. Although teachers may disagree, expressing disagreement can be done in a respectful manner. This exchange promotes collegiality and reflective teaching practices (Farrell, 2015).

Finally, teachers should strive to care for their own physical, mental, and emotional wellbeing. Even without emotional labor, teaching is a job that is demanding and stressful. Thus, teachers should understand that even though the job requires passion for the profession, care for students, and display of positivity in the classroom, teachers also need to take a break from this job and take care of themselves. Caring for their physical, mental, and emotional wellbeing entails getting ample rest and sleep, enough food and hydration, and providing the basic needs for survival. Teachers might also try practicing positive psychology (Helgesen, 2014) by keeping a gratitude journal, immersing themselves in nature, practicing meditation, taking walks, and doing their hobbies. These small simple habits may promote physical, mental, and emotional health among teachers. Teaching is a

profession that demands commitment and personal investment in the lives of students. However, this level of commitment and investment should not come at the expense of teachers' physical and mental health, emotional wellbeing, and their sense of happiness and fulfillment.

Conclusion

This research thesis has outlined a cross-sectional exploration of university-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity. The study aimed to fill gaps in research, particularly the paucity of literature which incorporates emotional labor into intersections of emotion and identity and the lack of research into the emotional experiences of mid-career and experienced teachers. This study had a three-fold purpose: (1) to investigate how shifting and multi-level contexts influence university-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity; (2) to interrelate the concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity in language teaching; and (3) to compare and contrast the emotions, emotional labor, and identities of novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers. Results indicated that most teachers are aware of emotional display rules in their universities or educational institutions. However, these rules tend to be implicit and are influenced by the sociocultural norms of Japanese society and the discourse of internationalization in Japanese universities. Furthermore, results also indicated that teachers utilize emotional labor strategies based on the situation. Teachers could volley between surface acting, deep acting, and natural expression depending on their context. Results also indicated that the identities of teachers consist of a multitude of factors. These identities are composites of teachers' beginnings, roles, beliefs, qualities, and transformations. These identities are further influenced by the teachers' emotions, emotional episodes, and experiences of emotional labor.

This study also recommends directions for future research. A longitudinal study of tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity may yield insights on the development of teachers' identities alongside their emotions and experiences of emotional labor. Conducting a broader cross-sectional research, which includes EFL teachers in pre-school, primary, and secondary schools, can also produce a broader and more extensive picture of emotional labor in Japan. Expanding the research on dispatch teachers can also further elucidate power relations and struggles which are informed by the discourse of internationalization in Japanese universities. Educational implications that can be of practical benefit to teacher trainers, university administrators, and teachers are also recommended. For teacher trainers, including the emotional aspect of teaching into teacher training programs, and mentoring pre-service teachers may help mitigate the negative effects of emotional labor. For university administrators, implementing policies which can reduce the negative effects of negative labor, involving teachers in making decisions, and respecting teachers' autonomy and agency in their classrooms may help promote teachers' wellbeing. Finally, teachers can strive to promote collegiality among each other, respect their fellow teachers' autonomy and agency in their own classrooms, and care for their own physical, mental and emotional wellbeing.

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Appendix A: Online Survey with Validated Instruments

Background Information, TELTS, and ELTPIS

Cross-sectional Exploration of EFL Teachers' Emotions, Emotional Labor, and Identity

Thank you for accessing this survey! Please read the following information carefully before you begin.

*Required

Informed Consent Form
Principal Investigator: Rapunzel Ordono Tomacder

1. Objectives of the study:
This study aims to explore the emotions, emotional labor, and identity of tertiary-level EFL teachers in Japan across varying stages of their careers. Specifically, this study aims to outline (1) how sociocultural, institutional, and individual contexts influence tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, (2) how the concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity correlate with each other, and (3) how novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers' emotional experiences compare. In order to address these research questions, an online survey containing two validated instruments, will be administered. Additionally, teachers will be recruited on a voluntary basis for interviews in order to further understand their emotional experiences.

2. Releasing study results:
Research results will be included in possible publications in national or international peer-reviewed academic publications and presentations at national or international conferences or symposia. No identifying information of any participant will be apparent in any publication/conference presentation.

3. Data collection methods:
Participants will be asked to answer an online survey at their convenience by the specified deadline. The online survey will approximately take 15 minutes to complete. Interviews will be requested of participants who complete the survey and will be conducted individually either online or face-to-face at the convenience of the participants. The interviews will include open-ended questions and will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. The interviews will be recorded and transcribed.

4. Selection of participants:
The participants of the proposed study will consist of tertiary-level EFL teachers from various universities and educational institutions in Japan. Teachers will be contacted via personal communication and will be invited to participate in this study through personal and professional contacts and social media.

5. Anticipated risks:
There are no potential physical, psychological, or social risks perceived to the participants. Survey and interview questions will request some personal information (names and types of university or educational institution, years of teaching experience, gender, etc.) and

sensitive information (negative experiences) in order to fully understand the correlations between the emotional experiences of the teachers and their individual, institutional, and sociocultural contexts. However, these data will remain strictly confidential and anonymized in a correspondence table. The principal investigator will ensure that no published information can be directly attributed to any participant. Only the principal investigator can identify the participants in the correspondence table.
Furthermore, participants will be free to cease participation at any time during the process without any negative consequences.

6. Benefits of research to the participants:
Participants will have the opportunity to contribute to a growing body of literature on language teacher emotion, emotional labor, and identity. Specifically, participants will be able to contribute to a deeper understanding of how contextual factors can influence language teachers' display and management of emotions and the construction of their identities. Furthermore, participants will be able to contribute to discussions on how teacher well-being can be achieved through professional development sessions for in-service teachers and through Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL) programs for pre-service teachers.

7. Protecting personal information:
Some personal and sensitive information will be collected, but all data will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. No information that can lead to the direct identification of the participant will be published. Data collected will only be accessed by the principal investigator. Data will be anonymized in a linkable manner with a correspondence table prior to any analysis and publication. Data will be stored for 10 years according to the guidelines of Soka University. All data will be stored on a portable, password-protected data storage device that will be kept secure in a locked location. All data will be deleted and destroyed on or before April 1, 2032. You will receive a copy of this consent form for your records.

8. Participation in the research:
Participation in this study is voluntary. You will not be disadvantaged in any way by choosing not to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty. You will be able to receive a copy of the informed consent form.

Contact information: Rapunzel Ordono Tomacder
Email: e21m3203@soka-u.jp
Soka University
1-236 Tangi-machi, Hachioji, Tokyo, JAPAN
Tel. 070-1257-0551

Supervisor: Dr. William Emmett Snyder
Email: snyder@soka-u.jp
International Language Education (ILE): TESOL Program Graduate School of Letters
Soka University
1-236 Tangi-machi, Hachioji, Tokyo, JAPAN

I have read the above explanation written by the investigator. I sufficiently understood the objectives of the study, research design, procedures, and methods of protecting personal information. By signing below, I agree to participate in this research.

1. Mark only one.*

_____I agree
_____I do not agree

Background Information:

2. What is the country of your citizenship? (e.g. Philippines)*
_____

3. What is your ethnic or cultural background? (e.g. Filipino-American)*
_____

4. What is your gender?*

_____ Female
_____ Male
_____ Non-binary
_____ Prefer not to say
Other: _____

5. University/ies or educational institution/s where you work (Optional)
_____

6. What type/s of educational institution or university do you work at? (Please check all that apply.)*

_____ National University
_____ Local University
_____ Local Junior College
_____ Private University
_____ Private Junior College
_____ Professional or Vocational College
Other: _____

7. What is your current position or designation? (Please check all that apply.)*

_____ Professor
_____ Assistant Professor
_____ Associate Professor
_____ Lecturer
_____ Assistant Lecturer
_____ Adjunct Faculty Member
Other: _____

8. What is your current contract type? (Please check all that apply.)*
_____ Full-time
_____ Part-time
Other: _____

9. What is your highest educational attainment?*

_____ Doctorate or PhD
_____ Master's Degree
_____ Bachelor's Degree
Other: _____

10. Overall, how many years have you been teaching English?*

_____ 0-3 years
_____ 4-7 years
_____ 8-15 years
_____ 16-23 years
_____ 24-30 years
_____ 31+ years

11. How many EFL classes do you teach per week at your university or educational institution?* _____

12. What EFL subjects do you teach?*
_____

13. What are the proficiency levels of your students?*

_____ Beginner (approx.. CEFR A1/ TOEIC ~120)
_____ Elementary (approx. CEFR A2/ TOEIC ~225
_____ Intermediate (approx. CEFR B1/ TOEIC ~550)
_____ Upper Intermediate (approx. CEFR B2/ TOEIC ~785)
_____ Advanced (approx. CEFR C1/ TOEIC ~945)
_____ Proficient (approx. CEFR C2/ not tested by TOEIC)

Emotional Display Rules

This section is about rules related to emotions which your institution may have.

1. My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

2. Part of my job is to make my students feel good.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

3. My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

4. I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

5. If I am upset or distressed, my school expects me to hide these emotions.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

6. If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

7. I know the emotional rules I am expected to display to students.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly agree

Thank you for your insight! Now it's your turn to comment on emotional display rules in your school. Please share anything you'd like about emotional display rules that your school expects of you.

_____
_____
_____
_____

Emotional Labor of Teaching

This section is about emotional labor. This concept refers to the conflict teachers might feel between the emotional display rules of their institution and their true or authentic emotions.

1. The emotions I show to my students match the emotions I feel.
   Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

2. I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display at work.
   Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

3. The emotions I show my students come naturally.
   Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

4. I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.
   Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

5. The emotions I express to students are genuine.
   Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

6. I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.
   Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

7. To work with my students, I act differently from how I feel.
   Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

8. As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students.
   Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

9. Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood.
   Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

10. To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.
    Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

11. I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job.
    Never 1 2 3 4 5 Always

Teaching is an emotional practice. Perhaps as a teacher you've had to suppress your real emotions to do your job. Please explain a situation where you have had to suppress your real emotions while teaching.

_____
_____
_____
_____

As a teacher, you might have expressed emotions you really didn't feel. Please explain a situation where you have had to express unfelt emotions while teaching.

_____
_____
_____
_____

Identity

This section is about your identity as an EFL teacher.

1. I should evaluate my views of teaching, the way I teach, and the outcomes of my teaching.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

2. I should examine the theoretical principles and instructional strategies proposed by scholars in order to see if they are appropriate for my teaching context.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

3. I should take responsibility for my own professional development (e.g., by attending conferences, workshops, reading books and articles).
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

4. I should act as a problem-solver (identify, examine, and solve the challenges) of my classroom practice.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

5. I must fully follow the set syllabi, textbooks, and lesson plans in language centers/schools in which I teach.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

6. If I make any changes to the classroom content and process, I believe I should investigate their effects and outcomes through some form of classroom research.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

7. I should be aware of how my background (e.g., culture, learning, and teaching experience) affects my teaching views and practices.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

8. I should develop the research skills that help me to explore problems in and outside the classroom which may affect my teaching practice.
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

9. I should join language teacher communities and actively participate in their activities (e.g., joint events, seminars, panels).
   Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

10. I should develop my knowledge to use technology as a teaching-learning tool (e.g., possible uses of software, online discussion, blogs).
    Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

11. I should not only use theories produced by scholars but also develop my views of teaching and use them in my teaching practice.
    Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

12. I should think about the ideas that shape my teaching behavior.
    Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

13. I should know about my students' backgrounds (e.g., linguistic, cultural background).
    Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

14. I should educate myself and my students about forms of inequality and injustice.
    Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

15. I should have a knowledge of the relationship between the English language form, its meaning, and its use in real life.
    Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

16. I must confine myself to the specific values, norms of practice, and patterns of social participation of the school/language center in which I teach.
    Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

17. I should know about different factors (e.g., personal, educational, sociopolitical, cultural) which impact my students' language learning.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

18. I should know about how different varieties of the English language are used in multilingual and multicultural contexts.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

19. I should have a knowledge of how the English language is used to express social, cultural, political, and ideological meanings.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

20. I should be proficient in English textual analysis (e.g., cohesion, lexical relation).
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

21. I should use different language teaching strategies to develop a sense of community among my learners (e.g., using group-based activities, changing seating arrangements).
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

22. I should examine the teaching materials to see how linguistic content is handled (e.g., authenticity).
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

23. I should be able to speak about English itself (e.g., how it works, how it is analyzed).
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

24. I should engage my students' sense of who they are and how they relate to the world they live in through activities (e.g., real activities of daily living, writing diaries).
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

25. I should use classroom techniques that encourage students to think deeply about their own thoughts, feelings, and behavior.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

26. I must give high priority to the interests and benefits of the language center/school where I teach.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

27. I should willingly interact with the other teachers and share my knowledge, experiences, and resources with them.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

28. I should question the assumptions and values (e.g., personal teaching beliefs, teaching philosophy) I bring to teaching.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

29. I should learn from my colleagues through, for example, observing their classes and asking for their feedback on my own teaching practice.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

30. I should improve my students' intercultural understanding by familiarizing them with English-speaking and non-English speaking cultures.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

31. I should consider learners' interests, learning needs (e.g., social-emotional, linguistic needs), and life experiences when selecting classroom content and topics.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

32. I should develop my knowledge of other relevant disciplines in addition to EFL teaching (e.g., linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics).
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

33. I should have a critical approach toward different aspects (e.g., socio-cultural, institutional, pedagogical, political) of my teaching.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

34. I must have a good understanding of the institutional context (e.g., the ethos, policies, rules, rewards) in which I teach.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

35. I should involve my learners, where possible, in planning, monitoring, and evaluating their own learning in order to learn on their own (e.g., using cooperating learning, learners' self-report).
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

36. I should help my students to become critical thinkers (e.g., through problem posing activities).
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

37. I should think of social events as learning resources when selecting classroom materials.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

38. I should be able to revise my teaching practice continually based on my own evaluation.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

39. I should have adequate knowledge of different aspects of the English language (e.g., phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, pragmatics).
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

40. I should encourage learners to critically analyze and discuss the content (e.g., cultural, social elements) of the classroom language textbooks.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

41. I should develop an awareness of my own teaching strengths and weaknesses.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

42. I believe that the language center/school's goals and policies have a great impact on the way I teach.
Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 Strongly Agree

Semi-structured Interviews

If you are willing to participate in the semi-structured interviews, please indicate your availability below. (Please check all that apply.)

	Morning	Afternoon	Evening
Monday			
Tuesday (morning only)			
Wednesday (morning only)			
Thursday			
Friday			
Saturday			
Sunday			

1. Please indicate your name and contact information (e.g. your email address, your Line number/ID, Facebook messenger, etc.)
_____

2. Which mode do you prefer?
_____ Online
_____ Face-to-face

Appendix B: Semi-structured Interview Questions

<Greetings>
<Brief re-introduction of the researcher and the topic>

1. What (EFL) subjects do you currently teach?
    a. How many classes a week do you have?
    b. Can you tell me which levels you are teaching? (What textbook/s are you using?)
    c. Can you tell me more about your students? (Farrell, 2015)
2. What kind of university do you currently teach in (private, public, national, other)?
    a. What is your official designation/position at this university?
    b. What are your current roles and responsibilities at your university?
    c. Were these roles or responsibilities assigned to you, or did you decide to take them on?
    d. How do you feel about these roles and responsibilities?
3. How long have you taught at this university? (When did you start teaching there?)
    a. Is this the first university that you ever taught in?
    b. If not, where did you first start to teach?
    c. What do you remember about your first time teaching? How did you feel about (that experience)? How does it compare to your teaching situation now? Has that changed? If yes, what changes occurred?
4. How long have you been a teacher?
    a. Why did you decide to become a teacher? (Farrell, 2015)
    b. What got you into English language teaching in Japan?
    c. Did you study to become a teacher? If so, what are your qualifications? When and where did you get your qualifications? What qualifications do you have?
5. What does the word "teacher" mean to you? (Farrell, 2015)
6. What does being an "English language teacher" mean to you? (Mahmoodarabi et al., 2021)
    a. In your opinion, to what extent should English language teachers be involved in research? In your opinion, in what ways can teachers develop their own professional skills?
    b. How proficient or fluent should English teachers be?

c. How much flexibility should teachers have in delivering the curriculum? in following the professional rules of the university?
d. What kind of relationship should English language teachers have with their class?
e. How frequently should teachers be examining their own practice? In what ways should teachers examine their practice?
f. To what extent should teachers include social issues and current affairs into their lessons?

<At this point, the questions would be about emotions and emotional experiences. Preface every question with "Would you feel comfortable sharing about emotional experiences? If so, could you please describe what happened?">

7. Can you tell me about a positive experience that you had at your university?
    a. What emotions did you feel at that time?
    b. Did you freely show or suppress your emotions? How did you manage your emotions? (Brown, 2011)
    c. Why do you think you reacted this way? How did this event impact you?
    d. If this event ever happened again, would you react the same way? would you have changed your emotions about the event?
    e. If you were in your home country or another context, would you have managed your emotions in the same way?
8. Can you tell me about a negative experience that you had at your university?
    a. What emotions did you feel at that time?
    b. Did you freely show or suppress your emotions? How did you manage your emotions? (Brown, 2011)
    c. Why do you think you reacted this way? How did this event impact you?
    d. If this event ever happened again, would you react the same way? would you have changed your emotions about the event?
    e. If you were in your home country or another context, would you have managed your emotions in the same way?
9. What guidelines does your university have with regard to emotions? displaying emotions? (Example: maintaining an atmosphere of positivity) (Brown, 2011)
    a. Are these policies explicitly stated in a manual, or were they shared during your orientation?

   b. If they were not explicitly stated, how did you find out about them?
   c. Do you agree or disagree with these policies? Why?
   d. Have your opinions or emotions regarding these policies changed over time?
10. In your own culture, are there cultural rules with regard to displaying emotions?
   a. If so, how did you learn about them?
   b. For non-Japanese teachers: Do you still follow these rules now that you are in Japan?/ For Japanese teachers: Since you've been abroad, do you continue to follow the rules or have you changed your interpretation of these rules?
   c. Do you think you have changed your views about these rules since: (for non-Japanese teachers) you came to Japan? (for Japanese teachers) you went abroad?
   d. If you do not follow the rules anymore, how have you negotiated this within yourself?
11. For Non-Japanese English Teachers: How well do you know the rules for showing emotions in Japan? (Berry, 2006)
   a. How did you learn about these rules?
   b. Do you follow them? Why or why not? To what extent? (Berry, 2006)
   c. Do you agree or disagree with them? Why or why not? To what extent? (Berry, 2006)
   d. How do they compare with the rules in your home country?
12. Do you think positive emotions should be freely shown or suppressed in your work context?
   a. If freely shown, what emotions are appropriate to display toward your students? toward your colleagues? toward administrative staff or management?
   b. If suppressed, what emotions are not appropriate to display toward your students? toward your colleagues? toward administrative staff or management?

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form – Online Survey

Informed Consent for Research Participation
(Online Survey)

Title of the Study: A Cross-sectional Exploration of EFL Teachers' Emotions, Emotional Labor, and Identity
Principal Investigator: Rapunzel Ordono Tomacder

1. Objectives of the study:
   This study aims to explore the emotions, emotional labor, and identity of tertiary-level EFL teachers in Japan across varying stages of their careers. Specifically, this study aims to outline (1) how sociocultural, institutional, and individual contexts influence tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, (2) how the concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity correlate with each other, and (3) how novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers' emotional experiences compare. In order to address these research questions, an online survey containing two validated instruments, will be administered. Additionally, teachers will be recruited on a voluntary basis for interviews in order to further understand their emotional experiences.

2. Releasing study results:
   Research results will be included in possible publications in national or international peer-reviewed academic publications and presentations at national or international conferences or symposia. No identifying information of any participant will be apparent in any publication / conference presentation.

3. Data collection methods:
   Participants will be asked to answer an online survey at their convenience by the specified deadline. The online survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Interviews will be requested of participants who complete the survey and will be conducted individually either online or face-to-face at the convenience of the participants. The interviews will include open-ended questions and will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. The interviews will be recorded and transcribed.

4. Selection of participants:
   The participants of the proposed study will consist of tertiary-level EFL teachers from various universities and educational institutions in Japan. Teachers will be contacted via personal communication and will be invited to participate in this study through personal and professional contacts and social media.

5. Anticipated risks:
   There are no potential physical, psychological, or social risks perceived to the participants. Interview questions do not request any sensitive nor personal information. Participants will be free to cease participation at any time during the process without any negative consequences. The confidentiality and anonymity of all participants will be ensured. All data such as names and student numbers will be anonymized for all participants involved.

6. Benefits of research to the participants:
   Participants will have the opportunity to contribute to a growing body of literature on language teacher emotion, emotional labor, and identity. Specifically, participants will be able to contribute to a deeper understanding of how contextual factors can influence language teachers' display and management of emotions and the construction of their identities. Furthermore, participants will be able to contribute to discussions on how teacher well-being can be achieved through professional development sessions for in-service teachers and through Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL) programs for pre-service teachers.

7. Protecting personal information:
   All information collected in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. No information that can lead to the identification of the participant will be collected. Data collected will only be accessed by the investigator. Data will be anonymized in an unlinkable manner prior to any analysis. Data will be stored for 10 years according to the guidelines of Soka University. All data will be stored on a portable, password-protected data storage device that will be kept secure in a locked location. All data will be deleted and destroyed on or before April 1, 2032. You will receive a copy of this consent form for your records.

8. Participation in the research:
   Participation in this study is voluntary. You will not be disadvantaged in any way by choosing not to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty. You will be able to print a copy of the informed consent form.

Contact information: Rapunzel Ordono Tomacder
email: e21m3203@soka-u.jp
Soka University
1-236 Tangi-machi, Hachioji, Tokyo, JAPAN
Tel. 070-1257-0551

Supervisor: Dr. William Emmett Snyder
International Language Education (ILE): TESOL Program
Graduate School of Letters
Soka University
1-236 Tangi-machi, Hachioji, Tokyo, JAPAN
Email: snyder@soka-u.jp

I have read the above explanation written by the investigator. I sufficiently understood about the objectives of the study, research design, procedures and methods of protecting personal information. By signing below, I agree to participate in this research.

Participant Signature: _____ Investigator Signature: _____
Participant Email: _____ Date:_____
Date:_____

Appendix D: Informed Consent Form – Interviews

Informed Consent for Research Participation
(Interviews)

Title of the Study: A Cross-sectional Exploration of EFL Teachers' Emotions, Emotional Labor, and Identity
Principal Investigator: Rapunzel Ordono Tomacder

1. Objectives of the study:
This study aims to explore the emotions, emotional labor, and identity of tertiary-level EFL teachers in Japan across varying stages of their careers. Specifically, this study aims to outline (1) how sociocultural, institutional, and individual contexts influence tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, (2) how the concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity correlate with each other, and (3) how novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers' emotional experiences compare. In order to address these research questions, an online survey containing two validated instruments, will be administered. Additionally, teachers will be recruited on a voluntary basis for interviews in order to further understand their emotional experiences.

2. Releasing study results:
Research results will be included in possible publications in national or international peer-reviewed academic publications and presentations at national or international conferences or symposia. No identifying information of any participant will be apparent in any publication / conference presentation.

3. Data collection methods:
Participants will be asked to answer an online survey at their convenience by the specified deadline. The online survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Interviews will be requested of participants who complete the survey and will be conducted individually either online or face-to-face at the convenience of the participants. The interviews will include open-ended questions and will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. The interviews will be recorded and transcribed.

4. Selection of participants:
The participants of the proposed study will consist of tertiary-level EFL teachers from various universities and educational institutions in Japan. Teachers will be contacted via personal communication and will be invited to participate in this study through personal and professional contacts and social media.

5. Anticipated risks:
There are no potential physical, psychological, or social risks perceived to the participants. Interview questions do not request any sensitive nor personal information. Participants will be free to cease participation at any time during the process without any negative consequences. The confidentiality and anonymity of all participants will be ensured. All data such as names and student numbers will be anonymized for all participants involved.

6. Benefits of research to the participants:
   Participants will have the opportunity to contribute to a growing body of literature on language teacher emotion, emotional labor, and identity. Specifically, participants will be able to contribute to a deeper understanding of how contextual factors can influence language teachers' display and management of emotions and the construction of their identities. Furthermore, participants will be able to contribute to discussions on how teacher well-being can be achieved through professional development sessions for in-service teachers and through Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL) programs for pre-service teachers.

7. Protecting personal information:
   All information collected in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. No information that can lead to the identification of the participant will be collected. Data collected will only be accessed by the investigator. Data will be anonymized in an unlinkable manner prior to any analysis. Data will be stored for 10 years according to the guidelines of Soka University. All data will be stored on a portable, password-protected data storage device that will be kept secure in a locked location. All data will be deleted and destroyed on or before April 1, 2032. You will receive a copy of this consent form for your records.

8. Participation in the research:
   Participation in this study is voluntary. You will not be disadvantaged in any way by choosing not to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty. You will be able to print a copy of the informed consent form.

Contact information: Rapunzel Ordono Tomacder
email: e21m3203@soka-u.jp
Soka University
1-236 Tangi-machi, Hachioji, Tokyo, JAPAN
Tel. 070-1257-0551

Supervisor: Dr. William Emmett Snyder
International Language Education (ILE): TESOL Program
Graduate School of Letters
Soka University
1-236 Tangi-machi, Hachioji, Tokyo, JAPAN
Email: snyder@soka-u.jp

I have read the above explanation written by the investigator. I sufficiently understood about the objectives of the study, research design, procedures and methods of protecting personal information. By signing below, I agree to participate in this research.

Participant Signature: _____ Investigator Signature: _____
Participant Email: _____ Date:_____
Date:_____

Appendix E: Informed Consent Form – Audio Recording

Informed Consent for Research Participation
(Audio Recording)

Title of the Study: A Cross-sectional Exploration of EFL Teachers' Emotions, Emotional Labor, and Identity
Principal Investigator: Rapunzel Ordono Tomacder

1. Objectives of the study:
This study aims to explore the emotions, emotional labor, and identity of tertiary-level EFL teachers in Japan across varying stages of their careers. Specifically, this study aims to outline (1) how sociocultural, institutional, and individual contexts influence tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, (2) how the concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity correlate with each other, and (3) how novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers' emotional experiences compare. In order to address these research questions, an online survey containing two validated instruments, will be administered. Additionally, teachers will be recruited on a voluntary basis for interviews in order to further understand their emotional experiences.

2. Releasing study results:
Research results will be included in possible publications in national or international peer-reviewed academic publications and presentations at national or international conferences or symposia. No identifying information of any participant will be apparent in any publication / conference presentation.

3. Data collection methods:
Participants will be asked to answer an online survey at their convenience by the specified deadline. The online survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Interviews will be requested of participants who complete the survey and will be conducted individually either online or face-to-face at the convenience of the participants. The interviews will include open-ended questions and will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. The interviews will be recorded and transcribed.

4. Selection of participants:
The participants of the proposed study will consist of tertiary-level EFL teachers from various universities and educational institutions in Japan. Teachers will be contacted via personal communication and will be invited to participate in this study through personal and professional contacts and social media.

5. Anticipated risks:
There are no potential physical, psychological, or social risks perceived to the participants. Interview questions do not request any sensitive nor personal information. Participants will be free to cease participation at any time during the process without any negative consequences. The confidentiality and anonymity of all participants will be ensured. All data such as names and student numbers will be anonymized for all participants involved.

6. Benefits of research to the participants:
   Participants will have the opportunity to contribute to a growing body of literature on language teacher emotion, emotional labor, and identity. Specifically, participants will be able to contribute to a deeper understanding of how contextual factors can influence language teachers' display and management of emotions and the construction of their identities. Furthermore, participants will be able to contribute to discussions on how teacher well-being can be achieved through professional development sessions for in-service teachers and through Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL) programs for pre-service teachers.

7. Protecting personal information:
   All information collected in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. No information that can lead to the identification of the participant will be collected. Data collected will only be accessed by the investigator. Data will be anonymized in an unlinkable manner prior to any analysis. Data will be stored for 10 years according to the guidelines of Soka University. All data will be stored on a portable, password-protected data storage device that will be kept secure in a locked location. All data will be deleted and destroyed on or before April 1, 2032. You will receive a copy of this consent form for your records.

8. Participation in the research:
   Participation in this study is voluntary. You will not be disadvantaged in any way by choosing not to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty. You will be able to print a copy of the informed consent form.

Contact information: Rapunzel Ordono Tomacder
email: e21m3203@soka-u.jp
Soka University
1-236 Tangi-machi, Hachioji, Tokyo, JAPAN
Tel. 070-1257-0551

Supervisor: Dr. William Emmett Snyder
International Language Education (ILE): TESOL Program
Graduate School of Letters
Soka University
1-236 Tangi-machi, Hachioji, Tokyo, JAPAN
Email: snyder@soka-u.jp

I have read the above explanation written by the investigator. I sufficiently understood about the objectives of the study, research design, procedures and methods of protecting personal information. By signing below, I agree to participate in this research.

Participant Signature: _____ Investigator Signature: _____
Participant Email: _____ Date:_____
Date:_____

Appendix F: Informed Consent Form – Video Recording

Informed Consent for Research Participation
(Video Recording)

Title of the Study: A Cross-sectional Exploration of EFL Teachers' Emotions, Emotional Labor, and Identity
Principal Investigator: Rapunzel Ordono Tomacder

1. Objectives of the study:
This study aims to explore the emotions, emotional labor, and identity of tertiary-level EFL teachers in Japan across varying stages of their careers. Specifically, this study aims to outline (1) how sociocultural, institutional, and individual contexts influence tertiary-level EFL teachers' emotions, emotional labor, and identity, (2) how the concepts of emotion, emotional labor, and identity correlate with each other, and (3) how novice, mid-career, and experienced teachers' emotional experiences compare. In order to address these research questions, an online survey containing two validated instruments, will be administered. Additionally, teachers will be recruited on a voluntary basis for interviews in order to further understand their emotional experiences.

2. Releasing study results:
Research results will be included in possible publications in national or international peer-reviewed academic publications and presentations at national or international conferences or symposia. No identifying information of any participant will be apparent in any publication / conference presentation.

3. Data collection methods:
Participants will be asked to answer an online survey at their convenience by the specified deadline. The online survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Interviews will be requested of participants who complete the survey and will be conducted individually either online or face-to-face at the convenience of the participants. The interviews will include open-ended questions and will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete. The interviews will be recorded and transcribed.

4. Selection of participants:
The participants of the proposed study will consist of tertiary-level EFL teachers from various universities and educational institutions in Japan. Teachers will be contacted via personal communication and will be invited to participate in this study through personal and professional contacts and social media.

5. Anticipated risks:
There are no potential physical, psychological, or social risks perceived to the participants. Interview questions do not request any sensitive nor personal information. Participants will be free to cease participation at any time during the process without any negative consequences. The confidentiality and anonymity of all participants will be ensured. All data such as names and student numbers will be anonymized for all participants involved.

6. Benefits of research to the participants:
   Participants will have the opportunity to contribute to a growing body of literature on language teacher emotion, emotional labor, and identity. Specifically, participants will be able to contribute to a deeper understanding of how contextual factors can influence language teachers' display and management of emotions and the construction of their identities. Furthermore, participants will be able to contribute to discussions on how teacher well-being can be achieved through professional development sessions for in-service teachers and through Teaching English as a Second Language (TESOL) programs for pre-service teachers.

7. Protecting personal information:
   All information collected in this study will be kept strictly confidential and anonymous. No information that can lead to the identification of the participant will be collected. Data collected will only be accessed by the investigator. Data will be anonymized in an unlinkable manner prior to any analysis. Data will be stored for 10 years according to the guidelines of Soka University. All data will be stored on a portable, password-protected data storage device that will be kept secure in a locked location. All data will be deleted and destroyed on or before April 1, 2032. You will receive a copy of this consent form for your records.

8. Participation in the research:
   Participation in this study is voluntary. You will not be disadvantaged in any way by choosing not to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty. You will be able to print a copy of the informed consent form.

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email: e21m3203@soka-u.jp
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Supervisor: Dr. William Emmett Snyder
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I have read the above explanation written by the investigator. I sufficiently understood about the objectives of the study, research design, procedures and methods of protecting personal information. By signing below, I agree to participate in this research.

Participant Signature: _____ Investigator Signature: _____
Participant Email: _____ Date:_____
Date:_____

Appendix G: Inferential Statistics for TELTS – Emotional Display Rules

Kruskal Wallis H-Test on SPSS

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
1	The distribution of "Item 1. My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job." is the same across categories of Group of Teachers.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.109	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of "Item 2. Part of my job is to make my students feel good." is the same across categories of Group of Teachers.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.316	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of "Item 3. My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students." is the same across categories of Group of Teachers.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.151	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of "Item 4. I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students." is the same across categories of Group of Teachers.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.067	Retain the null hypothesis.

5	The distribution of "Item 5. If I am upset or distressed, my school expects me to hide these emotions." is the same across categories of Group of Teachers.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.098	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of "Item 6. If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school." is the same across categories of Group of Teachers.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.092	Retain the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of "Item 7. I know the emotional rules I am expected to display to students." is the same across categories of Group of Teachers.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.151	Retain the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050.
b. Asymptotic significance is displayed

Appendix H: Inferential Statistics for TELTS – Emotional Acting

Kruskal Wallis H-Test on SPSS

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
1	The distribution of "Item 7. To work with my students I act differently from how I feel." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.564	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of "Item 8. As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.974	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of "Item 9. Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.663	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of "Item 10. To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.054	Retain the null hypothesis.
5	The distribution of "Item 11. I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.127	Retain the null hypothesis.

6	The distribution of "Item 2. I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display at work." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.805	Retain the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of "Item 4. I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.799	Retain the null hypothesis.
8	The distribution of "Item 6. I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.414	Retain the null hypothesis.
9	The distribution of "Item 1. The emotions I show to my students match the emotions I feel." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.820	Retain the null hypothesis.
10	The distribution of "Item 3. The emotions I show my students come naturally." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.246	Retain the null hypothesis.
11	The distribution of "Item 5. The emotions I express to students are genuine." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.524	Retain the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050
b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.

Appendix I: Inferential Statistics for ELTPIS – Factor 1

Kruskal Wallis H-Test on SPSS

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
1	The distribution of "Item 2. I should examine the theoretical principles and instructional strategies proposed by scholars in order to see if they are appropriate for my teaching context." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.251	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of "Item 3. I should take responsibility for my own professional development (e.g., by attending conferences, workshops, reading books and articles)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.901	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of "Item 4. I should act as a problem-solver (identify, examine, and solve the challenges) of my classroom practice." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.613	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of "Item 6. If I make any changes to the classroom content and process, I believe I should investigate their effects and outcomes through some form of classroom research." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.242	Retain the null hypothesis.

5	The distribution of "Item 8. I should develop the research skills that help me to explore problems in and outside the classroom which may affect my teaching practice." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.331	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of "Item 10. I should develop my knowledge to use technology as a teaching-learning tool (e.g., possible uses of software, online discussion, blogs)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.966	Retain the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of "Item 11. I should not only use theories produced by scholars but also develop my views of teaching and use them in my teaching practice." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.336	Retain the null hypothesis.
8	The distribution of "Item 32. I should develop my knowledge of other relevant disciplines in addition to EFL teaching (e.g., linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.149	Retain the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050.

b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.

Appendix J: Inferential Statistics for ELTPIS – Factor 2

Kruskal Wallis H-Test on SPSS

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
1	The distribution of "Item 15. I should have a knowledge of the relationship between the English language form, its meaning, and its use in real life." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.635	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of "Item 18. I should know about how different varieties of the English language are used in multilingual and multicultural contexts." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.887	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of "Item 19. I should have a knowledge of how the English language is used to express social, cultural, political, and ideological meanings." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.912	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of "Item 20. I should be proficient in English textual analysis (e.g., cohesion, lexical relation)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.099	Retain the null hypothesis.

5	The distribution of "Item 22. I should examine the teaching materials to see how linguistic content is handled (e.g., authenticity)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.212	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of "Item 23. I should be able to speak about English itself (e.g., how it works, how it is analyzed)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.240	Retain the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of "Item 39. I should have adequate knowledge of different aspects of the English language (e.g., phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, pragmatics)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.266	Retain the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050.
b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.

Appendix K: Inferential Statistics for ELTPIS – Factor 3

Kruskal Wallis H-Test on SPSS

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
1	The distribution of "Item 5. I must fully follow the set syllabi, textbooks, and lesson plans in language centers/schools in which I teach." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.972	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of "Item 9. I should join language teacher communities and actively participate in their activities (e.g., joint events, seminars, panels)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.044	Reject the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of "Item 16. I must confine myself to the specific values, norms of practice, and patterns of social participation of the school/language center in which I teach." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.817	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of "Item 26. I must give high priority to the interests and benefits of the language center/school where I teach." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.241	Retain the null hypothesis.

5	The distribution of "Item 27. I should willingly interact with the other teachers and share my knowledge, experiences, and resources with them." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.215	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of "Item 29. I should learn from my colleagues through, for example, observing their classes and asking for their feedback on my own teaching practice." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.618	Retain the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of "Item 34. I must have a good understanding of the institutional context (e.g., the ethos, policies, rules, rewards) in which I teach." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.613	Retain the null hypothesis.
8	The distribution of "Item 42. I believe that the language center/school's goals and policies have a great impact on the way I teach." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.273	Retain the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050.
b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.

Pairwise Comparisons of Groups

Sample 1-Sample 2	Test Statistic	Std. Error	Std. Test Statistic	Sig.	Adj. Sig.[a]
Novice-Mid-career	-3.094	4.118	-.751	.453	1.000
Novice-Experienced	-10.800	4.541	-2.378	.017	.052
Mid-career-Experienced	-7.706	3.984	-1.934	.053	.159

Each row tests the null hypothesis that the Sample 1 and Sample 2 distributions are the same. Asymptotic significances (2-sided tests) are displayed. The significance level is .050.

a. Significance values have been adjusted by the Bonferroni correction for multiple tests.

Appendix L: Inferential Statistics for ELTPIS – Factor 4

Kruskal Wallis H-Test on SPSS

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
1	The distribution of "item 4. I should know about my students' backgrounds (e.g., linguistic, cultural background)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.994	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of "Item 17. I should know about different factors (e.g., personal, educational, sociopolitical, cultural) which impact my students' language learning." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.897	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of "Item 24. I should engage my students' sense of who they are and how they relate to the world they live in through activities (e.g., real activities of daily living, writing diaries)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.263	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of "Item 25. I should use classroom techniques that encourage students to think deeply about their own thoughts, feelings, and behavior." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.165	Retain the null hypothesis.

5	The distribution of "Item 31. I should consider learners' interests, learning needs (e.g., social-emotional, linguistic needs), and life experiences when selecting classroom content and topics." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.293	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of "Item 35. I should involve my learners, where possible, in planning, monitoring, and evaluating their own learning in order to learn on their own (e.g., using cooperating learning, learners' self-report)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.009	Reject the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050.

b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.

Pairwise Comparisons of Groups

Sample 1-Sample 2	Test Statistic	Std. Error	Std. Test Statistic	Sig.	Adj. Sig.[a]
Mid-career-Experienced	-4.950	3.810	-1.299	.194	.582
Mid-career-Novice	12.000	3.938	3.047	.002	.007
Experienced-Novice	7.050	4.343	1.623	.105	.314

Each row tests the null hypothesis that the Sample 1 and Sample 2 distributions are the same. Asymptotic significances (2-sided tests) are displayed. The significance level is .050.

a. Significance values have been adjusted by the Bonferroni correction for multiple tests.

Appendix M: Inferential Statistics for ELTPIS – Factor 5

Kruskal Wallis H-Test on SPSS

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
1	The distribution of "Item 1. I should evaluate my views of teaching, the way I teach, and the outcomes of my teaching." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.510	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of "Item 7. I should be aware of how my background (e.g., culture, learning, and teaching experience) affects my teaching views and practices." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.565	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of "Item 12. I should think about the ideas that shape my teaching behavior." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.877	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of "Item 28. I should question the assumptions and values (e.g., personal teaching beliefs, teaching philosophy) I bring to teaching." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.306	Retain the null hypothesis.

5	The distribution of "Item 38. I should be able to revise my teaching practice continually based on my own evaluation." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.816	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of "Item 41. I should develop an awareness of my own teaching strengths and weaknesses." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.767	Retain the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050.
b. Asymptotic significance is displayed

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Appendix N: Inferential Statistics for ELTPIS – Factor 6

Kruskal Wallis H-Test on SPSS

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.[a,b]	Decision
1	The distribution of "Item 14. I should educate myself and my students about forms of inequality and injustice." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.473	Retain the null hypothesis.
2	The distribution of "Item 21. I should use different language teaching strategies to develop a sense of community among my learners (e.g., using group-based activities, changing seating arrangements)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.717	Retain the null hypothesis.
3	The distribution of "Item 30. I should improve my students' intercultural understanding by familiarizing them with English-speaking and non-English speaking cultures." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.830	Retain the null hypothesis.
4	The distribution of "Item 33. I should have a critical approach toward different aspects (e.g., socio-cultural, institutional, pedagogical, political) of my teaching." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.838	Retain the null hypothesis.

5	The distribution of "Item 36. I should help my students to become critical thinkers (e.g., through problem posing activities)." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.366	Retain the null hypothesis.
6	The distribution of "Item 37. I should think of social events as learning resources when selecting classroom materials." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.478	Retain the null hypothesis.
7	The distribution of "Item 40. I should encourage learners to critically analyze and discuss the content (e.g., cultural, social elements) of the classroom language textbooks." is the same across categories of Groups.	Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test	.668	Retain the null hypothesis.

a. The significance level is .050.
b. Asymptotic significance is displayed.