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**Identity-agency and life-course agency of English teachers in
Tegal City, Banyumasan area, Indonesia**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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Applied Linguistics

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Abstract

This study explores the identity formation of English teachers in Tegal City, Banyumasan area in Central Java, Indonesia. It draws on the frameworks of identity-agency and life-course agency within three different contexts: Ladang High School teachers, Ladang Private Tuition Centre teachers, and Ladang University pre-service teachers. It seeks to answer two research questions: 1) How does identity-agency support pre-service teachers in Tegal City to develop their professional identity? 2) What experiences contribute to the identity formation of English teachers in Tegal City within their life-course agency? A dialogical approach is used to analyse data to develop insights into how each of the nine participants exercises his/her agency in the complexity of their relationship with their social environments and values, significant others, and how they forge and navigate different pathways in making their professional identity. This study employs a qualitative approach and uses case study methods. Data was gathered through semi-structured interviews, classroom observation, narrative accounts, photographs, documents, and online contact. The first data collection stage was conducted from December 2015 to February 2016 and included site visits, observations, interviews, narrative accounts, and document collection. A researcher's journal and field notes were used as supportive data. The second stage was conducted from August to September 2016. It was conducted through follow-up interviews and revisiting each research site to collect photographs and additional documents. The findings indicate that diverse elements contribute to the shaping of identity through life-course agency and identity-agency: religion, learning experiences, family members, regulations, and social contexts where these participants chose a particular action, changed or dropped a decision, and in so doing, they exercised their agency. Initial contact with English was generated from family members, media idols, or objects such as brochures and leaflets written in English. The teacher participants' narratives indicated that they did not plan to be English teachers, but their journey and complex trajectories had led them to the profession. By way of contrast, the pre-service teachers' narratives indicated that they majored in English education to be English teachers, but they ended up using English differently to shape their identity. The study concludes with implications for theory and practice arguing that the frameworks of identity-agency and life-course agency can be useful development tools for understanding both teachers' professional lives and their trajectories in Indonesia.

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Dedication

To my mother; this is for you, Umi. Thank you for being patient with me and sticking with me through my thick and thin. Thank you for always allowing me to have my independence since I was young so that I could explore and develop myself without forgetting where I came from. You told me that wherever I am, I should always be honest, be true to myself, and to be kind to others. I love you endlessly.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Overview of the thesis

This research uses identity-agency and life-course agency frameworks to focus on how English teachers in Tegal City shaped their identity. It involves multiple settings in high school, private tuition, and university contexts. To begin, this chapter explains English teaching and the emergence of research into education, into teachers, and into identity in Indonesia. It opens with a personal overview of my experience teaching in a teacher training university followed by the circumstances of English education in Indonesia. The research problem is then introduced, followed by the purposes of the study and research questions. This chapter elaborates the significance of the study and concludes with a presentation of the outline of the study in a chart.

1.2 Personal outlook

I worked in a teacher training university before I came to New Zealand as a PhD candidate. During the time I was a lecturer, I taught pre-service teachers in the English department. The experience of working with these students was interesting as I observed how they were uncertain and shy in the first few semesters of their study. Some of them even looked very young and seemed out of place as they had yet to acquire something of the preserve of an English teacher.

Throughout the time in university, these pre-service teachers were getting prepared to teach at schools. They were taught theories of teaching and were shown how to compose lesson plans and teaching materials. Usually, in the third year of their studies, they became more confident, as they had mastered more skills in English and in handling classroom situations because they had practised Microteaching with their friends. This practice provided them with opportunities to try teaching in a small class so that when they were in the final year, they would be ready to do their teaching practice in schools. This fourth year was the most defining year of their journey in preparing themselves to become teachers because it was the time to put the theories of teaching into practice. They were assigned in schools to teach real students and face challenges like a real teacher in the school contexts.

During this period of teaching practice, as a lecturer, I was assigned to assess the students who practised their teaching in schools. I noticed how some students under my supervision acted nervously during my visits to watch them teaching and to evaluate them. At first, I thought it was my presence that bothered them and made them nervous while being evaluated. But it was a necessary procedure, otherwise, how would I know how they performed as a teacher? I found out that some students experienced uncertainty in their teaching because they were not sure how to deal with students and they had little power to regulate how the class should run. Dealing with their peers in the Microteaching session was a different experience entirely compared to that with the students in the schools. Although some students showed good teaching skills, they admitted that they had help from their mentor teachers. They had had a chance to have shadow-teaching where they sat at the back of the class and watched how the actual teacher conducted teaching. However, not all students got the benefit of this kind of shadow-teaching because each school had different policies and each teacher in that school had a different style of guiding the pre-service teachers.

I talked to the teachers who became the mentor teachers and other teachers who were involved in the program at the school. They shared their experiences in teaching and working with different pre-service teachers from time to time. They recognised the issues that my students were dealing with and how they managed to deal with the challenges. They informed me that the pre-service teachers were enthusiastic to do teaching practice, but because they lacked experience, they struggled with the students. The mentor teachers predicted that these young pre-service teachers could be great teachers so long as they were trained well and understood what they wanted and were adequately prepared to teach in schools.

I was fascinated that these mentor teachers picked up even the slightest sign of nervousness among the pre-service teachers. They were such experienced and seasoned teachers that it was easy for them to see problems. All these observations and experiences had led me to ask questions: How did these teachers hone their expertise and skills? What had they done to improve themselves? What kinds of skills are needed to make my students as good as they are? Are they aware of their changes regarding their teaching perception and education field? How could I help my students to improve their teaching skills? How could I make my students aware of their experiences that would help them

enrich their knowledge? It is questions such as these which encouraged me to find the answers by conducting research into how English teachers and pre-service teachers in Tegal City navigate their way in shaping their identity and how they make choices to weave those ways to become English teachers in the Indonesian context.

1.3 English teaching in Indonesia

Within South East Asian contexts, Kachru (2005) includes Indonesia as one of the expanding circle of countries that use English as a foreign language. There are other countries such as Burma, Thailand, and Vietnam within this circle as well. As a nation with various languages and cultures, Indonesia has one lingua franca, bahasa Indonesia, and local languages that are spoken in each region.

English began to be taught and used in Indonesia as the first foreign language not long after Independence Day in 1945. It is regulated as a compulsory subject to study at school (Lie, 2007) because of its important position as a language, and because it is the lingua franca of the world, including South East Asia (Kirkpatrick, 2014). English is compulsory at secondary and high school levels. It is included in the Computer-based National Exams along with other subjects such as Bahasa Indonesia, Math, and Science subjects (Imanuella, 2018). However, while it has been made a compulsory subject, it is interesting to observe that most Indonesians do not use the language in daily communication. Nonetheless, the widespread use of the language in media, television, and entertainment can be observed everywhere in the country (Silva, 2014), and this has led to growing concern among authorities and policymakers that English may cause pitfalls and erode the national culture and identity (Idris, 2014).

Although there are concerns among the authorities, schools remain resilient and determined to make English learning successful. The English teachers, learning facilities, infrastructure, and education systems are all related to one another to achieve the aims. Furthermore, students' participation in pursuing their learning is also one of the contributing components to the success of their learning. Students not only learn English at school but they also expand their learning by joining private tuition or English courses. Private tuition in Indonesia is considered to be a supporting education that provides the students with practical skills. Although informal, this educational institution is quite popular in Indonesian society. It offers different types of lessons and courses that students

can choose from. The formal and informal educations complete each other to help the students achieve their academic competence.

The focus of this study is on the teachers, including those in the private tuition centres, and pre-service teachers in teaching English. As the people who are responsible for English language teaching, those teachers are required to have or to develop particular knowledge for teaching. How and why English teachers achieve their purpose in education and how they shape themselves to become English teachers are the themes that have attracted me in conducting this study.

1.4 The research problems

Indonesian schools are places where education takes place, including where training for new teachers or pre-service teachers is established. The relationship between teachers and pre-service teachers in a school context is an interesting dynamic. Latifah (2014) defines teaching practice as a program to prepare pre-service teachers through teaching practice at schools that provide teaching-learning programs for them. For pre-service teachers, they are exposed to a series of actions that will help them develop professional competencies to work in the teaching profession (Hamalik, 2007). During their studies in university, pre-service teachers are taught all kinds of teaching theories, learning approaches, how to compose syllabus and lesson plans and how to evaluate the students. When the time comes, they are plunged into school realms to execute their theories into practice. This experience is a critical stage for the pre-service teachers in becoming teachers, although the gap between classroom theories and teaching practice often leaves them bewildered and confused, particularly at the beginning of their teaching practice. My involvement in the education field had made me aware that in-service teachers did not have a chance to look into their own teaching because they were preoccupied with other tasks in hand. Although this was a common practice in Indonesian initial teacher education, not many people considered this as an issue. It had become a common understanding that teachers' job was to teach and that was all about it.

From my personal experience as a teacher in university who worked with pre-service teachers and high school teachers, I tried to search for information about how and why classroom activities and school contexts were influential in the ways teacher formed an understanding of themselves as teachers and their professional duties as teachers. I tried to

understand this phenomenon by seeking information about teachers and pre-service teachers and their development into professionalism. I searched for publications about teachers and how they move along their professional trajectories from the start of their career to the present time when they are at school. What I found was exhilarating accounts of research, but only a small portion of them were related to teachers. Tustiawati (2017) investigates why people want to be teachers, and why teacher competence is important to encourage and motivate teachers to improve their skills (Irwandy, 2014; Tentama & Pranungsari, 2016). An older study on teachers was focusing on the way they taught their students. The results indicate that teachers were not successful to provide active and fun learning for their students (Kaluge & Tjahjono, 2004).

Research about teacher education emerged in more recent years and some of them focused on the pre-service teachers, such as the quantitative work of Azkiyah and Mukminin (2017) that investigates the importance of doing teaching practice in teacher development. The results of this study show that the teaching quality of the pre-service teachers was low. Another study about teacher education is the work of Fahriany (2016) which describe the importance of teacher education and the important things that matter in teacher education. Yusuf (2016) specifies in the use of ICT based education for Elementary Teacher Education and how ICT influences the style of teaching in teachers. In studies that involve pre-service teachers, Mudra (2018) investigates how teachers in rural schools had to deal with challenges such as classroom management and learning materials or resources, teaching methods, internet and technology access and lack of parental support. The role of in-service teachers in the development of pre-service teachers' professional skills is identified as a contributing element in the work of Latifah (2014). The identity of teachers has also been attracting interest from researchers, such as pre-service teacher identity (Zacharias, 2010), or how pre-service teachers understand their professional identities through storytelling (Anwar, 2016). These studies indicate that research on teacher and pre-service teachers' identity has been growing steadily, which is not surprising since Indonesia is fertile soil for research into culture, language diversity, and identity.

Research on identity appears to be gaining popularity in the Indonesian context as shown in the research above. In this research, I wanted to look into the framework of identity and agency to understand the trajectories of English teachers and pre-service teachers. However, the topic of agency is still foreign for the Indonesian researcher,

although it is not a foreign concept for researchers in different parts of the world. Due to the newness of agency research, it has not attracted the attention of Indonesian researchers, particularly agency that relates to the teacher and pre-service teachers. From a different side of education, research on the role of private tuition in educating people is non-existent in Indonesian literature. I could not find any academic articles about how private tuition, its teachers and students navigate their learning amidst the quickly changing world. I planned to focus on this field of the identity and agency of English teachers, including private tuition and pre-service teachers, and why agency is vital in their professional identity development to address the significant gaps of research in this field. Using the framework of identity-agency and life-course agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015, 2016), I attempt to understand how English teachers in Tegal City shape their identity in the context of school, private tuition, and university where the research participants are working and learning.

1.5 Purpose of the study and research questions

As I mentioned before, Indonesia is a fertile land to explore research that relates to education, language and diversity, culture and multilingualism. It has given me the opportunity to explore the ways teachers become who they are as teachers and what kind of choices they had to make in their previous learning trajectories. The focus of this thesis is on the ways the teachers in Tegal City navigate through the challenges and social circumstance to help them shape their identity and is narrowed down to the research questions below:

1. How does identity-agency support pre-service teachers in Tegal City to develop their professional identity?
2. What experiences contribute to the identity formation of English teachers in Tegal City within their life-course agency?

1.6 The significance of the study

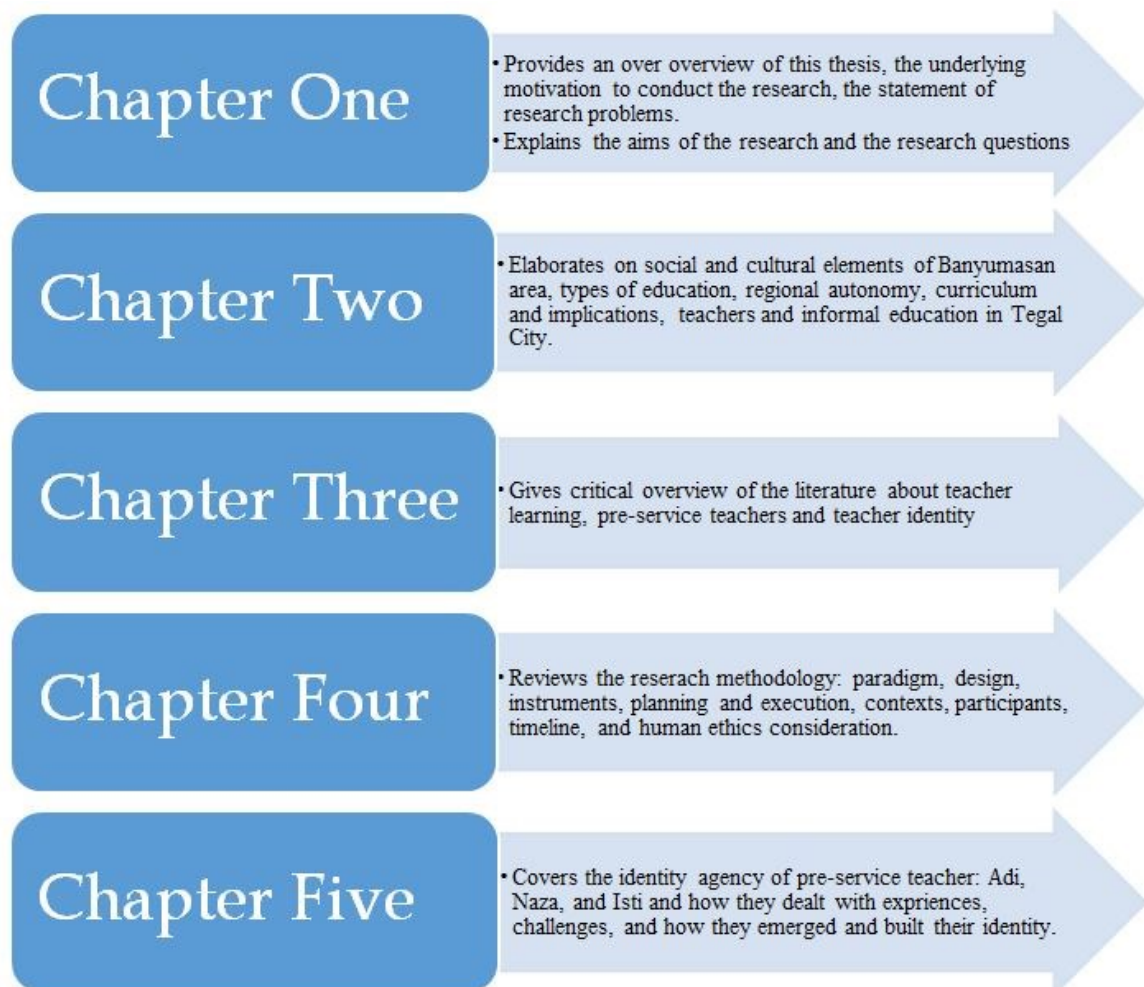
The underlying reason for this study is the need to contribute to an understanding of teachers and pre-service teachers' agentic choices and identity formation in Tegal City. This study draws on life-course agency and identity-agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015, 2016) within a case study methodology (Bloor & Wood, 2006). It focuses on the

ways English pre-service teachers exercise their identity-agency to shape their professional identity, and how English teachers make choices and decisions in terms of life-course agency throughout their life trajectories.

It is my hope that the results of this study will be beneficial for education stakeholders such as teachers, pre-service teachers, students, private tuition teachers and students, and the members of the university faculty. I aim to provide them with insights and understanding about the importance of looking into the personal narratives and life trajectories to understand the ways teachers and pre-service teachers make choices to shape their identities and beyond English language teaching.

1.7 Thesis structure

Figure 1-1 presents the outline of the thesis:



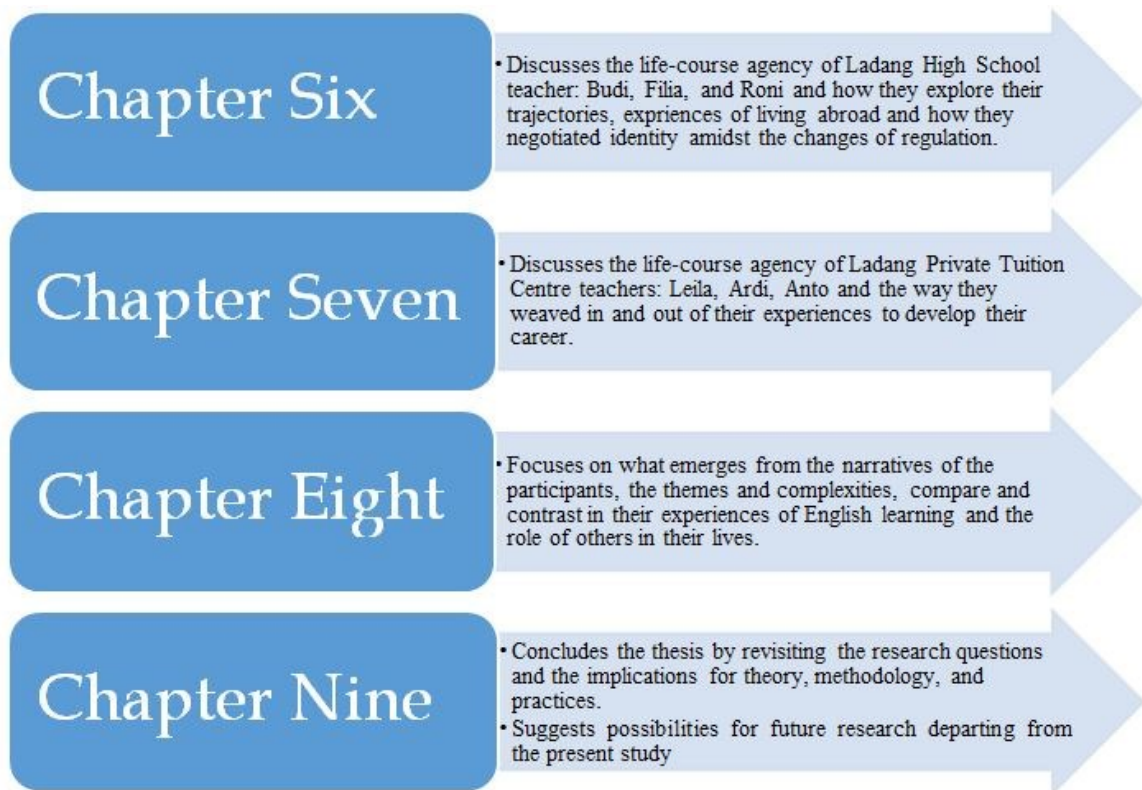


Figure 1-1: Outline of the thesis

Chapter Two: Indonesia and society

2.1 Indonesia

Indonesia is an archipelago that comprises approximately 17,500 islands straddling from Sabang, on the tip of Aceh province in Sumatera Island, to Merauke in Papua province. The official language is bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language), and it has a population of approximately 260 million (Witherbee, 2014). There are 34 provinces, and each province has its own unique features regarding language, culture, traditional customs, food and other diverse aspects. There are 733 local languages (Badan Pengembangan Bahasa, 2017) and the lingua franca, bahasa Indonesia, has been used as the national language since the declaration of the Youth Pledge on 28 October 1928, as indicated by Foulcher (2000) and Ricklefs (2001). Since then, the official language is used in government offices, publication of academic writing, news, and international events held in Indonesia (Foulcher, 2000). People also use the language for daily communication, transactions, and instruction in schools and universities. Zents (2014) emphasises that to foster the use of the national language within this multilingual setting, the government even suggests that people “love” their local languages; “use” their national language, Indonesian; and “study” foreign languages (p. 342).

2.2 Society and culture

Java is the most densely populated island in Indonesia, with approximately 48% of Indonesian people living there (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2015). It has six provinces: Banten, Special Capital Region of Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Special Region of Yogyakarta, and East Java. There are features of culture, society, and language that people across Java Island share together. In the past, people in Indonesia believed in animism, a belief that objects, places, or living creatures had spiritual power and held the presence of God (Kahane, 1993). The first religion to enter Indonesia was Hinduism at the beginning of the fourth century. The religion was welcomed because its teaching was in line with the spiritual nature of animism beliefs (Brubaker, 2013; Sumbulah, 2012).

Indonesia has recognised Islam since the seventh century (Sahlan & Mulyono, 2012), but the religion was introduced to Java Island for the first time around the year 1080 by people from the Middle East. They spread Islam through trade, marriage, education, arts

and politics. The assimilation of Islam through these ways was successful, especially in the coastal areas of Java Island (Ali, 2011; Sumbulah, 2012). There were popular figures that introduced the religion to further areas in the middle of Java and nearby islands as seen in Figure 2-1 (Google Maps, 2018).



Figure 2-1: Java Island and its provinces

There was a group of missionaries, called *Wali Sanga* or Nine Saints who took part in the expansion of Islam in Indonesia. Four of the Nine Saints were direct descendants of Prophet Muhammad from different generations. All of them were deployed from the Middle East to carry out the task of spreading Islam in nine different areas of Java, Bali, and Lombok islands. They tried to introduce Islam, but it was not an easy path as the belief in animism was deeply rooted in the lives of the people in the areas. The *Wali Sanga* spent a long time trying to find a way to introduce Islam (Ali, 2011; Lukens-Bull, 2010). They lived and learned among the society, which eventually, led them to find out that besides their beliefs in spiritual beings and the power of God in objects and places, people also enjoyed cultural things as a part of their daily lives.

Before the *Wali Sanga* era, the introduction of the Hindu religion was conducted through arts performance, such as stories of Mahabharata and Ramayana. This inspired the *Wali Sanga* to implement this approach to introduce Islam in the three islands through *tembang*¹ (songs), *gamelan*² (music), and *wayang*³ or arts performance (Ali, 2011). Thus

¹ *Tembang* is a song, usually sang in Javanese language during *wayang* performance, or any other time. It usually delivers spiritual message, life wisdom, and joy (Ali, 2011; Sahlan & Mulyono, 2012)

² *Gamelan* is a set of percussive musical instrument, usually performed during *wayang* show and is used as the background music to a *tembang* (Dewanto, 2014b; Ishida, 2008; Supanggah, 2009)

³ *Wayang* is derived from the word *bayang*. *Wayang* is a unity of performance that includes the characters of *wayang*, *gamelan*, *tembang*, *dalang*, and *karawitan*. The puppet itself was made from buffalo hides, carved and painted to depict characteristics in Mahabharata or Ramayana (Lestari, 2010; Nurgiyantoro, 2011; Zahroh, 2015).

there were similarities in *gamelan* music (see Figure 2-2) across the islands of Java, Bali, and Lombok.



Figure 2-2: A set of Javanese Gamelan (OB/HS/2015)

The *Wali Sanga* used the cultural artefacts to make the introduction of Islam easier because they were already parts of people's life. The development of wayang became more prominent after the arrival of *Wali Sanga* because they inserted religious tenets and beliefs in their wayang performance. *Wayang kulit* (wayang hides) remains one of the most popular cultural artefacts in Central Java because it blended the cultural features from East and West Java provinces (Kitley, 2000; Sumbulah, 2012).

The introduction of religion through those cultural artefacts was acceptable to the population, and they became new additions in their religious rituals (Sumbulah, 2012), and parts of their lives long after the *Wali Sanga* time had passed. People in Java, Bali, and Lombok islands still play *gamelan*, have *wayang* performances, and perform *tembang*. In Central Java especially, there are several places where these cultural features remain strong and these places have become cultural centres: Surakarta, Semarang, and Banyumasan areas. The music and entertainment are not only to spread the religion, but they are

absorbed and owned as cultural artefacts which are cherished and appreciated over time (Amin, 2013; Huda & Saddhono, 2017; Liliek Adelina, 2016).

2.3 Banyumasan area

Banyumasan is a name understood by many people as a term to refer to a unity of culture, language, characteristics, and lifestyle of the Javanese people who live in the western part of Central Java province. Banyumasan area covers the places around Mount Slamet and Serayu river (Hadiati, 2014; Huda & Saddhono, 2017; Suharto & Indriyanto, 2018). The northern Banyumasan area covers Brebes, Tegal, and Pemalang regencies. The southern half of Banyumasan area spans from Cilacap, Kebumen, Banjarnegara, Purbalingga and Banyumas regencies. To get a view of where the area is, the map below (Figure 2-3) presents the details of the location and the regencies in the Banyumasan area, including Tegal City where this research was conducted

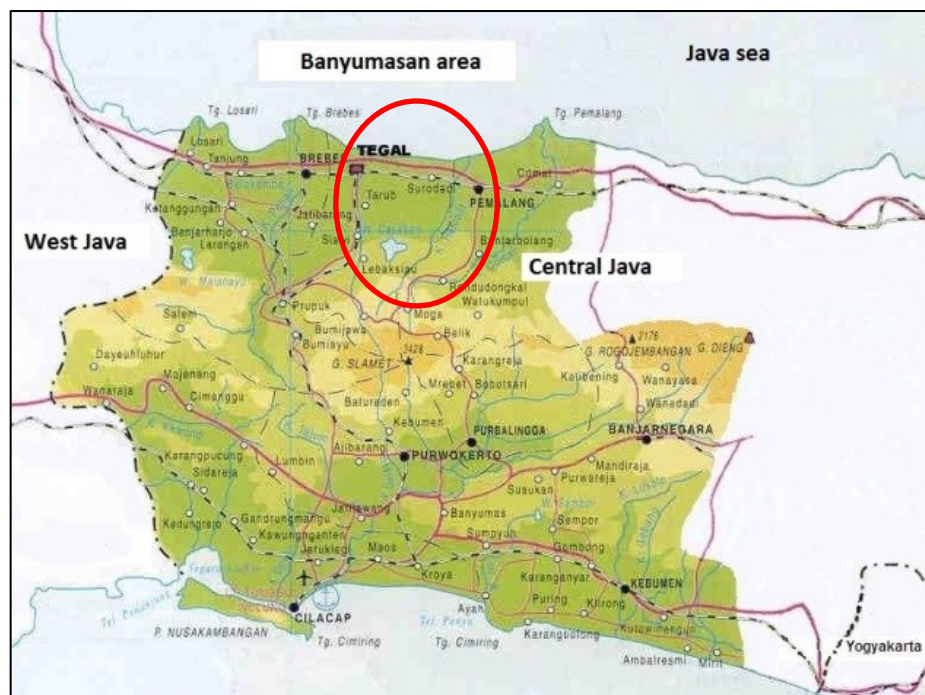


Figure 2-3: Banyumasan area and its regencies

. Banyumasan area has rich cultural features because it has become the melting pot of culture between West and Central Java. For example, *wayang wong* performance is known as the typical feature of Central Java culture, however, in Banyumasan area, especially in

Tegal City, they also have *wayang golek*, which is a typical kind of *wayang* normally found in West Java (Weintraub, 2004). This unique blend of Central and West Java culture makes the Banyumasan area, especially in Tegal City, an interesting research site, as a centre of traditional dance.

2.3.1 Tegal City

Tegal city is one of the major cities in Central Java because of its strategic location near the border of Central Java and West Java. The main road that stretches across the city connects all three provinces to East Java. Geographically, Tegal City is located on LAT 109° 08' - 109° 10' and LONG 06° 50' - 06° 53' on the northwest part of Central Java. It covers an area of 39.68 square kilometres with a total population of approximately 250,000 in 2016 (Statistik, 2016). Administratively, the city has 4 districts and 27 villages. The distance from the capital city of Central Java is about 175 km to the west of Semarang. The strategic location makes this city as one of the major hubs for the economy, tourism, international and local trade, and the fusion of people from West and East Java provinces. Tegal city is relatively advanced in its economy because of its location near the international harbour in Semarang City where international trading takes place. It has its own smaller harbour that the fishermen and businessmen use to ship goods from Central Java to Borneo, Sulawesi, or Sumatra. It is a part of Banyumasan area; therefore it shares the culture, dialect, characteristics of the people, and other social features with other regencies within the Banyumasan area.

2.3.2 Society in Tegal City

Tegal is a city of culture where every year various celebrations are held. This city celebrates everything from birth to death, weddings, circumcision, and baby showers. They welcome rainy and dry seasons with festivals; they celebrate the earth and the sea and are thankful to God for all the blessings they have received. They have festivals, parades, carnivals loaded with traditional dances, *wayang golek* shows and traditional music performances, and people wear vibrant colours during these celebrations.

The people of Tegal city pivot their activities in an area called *alun-alun* (see Figure 2-4) or city square. At one corner of *alun-alun*, the biggest mosque in the city is located. Markets and shopping centres, schools, hospitals, hotels, restaurants, and entertainment

places are scattered around this area. It is also a place where musical and cultural performances are held. During certain months like Ramadhan or for the celebration of Eid, the mosque and *alun-alun* become very vibrant with bright colours, decorations, and people pouring through the area to be together and to enjoy the festive season.

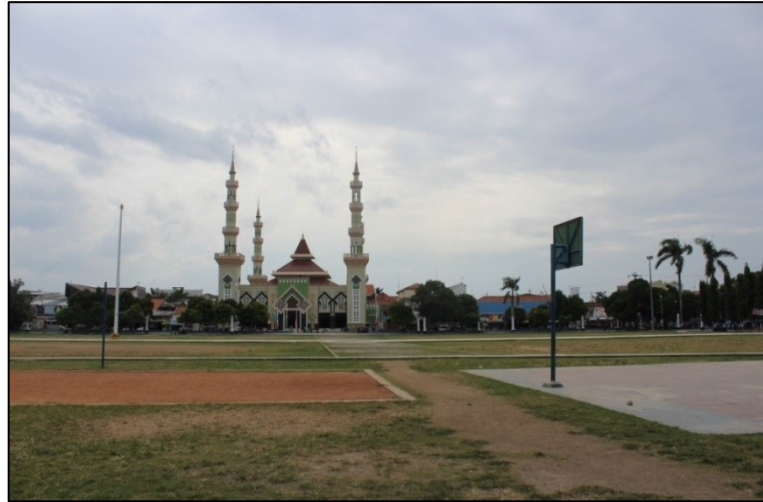


Figure 2-4: The Grand Mosque of Tegal City (OB/Tegal 2015)

New Year's Eve celebrations, both for the international New Year and Islamic New Year, are also celebrated in this spot, making it a vivid and attractive place to visit during such occasions as seen in Figure 2-5 below (Polda, 2017).



Figure 2-5: Islamic New Year celebration 2017

Tegal City has its own unique features, such as the kind of *wayang* that is different from those performed in other parts of Central Java and Banyumasan area. They develop *wayang golek* of their own design and characters that are typically only found in Tegal City as seen in Figure 2-6 (Kabupaten Tegal, 2011).



Figure 2-6: Wayang Golek Tegal

Another form of culture that can be considered popular in this city is traditional dance, such as the Endal dance (Fandini, Setyanto, & Rahmasari, 2017; Ratnaningrum, 2011) as displayed in Figure 2-7 that is performed when there is a special occasion like New Year's Eve or during the event of Eid and Islamic New Year (Kabupaten Tegal, 2011).



Figure 2-7: Endal Dance in Tegal celebrating the Islamic New Year

Tegal City is famous for their *warung Tegal*⁴ and the people's characteristics of being open and honest. They speak a dialect called *cablaka*, also referring to the way

⁴ Warung Tegal is a gastronomic small business that provided affordable food and beverages. Warung Tegal could be found all over Indonesia and even abroad (Asytuti, 2015)

people from Banyumasan area express themselves. *Cablaka* literally means to speak frankly based on the fact (Hadiati, 2014, p. 2082), which explains why Tegal people are known to be trustworthy because they are always blunt and brazenly honest (Saputri, 2014). They are known for their hardworking characteristics that ensure they will survive anywhere. It is easy to find Tegal people in all parts of Indonesia or abroad because of their determination to find a better living for their family (Amin, 2013; Arps & Supriyanto, 2002).

Islam is the major religion in Tegal City. There are over 200,000 people following Islam, so it is prevalent to see women wearing a headscarf as an identifying feature that they are Muslims. Meanwhile, the men perform religious rituals on a daily basis and go about their business according to their beliefs. In a way, their belief influences how they live their life, including how they educate their young people. Children in Tegal City go to primary schools, public schools or religion-based schools because the society believes that teaching religion to young children is important so that they can learn their own faith and use the religion as a guide as well as a filter in many aspects of life (Helmi & Nurussa'adah, 2013). As a sign of the significance of religious education in Tegal City, there are numerous Islamic schools, both formal and informal as seen in Figure 2-8.

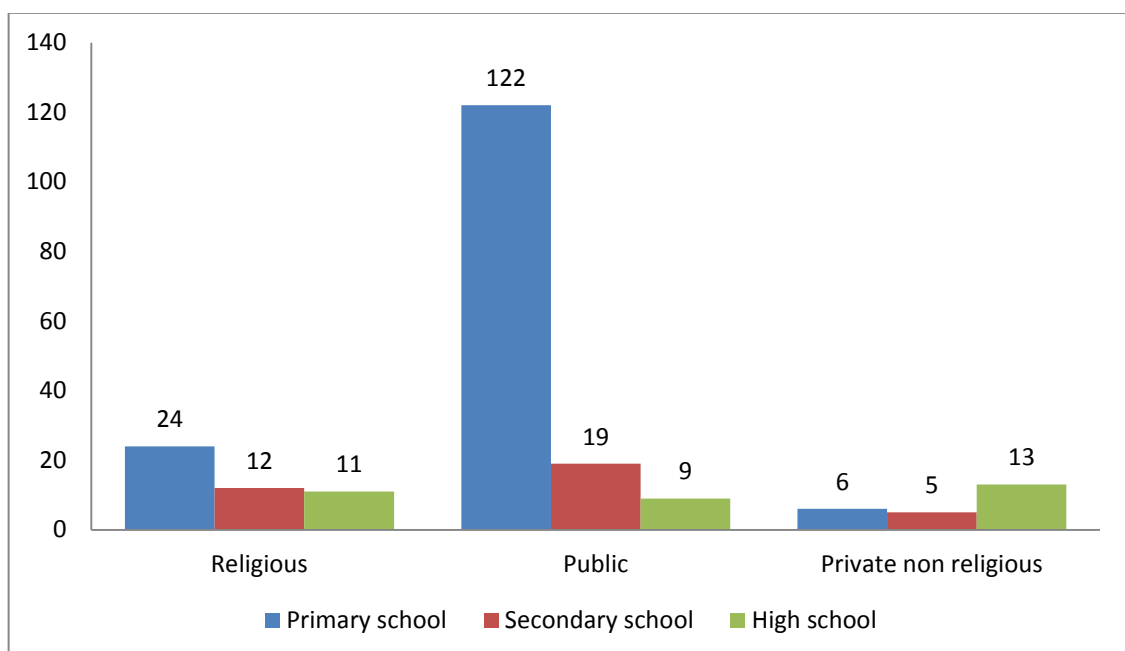


Figure 2-8: Education institutions in Tegal City

Islamic education centres such as *Pondok Pesantren (PP)*, *madrasa* or *madrasah* can be found easily in the city (Statistik, 2016). Further details about this informal education will be elaborated further in part 2.10 of this chapter.

2.4 Education in Indonesia

It was a long winding road for the Indonesian government to provide education for the people. Before Independence Day, it was a struggle to get an education because the long history of colonisation had rendered the nation into a state of being barely educated. There was the deliberate exclusion of Indonesian people from school that was imposed by the Dutch colonials. There were several features of education during the Dutch colonial period. Mangunpranoto (1978, p. 3) described how the colonials enforced a premeditated delay in education by making the progress of learning as slow as possible to prevent indigenous Indonesians from getting a proper education. They were also discriminated against in the quality of education provided for those who were of European descent and the indigenous people. Salindri (1996) explained how the education was designated to create powerful control over the population so that although the indigenous people were schooled, they got an education in such a way that the sole purpose was to satisfy the needs of the Dutch government for an abundant, cheap labour force. Furthermore, the curriculum of the education system was designed to match the one in the Netherlands, creating a disjuncture, cultural gaps, and inconsistencies because the indigenous people were educated in an Indonesian context with their own tradition and culture (Heru & Umamah, 2014). The Dutch government introduced western-style education in 1907 using Dutch as the language of instruction. In 1914, English was first taught in secondary school and was treated as the second foreign language to learn at school (Dardjowidjojo, 1996).

The schools during this era were not planned systematically as each one was a separate system, making it impossible for the indigenous people to continue education to a higher degree. Thus, although they were educated, the indigenous people could only operate – regarding working with the government - within their own domain (Salindri, 1996). High school was introduced for the first time in 1918 giving the people a limited chance for higher education as it was provided only for those who were royals. This era of colonialism ended when Indonesia declared independence on 17 August 1945. After that, the government took over the education system and made changes to adjust to the social

and cultural situation in Indonesia. The Independence Day marked the beginning of the Old Order, a period of government under the leadership of Ir. Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta, which lasted until 11 March 1967.

The government defines education as "a conscious effort to prepare students through guidance, lesson and training for their future roles" (Sekretaris Negara, 1989, p. 2). In a national context, national education is the education that was rooted in the cultural values of Indonesia and based on *Pancasila*⁵ and the *Undang-undang Dasar 1945*⁶ (1945 Constitution). It is a unity, and a comprehensive and collective education system to ensure that the purpose of national education is achieved successfully (Sekretaris Negara, 1989). There are several stages of education in Indonesia, from primary, secondary, to higher education which are held by the government or private institution. To make schooling successful, there are several components that have to be fulfilled: infrastructure, curriculum, lesson plans, students and teachers (Daulay, 2014). Besides the formal education elaborated in part 2.8, there is also informal education as explained in part 2.10.

2.5 Regional autonomy

Until 1998, education in Indonesia was regulated by the central government. All policies, rules and the law were released and instructed and monitored by the central government. There were many attempts in distributing the control of the government to the local authorities, but they were not very successful. After several failed attempts, in 2000, the government released the Regulation of House of Representatives of Republic Indonesia Number IV/MPR/2000 to regulate how regional autonomy was conducted. In the education field, for example, the teaching materials used to be regulated by the central government and all schools had to follow it; school hours and the timetable for the national final exam had to be homogenous all over Indonesia.

Since the release of that regulation, the local government have been permitted to make their own rules regarding teaching material, school uniform, school hours and many

⁵ Pancasila literally means the Five Principles or five foundations for being Indonesian. It is a paradigm, belief, and a way of life that runs in the vein of every Indonesian. The first time it was mentioned was in the declaration of independence and since then it was implemented in every Indonesian's ideology. The five principles of Pancasila are: 1) The Almighty God, it is a belief where Indonesia ground their lives in the faith that God is Might, 2) Just and Civilized Humanity, 3) the Unity of Indonesia, 4) Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in deliberations and representations), 5) Social Justice for Indonesian citizens (Jhoner, 2018; Salampeppy, Triyuwono, Irianto, & Hariadi, 2018).

⁶ Undang-undang Dasar 1945 is the Constitution of Republic Indonesia (Sulardi, 2015).

other local rules depending on the Education Office of the province and regencies. This regulation resulted in diverse school features among regions, such as school uniforms, requirements of enrolment, the standard of graduation, and teacher training and education.

2.6 Teacher training program and certification

Before 2005, the rules that regulated the requirement for someone who wanted to be a teacher were not as strict as the current law. A person could become a teacher in primary or secondary school if s/he had a university degree and there was a demand for that. The rule was simpler, as a person did not have to have proper teacher training to become a teacher. This situation changed with the release of the Law of Republic Indonesia No.14 2005 about teachers and lecturers (Kementrian Hukum, 2005). Departing from the need to provide quality education and to improve the human resources of Indonesian citizens, the government regulated how to conduct education that would benefit all citizens. The Law defines a teacher as “a professional educator whose main duty is to educate, teach, guide, direct, train, assess, and evaluate students in the formal education settings for early childhood, primary, and secondary education” (Kementrian Hukum, 2005, p. 2). Since the release of that law, the way education was conducted changed considerably. The execution of that law was managed by the local provincial government as executed by the local government through the autonomy regulation, especially for the teachers. Nowadays, not everyone who graduated from the university can become teachers. They have to meet the requirements as listed in the Law, which are summarised below:

1. Academic qualification

A teacher candidate has to have an academic qualification that matches the subject of their interest. The minimum education level for a teacher is a bachelor degree with a GPA of no less than 2.75 in 4.00 scale. The field or major that they want to teach has to match with the qualification they got from the university; otherwise, they have to obtain certification in that field to apply for the job.

2. Competence

A teacher candidate has to have a set of teaching competence, such as the knowledge, skills, and behaviour of a teacher. The competence in this scope covers personal competence, pedagogy competence, professional and social competence. To get all these types of competence, they have to get the proper training in teacher education

which is known as *Pendidikan Profesi Guru (PPG)* or Teacher Profession Education. PPG is a program from the central government that requires teachers to join training for one to two years after they finish their undergraduate studies. The participants can be anyone from any major who wants to be a teacher in primary, secondary, and high schools. The primary requirement is that the participants have to have a position as a teacher in a school and not just anyone who has graduated university.

This training provides the necessary practice and lessons for teachers to obtain a professional title in their field of teaching such as pedagogy concepts, learning theories, learning design, learning media, planning, execution, and evaluation of teaching-learning activities. This program is funded by the government and held in the capital city of each province. Participants are selected based on criteria defined by the government, and they are allocated to the training centres all over Indonesia. Some participants get a scholarship to take part in a program, but some participants are self-funding.

Besides the programs for certification, PPG, and compulsory training for teachers, there is a program intended for the university fresh graduates from education major. This program is called *Sarjana Mendidik di Daerah Terdepan, Terluar, Tertinggal (SM-3T)* or Graduates teaching in the frontier, outlying, and underdeveloped regions of Indonesia (Hidayah & Marhaeni, 2016; Yustina, 2015). It is one of the ways that the government does to overcome the disparity of education because of the geographical condition of Indonesian archipelago. It receives a warm welcome from enthusiastic young university graduate who had been trained to teach. They serve their time, dedication and skills to teach the most remote areas in Indonesia for one year as the mandatory period. They can extend the contract if they want to. The participants of the SM-3T program must be willing to be assigned anywhere in Indonesia. They receive a salary, certificate, and bigger choices and opportunities after they finished this program (Education for All, 2015; Yustina, 2015).

3. Certificate of educator

A teacher must have a certificate of an educator or a license to qualify for teaching. They can get this certificate by joining the PPG and are eligible for the criteria. There are tests, minimum teaching hours, a professional portfolio that the teachers have to submit to the government. Each teacher has to achieve a specific overall score from

those components to get the certificate. It is an official recognition that a person has met the minimum standard to become a teacher through the certification process. A teacher with a certificate of educator means that they are qualified to teach the field as specified in the certificate. This requirement applies to newly graduated people who are interested in teaching, and teachers who have been in positions for a while. For the latter kind of teacher, they are encouraged to join the PPG and get the certificate, otherwise, they will not get their salary, incentives, and rank improved.

These regulations apply to all teachers, regardless of what type of teacher they are. Commonly, there are three types of teacher in Indonesian schools: honorary teacher, government-school teacher, and private school teacher. The details and differences are elaborated below:

2.6.1 Honorary teacher

An honorary teacher is a teacher who is selected by the school based on their application, education background, skills, and academic competence to meet the needs of teachers in a school. This type of teacher is employed and given a salary by the school. An honorary teacher is required to do a time of service called *pengabdian* or devotion before they can be appointed as a government teacher or a teacher in a foundation or an organisation. The length of this devotion period varies, from two to five years, depending on the demand for teachers from the school and the government. When the government needs to recruit new teachers as a government employee, the honorary teachers are prioritised to fill the vacancy before university graduates who want to be a teacher can fill the position. But it also depends on the honorary teacher's track record of work ethic, teaching skills, and competence, and if they pass the selection procedure. Usually, the honorary teachers are encouraged to apply for the government job, and if selected, they will be assigned to teach in schools, it could be at the same school or different ones.

The honorary teachers have the same working hours as other types of teacher whose careers are settled, and sometimes, have to work overtime and on weekends. They are assigned to teach only a few hours a week. Based on the local government regulation, they should be paid minimum wages, but sometimes the school does not have the funds for that, which results in a lower salary for the honorary teachers.

2.6.2 Government school teacher

Government school teachers are teachers who are recruited by the government thus making them a government employee. The State Law number 43 the Year 1999 defines a government employee as “every citizen of republic Indonesia who meets the defined qualifications, appointed by authorised officials and is assigned in a position in the government, or another governmental assignment, given salary based on the prevailing regulations.” (Sekretaris Negara, 1999, p. 1). This type of teacher is one of the most sought-after professions because it offers job security, stability, benefit, insurance, family support funds, and pension funds for retirement.

The requirements include the agreement from the teachers that they consent to be assigned anywhere within the Indonesian territory. Each teacher who is appointed to teach in schools has to attain a certain number of hours of teaching to meet the minimum requirement as required for the certification procedure. Periodically, they have to attend training and workshops to improve their teaching skills. Their career and rank will be regularly evaluated, and if they meet the standard, their rank will increase accordingly.

2.6.3 Private school teacher

A private school teacher is a teacher who is not a government employee but could be a permanent teacher in a private school. They may work freelance in a government school, but their status of employment is not on the government payroll. They earned their salary from the hours of teaching they do in their respective school. If they work for a foundation or an organisation, they will get benefit and family support funds like a government employee. However, this benefit is entirely dependent on the policy of the organisation. A private school teacher does not receive a pension fund unless it is regulated by their organisation. They are required to participate in training and workshops, and to fulfil the certification conditions like the government teachers. They could be a permanent employee, or they could be employed based on a contract between them and their institution. Private school teachers also have to do their *pengabdian* before their status can be made official as a permanent employee of the institution.

The government, private, and honorary school teachers operate under the same regulation from the Ministry of Education. They are obligated to wear a uniform, meet the

minimum attendance record, obey the rules and law and follow the guidelines of teaching in the form of curriculum. Indonesia designs curriculum for primary, secondary, and higher education to match the need of the students, and to keep up with the progress and world demand. All these three types of teachers can be assigned to private, public, or religion-based schools and they mostly teach at school as the formal education provider. The teachers are required to be up to date, diligent, and always have a sense of curiosity to meet the dynamic education environment in Indonesia, especially when it comes with regulation, assessment procedures, and curriculum changes as explained in the following part.

2.7 Curriculum changes and implication in education

A curriculum is defined as a set of plans and regulations about the context and teaching material and how to implement them in relation to providing teaching-learning activities. It is structured to ensure that the purpose of national education is achieved through the appropriate development of the students, culture, the needs of national development, and the progress of science and technology in accordance with the type and level of each education unit (Mangunpranoto, 1978; Salindri, 1996; Sekretaris Negara, 1989).

The government has defined the curriculum since Independence Day, although the execution of the curriculum experienced ups and downs due to the tumultuous political situation after the independence. The first Ministry of education was established in 1950. Ki Hadjar Dewantara was appointed as the Minister of Education and proposed the first Indonesian-owned curriculum. During the Old Order, the government designed a curriculum that focused on fostering a sense of nationalism in the students. Table 2-1 shows the curriculum and the changes from Independence Day to late 1964.

Table 2-1: Old Order Curriculum

Name	Details
Curriculum 1947 - Lesson plans	The curriculum was introduced in the Dutch language as <i>Leerplan</i> or lesson plan because the situation at the time was still chaotic and there was still political influences within the education curriculum. Although this curriculum was designed in 1947, the actual

	implementation was in 1950. The primary focus was on shaping the character of Indonesian people under one sovereign nation. It did not focus on a particular achievement plan, but rather on character development, nationalism, and how to live under the same country of Indonesia. Subjects taught at school were related to daily events, arts, and physical health.
Curriculum 1952 – Extended lesson plans	This curriculum was the improvement of the Curriculum 1947, offering more detailed instructions on each lesson. It was more established towards the shaping of the national education system. The most significant feature of this curriculum was how it related to daily life, making it easy to learn and teach because one teacher was responsible for one subject.
Curriculum 1964	This curriculum aimed to expand the academic skills in primary school level, mainly focusing on the teaching of moral, intelligent, emotional and artistic life skills and physical health.

(Asri, 2017; Putra, 2011)

There was a political turmoil in Indonesia during the rebellion of the communist party (Schreiner & Zurbuchen, 2005), which resulted in the ousting of President Soekarno. The next president to lead the country was General Soeharto (1967-1998) whose leadership was called The New Order. During this Order, there were four curricula as shown in Table 2-2:

Table 2-2: New Order Curriculum

Name	Details
Curriculum 1968	This curriculum was released to the public to change the Curriculum 1964, which was considered as the product of the Old Order. Its primary purpose was to shape Indonesian citizens who held the value of

	<p>Pancasila, to create strong and healthy individuals, who were skilful and had strong faith in their religion. It was believed that this curriculum was the embodiment of the 1945 Constitution⁶. This curriculum was mainly theoretical and did not relate to daily life and relied primarily on the teaching material that was considered the most appropriate lessons for the students.</p>
Curriculum 1975	<p>The Curriculum 1975 emphasised more effective and efficient education. The government regulated everything so that the teacher did not have to think about learning concepts and teaching materials. This curriculum was goal-oriented, used an integrative approach and was efficient regarding time usage. Learners were expected to have learning achievement defined from external stimuli such as the school and teacher.</p>
Curriculum 1984	<p>This curriculum focused on the learning process although it also put importance on the learning result. It was an improved version of the Curriculum 1975, which put students as the subject of their learning by grouping, discussing, and reporting their learning. It was also known as the Active Student Learning Curriculum.</p>
Curriculum 1994 and Supplement of Curriculum 1999	<p>The curriculum 1994 was evidence that there was an effort to combine the Curriculum 1975 and 1984 although it was not very successful. Criticism poured down on the government because this curriculum was considered to put too much workload on the students. The combination of many subjects, learning purposes, and the skills that students had to master during the time of their studies made this curriculum the most</p>

	the most cramped one to have been made.
(Asri, 2017; Putra, 2011)	

The New Order was deposed after a lengthy process and massive demonstrations all over the country in 1998, which resulted in the rise of the Reform era. This era marked the beginning of massive changes in all aspects of Indonesian life in various fields of education, politics, culture, even the media and the way people expressed themselves. Democracy was being reinstated at the best time after it had been oppressed for more than 30 years under the New Order Regime. In education, constant changes in curriculum happened every time a new Minister of Education was in position. Two types of the curriculum were released from 1994-1999, and more changes followed the earlier versions until the latest one was produced in 2015. All versions of curricula during this period are presented in Table 2-3:

Table 2-3: Reform era curriculum

Name	Details
Curriculum 2004, Competence-based Curriculum	To replace the Curriculum 1994, a new Curriculum 2004 was introduced. It was familiarly known as Competence-based Curriculum, a set of competency-based education that had three main components: appropriate selection of competence, specific success indicator, and learning development. It focused on the achievement of learning competence and was learning-result oriented. There were many learning resources that students could use apart from their teachers, as long as they had the educative components.
Curriculum 2006, <i>Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan (KTSP)</i>/School-based Curriculum	This curriculum was almost the same as Curriculum 2004, with one significant difference in the authorisation of the curriculum construction. The government implemented decentralisation in the education system. The central government defined

	the standard competence and basic competence that each student had to master and the school and teacher had to develop their syllabus, teaching materials, and assessment system to match with the condition of the area. All results of this independent development and construction were combined as a tool called School-Based Curriculum.
Curriculum 2013 (C-2013)	This was the replacement of the School-based Curriculum. There were three evaluation aspects: knowledge, skills, and behaviour. The major changes in this C-2013 were: 1) the hours of subjects, 2) competence of students (see explanation on the paragraphs below), process, contents and evaluations standards, and 3) if the previous curriculum focused on the exploration, elaboration, confirmation and posing questions, this curriculum expected students to have the skills to observe, create, inquire, process, and present the ideas during the learning process.
Curriculum 2015	Curriculum 2015 was the improvement stage of the C-2013. However, due to the assessment complexity of the C-2013, the government decided to use the evaluation and assessment procedure that was adopted from the Curriculum 2006 or the School-based curriculum.

(Putra, 2011; Reza, 2013; Rustam, 2015)

Among the continuous changes in curriculum and education system in Indonesia, C-2013 was probably one of the most controversial curriculum changes that reaped criticism from educational shareholders (N. C. Wahyuni & Genie, 2014). The Ministry of Education designed C-2013 under the leadership of the Minister of Education at that time, Mr Muhammad Nuh who was in the position between 2009 – 2014 under the ruling of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (Nugraheni, 2015; Putra, 2011). Table 2-4 presents

the simplified versions of the curriculum changes and the comparison between both curricula. However, the reality of curriculum changes is more complicated than what is shown.

Table 2-4: Differences between School-based curriculum and Curriculum 2013

Contexts	Curriculum 2013	School-based curriculum
Education development	Developing soft skills and hard skills including behaviour competence, skills, and knowledge	Developing the knowledge aspects
Content and quantity	More school hours with fewer subjects because some subjects were integrated into other subjects	Fewer school hours with more subjects to learn
Teaching approach	The use of a scientific method, a default process in learning which comprised of observing, questioning, processing, presenting, concluding and creating	The standard learning process comprises of exploration, elaboration, and confirmation
Use of technology	The use of technology as a teaching media	Technology as a subject to learn
Implementation and learning process	The learning process begins with affective, followed by psychomotor and then cognitive skills	The learning process begins with cognitive followed by psychomotor then affective skills
Orientation	Student-centred learning	Teacher-centred learning
Evaluation	Result-based assessment	Process-based assessment

(Nugraheni, 2015; Putra, 2011)

One of the causes of the controversy was because there was only a short time from when the plan to change the curriculum was announced, to the introduction and the execution. Teachers needed to attend training to implement the curriculum in schools, and with the short span of time from the introduction to implementation, only very little time was available to train the teachers, resulting in the unpreparedness of the teachers to execute the curriculum (Reza, 2013; N. C. Wahyuni & Genie, 2014). Another reason was that it eliminated science and social studies as the main subjects to learn at school as the curriculum focused mainly on the spiritual aspects of education. It also changed the English language to become an elective subject instead of mandatory. Another factor that made this curriculum debatable was the way students were assessed. The objections about implementing this curriculum mainly were due to the complexity of the assessment procedure and increasing administrative work for the teachers that had led to the protest among teachers. The evaluation procedures required teachers to evaluate the knowledge aspect of the students only, which was believed to be vague and complicated, rather than the authentic evaluation process such as measuring the skills, knowledge, and classroom behaviour based on the learning process and results (Rahmat, 2014). Other factors such as the readiness of the teachers, school location, infrastructure and facilities or the lack of it, and distance from the capital city rendered the teachers incapable of executing it, thus causing the protest (Nugraheni, 2015).

Furthermore, the reason for this disapproval of curriculum was because the shareholders believed that the curriculum changes would curb the students' creativity, preventing them from being competitive individuals (Lie, 2007; Mappiasse & Sihes, 2014). The massive protest nationwide caused the Minister of Education at that time, Anies Baswedan, to release an order to drop the controversial curriculum although he allowed the schools that had implemented the curriculum in the last three semesters to continue using it if they wished to (Budiari, 2014). Schools were allowed to revert back to the School-based Curriculum if they felt that they were not ready to implement the C-2013. Some schools in the cities or in developed areas chose to continue using the C-2013 because the teachers had been trained and they did not want to waste the resources, but other schools in underdeveloped areas decided to revert back to the School-based Curriculum (T. Wahyuni, 2014).

2.8 Formal education

To provide education for all citizens of Indonesia, the government operates schools in all regions. There are two major kinds of school: 1) public schools and 2) private schools. Public schools are those which are operated, funded and supported entirely by the government. In Indonesia, the most familiar term used for this kind of school is *sekolah negeri* or state school, open for all levels of education from kindergarten to high school. The teachers and staff usually are government employees. This type of school follows the same regulation across the country; from the curriculum, school hours, uniform, and evaluation procedure. Meanwhile, a private school is a school operated by a private organisation, institution, foundation or other bodies for all levels of education as in public schools.

Private schools also follow the same regulations as public schools. These educational bodies exist to serve the purpose of achieving the goals of education across all levels and the components of Indonesian education as presented in Figure 2-9 (State Secretary, 2003).

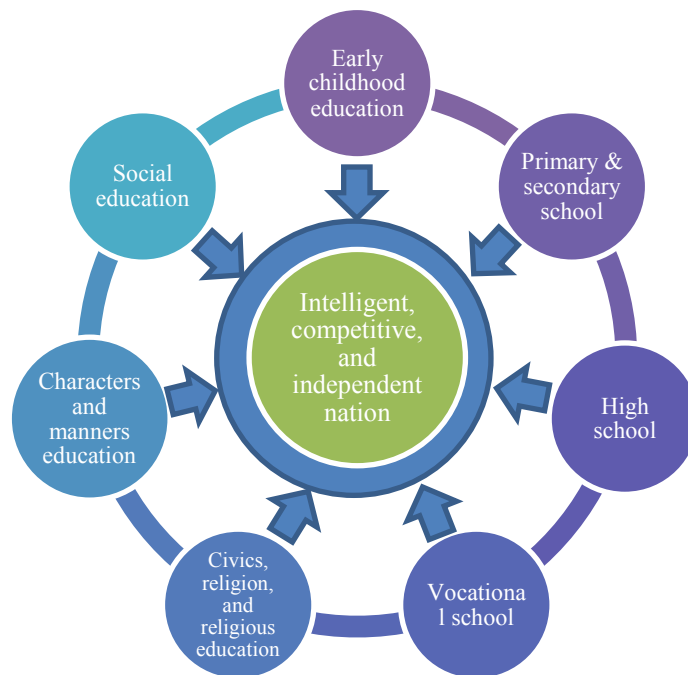




Figure 2-9: Access, quality, relevance and education competitiveness improvement

In addition to public and private schools, there are also schools based on religion. Indonesia recognises six major religions: Protestantism, Islam, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. These religions have organisations or foundations that run

schools which can be either public or private religious schools. Three of the most popular types of religious schools are based on three religions with the largest number of believers and followers: Islam, Protestantism, and Catholicism. They have schools in every level of education in almost all districts in Indonesian provinces. There are schools for the other three religions although they are not so numerous, such as the Hindu schools in Bali where the majority of the population of the island believe in Hinduism. The students with Buddhist, Hindu, or Confucianism beliefs who are enrolled in public or private schools will get private lessons for the subject of religion, using the curriculum from the government.

Because of the wide variety of schools in Indonesia and to narrow down into the appropriate context, the discussion here is limited to the most general education types either public, private and religious schools or *madrasah* (Departemen Agama, 1998); because it is the type of education that the majority of this study participants were involved in. The summary of school education levels in Indonesia is presented in Table 2-5.


Table 2-5: Type of school in Indonesia

Level	Indonesian name for Public/ private school	Islamic school equivalent	School hours	Students' age	Uniform
Early childhood education	<i>a. Pendidikan anak usia dini (PAUD)</i>	-	07.00-09.30	3-4	School regulates uniform
	<i>b. Taman kanak-kanak (TK)</i>	<i>Raudhatul Athfal</i> ⁷	10.00-12.30	4-6	
Primary school	<i>Sekolah Dasar</i>	<i>Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah</i> ⁸	07.00-12.45	7-12	
Secondary school	<i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama</i>	<i>Madrasah Tsanawiyah</i> ⁹	07.00-13.45	12-15	

⁷ *Raudhatul Athfal* is the Islamic pre-school and kindergarten

⁸ *Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah* is the Islamic primary school

⁹ *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* is the Islamic secondary school

Senior high school	<i>Sekolah Menengah Atas</i>	<i>Madrasah Aliyah</i> ¹⁰	07.00-14.45	15-18	
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The difference between the public/ private school and the religious/ Islamic school lies in the teaching material and lessons taught at that level and the uniform that the students wear. In Islamic schools, it is compulsory that female students wear veils and long sleeve shirts and a skirt. In academic aspects, the Table 2-6 below presents the difference of subjects taught at both types of schools:

Table 2-6: Lesson differences between public/private schools and Islamic schools

Public/ private primary school	<i>Madrasah Ibtidaiyah</i>
Religious education	Religious education
-	a. Alquran Hadith ¹¹
-	b. Aqida ¹²
-	c. Fiqh ¹³
-	d. Islamic history ¹⁴ and culture
Pancasila education and Civics	Pancasila education and Civics
Bahasa Indonesia	Bahasa Indonesia
-	Arabic language
Mathematics	Mathematics
Science	Science
Social sciences	Social sciences
Arts, culture, and crafts	Arts, culture, and crafts

¹⁰ *Madrasah Aliyah* is the Islamic high school

¹¹ *Hadith*: learning the traditions and the way of life of the Prophet Muhammad (Aulia, Khairani, & Hakiem, 2017; Brown, 2009)

¹² *Aqida*: lesson about the foundation of Islam that covers everything about Islamic beliefs system and faith, the foundation of Islam comes from the beliefs that Gabriel the Angel is the one who delivers the words of Allah, the one and only God of the Muslims. This hadith also includes the definition of Islam, Islamic rules, Islamic faith and beliefs (Noor, Sikand, & Bruinessen, 2008).

¹³ *Fiqh*: Islamic laws that taught the students about how to interact with other human beings, personal life, interpersonal relationship, and the relationship between human beings and the divine beings (Ahmad, 2012).

¹⁴ Islamic history: Taught about the history of Islam and the beginning of Islam into the world's society (Ahmad, 2012; Ali, 2011)

Javanese language	-
English	-
Guidance and counselling	-

2.9 University / higher education

After a student finishes his/her education in high school, s/he may or may not continue to university or higher education if s/he chooses to continue his/ her education, there are options available. There are different types of higher education in Indonesia: institute, university, college, polytechnic, and academy, each of which serves different purposes depending on the demand from the users. In Central Java alone, there are hundreds of higher education institutions, both private and public as shown in Table 2-7:

Table 2-7: Higher education institution in Central Java

	Institute	University	College	Polytechnic	Academy
Private	3	37	87	24	94
Public	6	6	1	3	2

There are four components of higher education according to Tim Kurikulum and Kemahasiswaan (2014): input, process, output, and outcomes. The input of higher education is high school graduates who enrol in university to participate in learning experiences as offered by the university. There are several indications to measure the success of higher education: 1) learning outcomes, 2) healthy organisation of the institution, 3) accountable and transparent institution management, 4) the availability of lesson plans and curriculum to meet the demand of the market, 5) professional human resources with academic and non-academic skills and expertise, 6) availability of learning facilities and infrastructure (Tim Kurikulum & Kemahasiswaan, 2014, p. 3). To achieve the purpose of higher education, the institutions follow the indication of success for higher education defined by the government. From time to time, higher education undergoes changes for the betterment of learning results; among these is the curriculum as shown in Table 2-8 below (Tim Kurikulum & Kemahasiswaan, 2014). Although the changes are not as often as the ones in primary and secondary education, the changes in the higher education curriculum are significant.

Table 2-8: Curriculum in higher education

Curriculum name	National Curriculum 1994	Core and Institutional Curriculum 2000/2002	Higher education curriculum 2012 UUPT No 12/2012 and KKNI –
Supporting regulations	(No. 056/U/1994)	232/U/200 and 045/U/2002	President Decree no 8/2012 (valid until now)
Aims	<p>Focused on science and technology mastery</p> <p>Did not define the required skills</p> <p>Compulsory subjects with 160 credits</p>	<p>Focused on competence achievement</p> <p>Did not specify the knowledge that has to be mastered</p> <p>Core competence was defined by the agreement of a similar study program</p>	<p>Focuses on the equality of learning achievement and quality</p> <p>Comprises of attitude, value, work skills, skills mastery, authority and responsibility</p> <p>The formulation of the minimum result is included in the standard of higher education</p>

The considerations for the change of curriculum in higher education include the changing and evolving education needs to meet the demands of the stakeholders (industry, professionals, education). The Directorate General of Higher education reviews the curriculum periodically to assess the effectiveness of the implementation, but the purpose of the changes is to meet the demands of higher education as presented in Figure 2-10 below.

The components that support higher education are diverse: the lecturers, infrastructure, learning system, and competent administrative staff. Furthermore, for

practical higher education such as in polytechnic and the academy, they are required to provide laboratories and workshops so that the students could practice their skills. Teacher training institutions cooperate with other educational institutions so that they can provide a training ground for their students. In the end, each graduate is expected to have the leadership skills and have to build a network, so that after they finished with their education, they could implement the skills in the society.

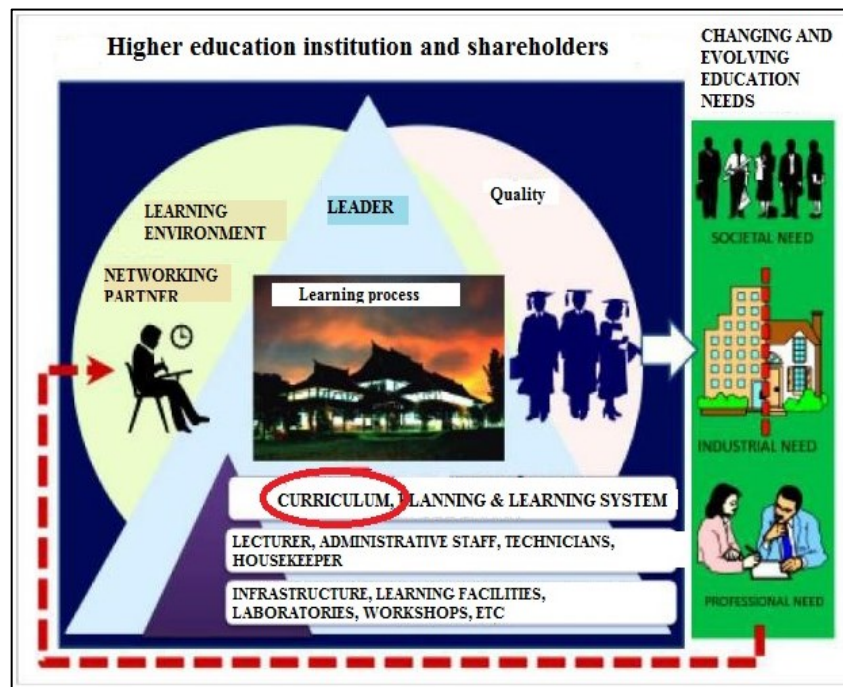


Figure 2-10: Higher education flow chart

2.10 Informal education

Formal education as elaborated above is compulsory and required if a student wants to continue their education to a higher degree. However, some students may not be able to continue to university, so they choose different kinds of education, such as private course, training, or other informal types of education provided by a private institution centre. The informal side of education in Indonesia is open for anyone at any time whenever a student needs additional skills and knowledge. Students could attend informal education while they are still at school or after they graduated, depending on how they need it. There are many branches of informal education: English courses, Islamic education, engineering, sewing and baking courses, or even courses for musical and artistic skills. In this study, I will

focus only on two types of informal education: private tuition and Islamic education called *pondok pesantren* (see 2.10.4).

2.10.1 Private tuition

Private tuition, also familiarly known as shadow education, is available from an institution that provides additional training, where students have to pay certain fees and is offered outside the school hours (Trent, 2016; Wan & Weerasena, 2017). There are many styles of shadow education, from a single pupil and one teacher, a small group, held at home of the student, or a larger group conducted in an institution (Trent, 2016). Bray (1999, p. 18) defines the shadow education system as “mechanisms through which pupils extend their learning and gain additional human capital, which benefits not only themselves but also the wider societies of which they are part”. It gained popularity in the early 1990s, particularly in South East Asia.

Indonesia is one of the places where students are sent to private tuition to get additional lessons such as mathematics, English, science subjects and so forth. The main reason why students opt to join private tuition centres is that their friends do it, and they do not want to be left behind. This peer pressure (Mabrouk, 2016) encourages students to get good scores or to excel at school. Joining private tuition becomes popular in Indonesia for school students because it is considered to be beneficial to get additional lessons (Cheo & Quah, 2005).

2.10.2 Curriculum in private tuition

Most private tuition centres are run by individuals, an institution, or an organisation. Education in private tuition centre is seen as a privilege (Buchmann, Condron, & Roscigno, 2010). This belief stems from the known fact that it requires additional expenses to send children to learn at a private tuition centre (Wan & Weerasena, 2017). There are various subjects taught at the private tuition centre, and they are provided not only for school students but also for adults who require further training and additional skills. Teaching materials at the private tuition centres are adapted to the demand of the students. However, the centres that cater for school students sometimes have to adjust the curriculum in their institution when there is a change in the school curriculum (Bray, Zhan, Lykins, Wang, & Kwo, 2014). Some of the most popular reasons why students in

Indonesia join private tuition centres is because they have so many lessons at school, that they do not have time to absorb the lesson properly (Trent, 2016). The teachers have to speed up the teaching and learning activities so that they can finish up the portion of the curriculum they have to accomplish within a semester. Students thus need additional lessons outside the school hours to help them understand the material.

Unfortunately, not all families can afford to send their children to study at private tuition because there are extra fees that sometimes are not cheap. Thus the need for private tuition becomes a disadvantage for the students. Even if their parents can afford to pay the fees, the pressure and demand to achieve a certain score to graduate become exhausting, and even more so for those who financially cannot afford the private tuition (Bray et al., 2014; Wan & Weerasena, 2017).

2.10.3 Private tuition in Tegal City

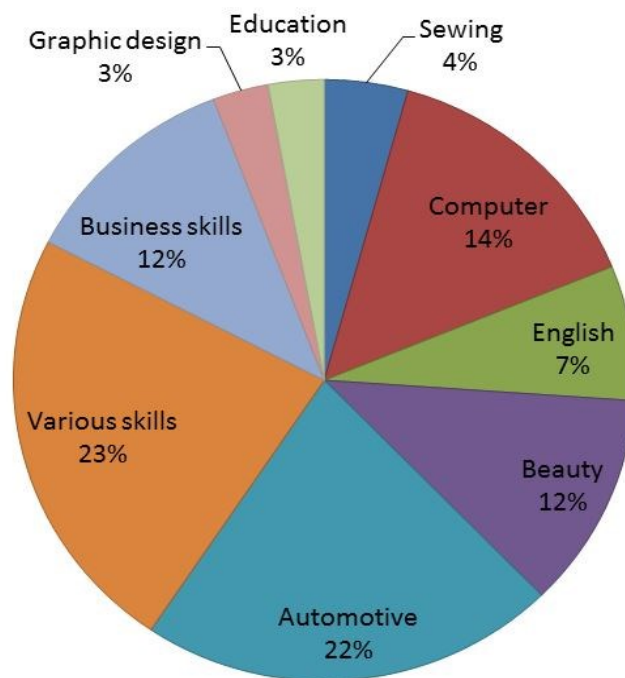
As a hub city, Tegal is a place where many businesses are conducted, which makes the demands for the workforce quite high. People who need to learn a certain skill enrol to private tuition that provides a lesson on how to sew, to fix and use computers, or to learn administrative tasks and English language.

Students can choose what skills they need to improve based on their interest. Some of the private tuition centres are registered with the Education and Culture Office in Tegal City. These registered institutions have the benefit of getting recognition from the local government because they supply the curriculum only to the registered ones. Another advantage of becoming a certified private tuition centre is students usually prefer them. Therefore, many private tuition centres are working on getting registered with the local government to get more benefit from the status. As shown in Figure 2-11, there are a relatively low number of providers of English courses in Tegal City compared to the other types of training providers. This situation leads to the existing English private tuition centres being packed with students.

2.10.4 Pondok Pesantren (PP)

The word *pondok* derives from Arabic word *funduk* which means boarding or a place to stay in (Daulay, 2014; Munawir, 1984, p. 1154). In *bahasa Indonesia*, the word *pondok* refers to: 1) independence of the students and 2) the building where the students stay and

study. *Pesantren* derives from the word *santri* which means a student (Ahmad, 2012). *PP* refers to a unity, a culture of its own, a lifestyle, and philosophical value of a place where *santri* and teacher who is called as *kyai* meet and conduct the teaching and learning activities. This traditional type of Islamic education provides the teaching of religious subjects such as the interpretation of Alquran, memorisation of Alquran, Alquran studies, *sharia* (Islamic law), *hadith* (the life and teaching of Prophet Muhammad), and *fiqh* or the Islamic law (Ahmad, 2012; Lukens-Bull, 2010). In Indonesia, there are three kinds of *PP*: traditional, modern, and a mixed of both types.



(Pemerintah Kota, 2015)

Figure 2-11: Private tuition education in Tegal City

2.10.4.1 Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah

The term *salafiyah* derives from the word *salaf* which means early, old, or traditional. The teaching of lessons in this kind of *PP* uses a conventional approach to individual learning for each pupil. This *PP* does not set a specific achievement bar but rather follows the progress of each *santri* (Lukens-Bull, 2010; Muflih, 2014). This type of *PP* is believed to be the best version because of its limited modernisation in curriculum and the way of teaching, thus maintaining the true characteristics of a *PP*.

2.10.4.2 Pondok pesantren Khalafiyah

The word *khalafiyah* derives from *Khalaf* which meant later or new (N. Hamid & Juliansyahzen, 2017; Srimulyani, 2007). This type of *PP* uses a modern approach to teach the *santri* through formal education such as *madrrasah*. The learning method is like that of general schools, where there is a certain learning period during which students have to achieve something specific. This type of *PP* is commonly found only in Indonesia. The modern feature regarding materials taught to the students is similar to the general education at public or Islamic schools. Furthermore, this type of *PP* emphasises character development and leadership, making *khalafiyah* not adequately considered as the real *PP* (Lukens-Bull, 2010; Noor et al., 2008).

2.10.4.3 Mixed pondok pesantren

This type of *PP* mixes both categories, which enables them to be flexible in teaching the *santri*. The materials are a combination of modern knowledge including English and science subjects, everything about Islam, and the more peripheral teaching material related to the religion. This type of *PP* offers a more significant challenge for the *santri* because they have to study double by spending more time doing the memorisation of the Alquran. At the same time, they have to achieve good scores at the formal school so that they can go to the next stage of learning. This *PP* also teaches the students how to do farming and general life skills that enable them to find jobs after they finish their education at the *PP*. If they are located near the sea, the students are taught how to use the natural resources for their benefit, e.g. becoming fishermen and managing fisheries and marketing (Noor et al., 2008; Shiddiq, 2017; Siregar, 2016).

2.11 Chapter summary

This chapter presents a glimpse of what the context looks like to make the research more understandable. It provides information about contexts and location, the culture, the dominant religion and what type of education is available in the area. It also covers the importance of elaborating the changes of curriculum and the relationship with the educational contexts in the research sites. Indonesia is, of course, larger and more complex than what was written above. However, as the account of the study progresses, it will be possible to recognise why the intertwining parts of the cultural background, education

types and social interactions among the participants have influences on the way they take certain actions and make choices in shaping their identity.

Chapter Three: Literature review

We can't be content with knowing what kind of people we are; it matters, too, what kind of people we hope to be (Appiah, 2009).

3.1 Introduction

In a society, people get to know each other by one of the most straightforward identification means available: their names. From the name, other people can assume an individual's identity background, such as where they came from, their ethnic group, and probably what religious background they have (Aribowo & Herawati, 2016; Dinur, Beit-Hallahmi, & Hofman, 1996). Names are inherited from parents, chosen and given to an individual as the first clue and symbol of identity (Aksholakova, 2014; Lee, Jo, Yi, Baek, & Kim, 2016). Usually, individuals could not choose their names when they were young, however, should they find their names undesirable when they grew up, they could alter their name and adopt a new one, as the absence of a name could mean the absence of an identity (Aksholakova, 2014). Another thing that could be used to identify someone was what he or she did, their roles, and other attributes they had or ways they sought to be involved in the society. The ability to choose an action and to carry out the act within a society is called agency (Ahearn, 2001; Crockett, 2002; Hitlin & Elder, 2007; Troman, Jeffrey, & Walford, 2004). The role of identity is undeniably crucial in one's life. Having a name is just a representation of a far more complex spectrum of identity (Aksholakova, 2014; Lee et al., 2016) while choosing what to do with their identity or making a decision that is related to their education and profession are related to one's ability to use their agency. There are researchers whose main theories helped the understanding of identity such as Gee (2000); S. Hall and Gay (2011); Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain (1998); Norton (1997, 2000, 2016); Riley (2006). Other theorists have worked on agency, such as Ahearn (2001); Hitlin and Elder (2007); Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015, 2016) and van Lier (2008) through which the ground of this research is set up.

This chapter reviews the literature that is pertinent to this research project on identity, agency, and the importance of identity and agency for individuals in a society (Avalos & De Los Rios, 2013). It covers identity in learning languages (Block, 2009; Norton & Toohey, 2011; van Lier, 2008), in teaching languages (G. Hall & Cook, 2012),

and in human interaction in general (Coffey & Street, 2008; Forman, 2014; S. Hall & Gay, 2011). It begins with a general definition of identity, followed by more contextualised concepts of identity and how the idea and formation of identity are argued, agreed upon, and reconsidered over time. The final subsection of the first part of this chapter moves to a more specific scope of identity. It starts with the learner identity particularly the English language learners' identity formation, followed by the identity development of English teachers. Finally, a consideration of pre-service teachers' identity development closes the part of this section.

The second part of this chapter explores agency, beginning with the concept and elaboration of what agency is and how it relates to the identity formation of individuals. This part is divided into two main categories considering how agency plays crucial roles in shaping the identity of teachers and pre-service teachers, and understanding how individuals consider their actions, experiences, and activities for the standing of their personal, professional, and social identities through the exercise of agency. There are two types of agency that became the primary consideration for this work: life-course agency and identity-agency, which will be elaborated in further details in the part that follows.

3.2 Identity

Questions of language and identity have drawn interest from many researchers who have looked at that field from a different point of views, theories, and methodologies, and who have conducted studies across multiple settings. This phenomenon causes new ideas to emerge, new challenges to be defended, and differing perspectives to occur. Norton (2000, p. 4) stated that identity is “the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future.” Here, Norton emphasises several components that shape identity (1) a person's relationship to the world, (2) how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and what (3) possibilities for the future that may bring for that person. The world covers the time and space or context where that person lives and interacts with other people, which indicates that identity is not fixed, but is subject to change both in terms of time and space. Hence, at the same point in one's life, one might have different aspects of identity in relation to the different social spaces one occupies.

Going from the description of identity that Norton has established, Gee (2000) gives identity a more intimate and complex description as the way individuals understand and perform their multiple identities which are connected not to their 'internal states' but their performances in a society. In specific contexts, identities which may be congruent with that context are displayed to certain people. They will result in certain behaviours and interactions, resulting in what Gee (2000, p. 99) refers to as being the "kind of a person" or the formation of a certain identity that other people believe to be that person's identity. From this notion, it appears that there are multiple "kinds of a person" within an individual depending on what context they are performing, in the way other people recognise and understand individuals' portrayal of a "kind of a person" is what Gee refers to as identity. An example of this "kind of a person" could be a woman who picks up her children from the school daycare service in the evening, prepares food, and other daily needs for them. At the same time, during the day she is also a commanding officer in an army base where she gives orders to her subordinates and is respected by her colleagues. The display of how these identities are performed differently marks how identity is not fixed and has different aspects depending on social spaces.

This idea came from the notion that individuals cannot perform alone to shape identities that they showcase to people other than themselves. Individuals portray one of their identity spectrums depending on who they are interacting with. However, Gee (2000) argues that every individual has what he calls a "core identity" that holds more uniformly, for themselves and others, across contexts. Gee uses this term to define identity and how that can be used as an analytical tool for research on educational practices and theory. To understand the definition of identity or "core identity" in a clearer light, Gee (2000) proposes four ways to perceive identity. He believes that the categorisation enables people to see identity more clearly and to make it simpler to understand what it means to be "a kind of a person". Gee's (2000) identity description reflects Norton's recognition that identity is not fixed, that there are multiple identities in a person and there are different ways to view identity of a person.

The first of the four ways that Gee (2000) proposes is nature-identity. It is what an individual has without having to do anything to accomplish it but by just being, such as being born a twin like himself, or being born to have blue eyes, curly hair, and dark skin. It

is a state of being, and other people recognise individuals by this feature although that state probably does not contribute much to the identity formation of the individual.

The second way to view identity is by institution-identity which is achieved through the cooperation between individuals and an institution where they belong. For example, a doctor is a member of a profession achieved through lengthy education and training done by an individual who then registers to get legal recognition of those skills by an institution. Individuals can go through all the process and training to be a doctor, but an organisation gives the official recognition of becoming a doctor or the authorisation of the profession. Gee (2000) uses his profession as a professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison as an example of this institutional identity. He emphasises the importance of the combination of power between the authorising body and himself as a person given the authority. The institution defines the laws, regulations, or principles to provide him with the rights and authority to carry out and hold the responsibilities of the given identity as a professor by the institution, and he meets and completes all the requirements to make him worthy of the title.

The third category of identity is the discursive-identity which elaborates how individuals present themselves in a certain way and the people around them perceive their personalities. Individuals can be recognised as quiet, charming, funny, or serious because of the ways they interact with others. The individual whose identity is on display holds power to exhibit certain characteristics. Meanwhile, other people are subjected to such displays to create an impression of his or her characteristics. The interactions are crucial in making the discourse about what kind of identity is perceived by other people.

The fourth type of identity is the affinity-perspective of identity described as the way individuals associate themselves with a group of people across multiple spaces and times that do specific activities to enable them to embrace the identity of the “affinity group”. Gee (2000, p. 105) describes affinity as “allegiance to, access to, and participation in specific practices that provide each of the group’s members the requisite experience”. An example of this affinity group would be fans of Taylor Swift calling themselves “Swifties”. They participate in group activities such as making online fan clubs, attending the concerts, buying memorabilia and albums, wearing their club’s hoodies, and so forth. The strength of this affinity-identity lies on the participation of the group members to share icons,

exchange artefacts, and carry out the activities related to their idols and their projects with the purpose to create a powerful sense of identity and belonging to that group.

With regard to identity perception from people outside the individuals, one identity aspect of a person can be more prominent than the others, depending on how that person carries himself in an environment. In Gee's (2000) case, his identity as identical twin will become more prominent when he is attending "twins activity" events. The fact that he is also a professor in the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a title that he accomplished after completing numerous requirements, becomes less relevant at this social gathering, although being a twin is not something he worked hard to achieve; he was recognised nevertheless because of it.

Gee (2000) establishes the four ways to view identity and introduces the concept of core identity, and then S. Hall and Gay (2011) propose a slightly different idea of identity. They consider that identity is not essentialist, but a strategic and positional one, thus it is not a stable concept of fundamental self that remains the same throughout time. It is the pieces of self that are always the same across time and those pieces can change along with the experiences shared with other people.

S. Hall and Gay (2011) believe that the concept of identity does not reflect the stable core of the self of an individual but rather unfolds from beginning to end through all the vicissitudes of history. They further argue that identities are fragmented and fractured unity, constructed by past events, discourses, practices and positions and always continuously shifting and altering. Although S. Hall and Gay (2011) were not in tune with the core-self component of identity from Gee (2000), they agree that identity can change along with the experience shared with other people, the discourse that plays roles in shaping identities, and how individuals perform their identity fragments in a society. That idea is in line with the one that Giddens (1991) proposes, "[t]he reflexive project of the self...consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives" (p. 5), which is a powerful way of conceptualising continuity and change in a person's identity over time.

If Giddens suggests that the fluidity of identity through the narratives is important, Riley (2006) suggests that personal identity is the result of the interplay between individual awareness of social identity, which is constructed in and through discourse, and the context or place within which a learner is living. Not only does he accentuate the social identity but

also the importance of discourse that involves social interactions and the people within that society. From this perspective, her research argues that research from the past that dealt with identity mostly focused on the external factors that shape one's identity and overlooked *the self* and their perception of the world, subjective opinion, and social worlds. Riley (2006) considers that such research misses the details of how the person contributes to the identity formation. Riley argues that the architecture of personhood consists of the person, interpersonal dialogue and the membership of social sub-groups. Therefore, he suggests that it is also necessary to not only take a look at their social worlds and environment but also to include choice-making spanning over a lifetime, experiences, and the interpretation that an individual has about their life history to gain a more comprehensive understanding of that individual.

From their long interest in the identity of second language learners and users, Norton and Toohey (2011) and Norton (2013) present a body of work that does address the individuals, which answers the concern about the lack of focus on *the self* that Riley (2006) pointed out. In her work, Norton (2013) encourages research on identities to focus more closely on the individual's relationship with broader social contexts, within which the identities of the individuals are shaped, asserted, negotiated, and struggled over.

To understand the implementation of the ideas of identity, some researchers put weight on the importance of investigating the internal aspect of identity making (Fridolfsson & Elander, 2013; Karolewski, 2011). These researchers have worked on, proved and challenged the theories, as well as proposed new ideas and findings in the world of identity research such as in the following examples. Holland et al. (1998) researched the identity of a group of people and their journey to embrace different identities. As one of the main researchers on identity production, Holland's work focused on cultural artefacts and social tools such as discourse and interactions with others. They investigated the identity formation of Alcoholics Anonymous participants. They used a framework called *figured worlds* which they describe as "a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognised, the significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others (p. 52)." The stages of expressing the journey through the narratives helped the participants to embrace and configure their identity and shape a new one each time they achieved one milestone. The close encounter with the participants through their narratives provided a

real-time and factual impression of what the journey to negotiate, navigate, and embrace identity looked like.

Holland et al.'s (1998) work allowed participants to be independent and self-authoring in defining what kind of identity they wanted to shape. The researchers' roles were to use the cultural artefact as the tool to liberate the participants by controlling the environment instead of the participants. Through the participant's personal narratives, Holland et al. (1998) embarked on a journey to uncover their complicated identity development. Through the dialogical approach, it was revealed that for the participants to achieve recovery, they had to accept a new identity as drinker before they could adopt the identity of an alcoholic. To achieve sobriety and receive sobriety badge, they had to welcome their identity as an alcoholic. The milestones identified by AA, therefore, become highly significant reifications in their figured worlds because by expressing their narratives participants were enunciating the importance of artefacts and their presence in the research.

There has been a wealth of research drawing on notions of identity in recent years. One of the studies that can be related to a social phenomenon is conducted by Baerveldt (2015). This study focuses on identity, especially focusing on the cultural aspect of identity and considered the ways individuals wanted others to perceive them and their understanding of their inner self. Baerveldt (2015) studies how women who lived in Muslim majority countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, and Middle Eastern nations chose to wear a headscarf. One of the reasons these women adopted this life choice was because this was one of the identity statements to present a modest, fashionable, and convenient lifestyle while at the same time, portray their cultural identity in relation to the countries they were from. Most women from these countries wore the headscarf because of its cultural value rather than due to religious reasons. Their reasons for doing so were not because they were oppressed, although people from western communities may consider that women wearing hijab were oppressed. On the contrary, Baerveldt (2015) further explained that women who lived in Muslim minority countries like India or western society like European and American countries chose to wear hijab as a sign of resistance and a political statement as an effort to fight back the stereotypes and discrimination that the *hijabis* often experienced. The example indicates how society has significant roles in shaping one's identity and how the subjects struggled with their internal states that had led to the presentation of their identity. Individuals do the same thing for different reasons

when they are placed in a different society, and wearing hijab or headscarf is just an example of this situation. The participants demonstrate how identities are presented to the audience as the women in Muslim majority and Muslim minority countries chose their outfit as the representation of their identities.

The social context and its influence on identity formation vary, emphasising the fluid nature of identity. Although the role of society in shaping identity is relatively prominent, it is also critical to note that individuals make choices to understand their relationship to the world and how they maintain the relationship across time and space (Norton, 2000). It is necessary to consider the internal and external elements of identity and the nurture and nature of things. Also, the influence of others (M. Clarke, 2008) can become a factor that shapes identity, as individuals develop themselves while making choices to suit their needs of survival, self-actualisation, and representation to connect them with the society in learning and achieving professionalism to develop an identity. Wenger (2000) believes that identity extends in time and is a trajectory that includes where a person has been and where s/he is going. Therefore, it is essential to consider the history of the individual and what they want to do in the future. The combination of past history and future plans become the experience of the present. This present study aims to pursue research on identity using a dialogical approach (Sullivan, 2012) to get an intimate description of individual identity. Furthermore, it also aims to emphasise the meaning-making and collaborative work between the research participants and the researcher (Silseth & Arnseth, 2011), which will be elaborated further in the Methodology chapter.

3.3 Language Teacher learning

Prophet Muhammad once said in one of his *hadiths*¹⁵ ”seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave” which nowadays remains a popular adage among people from different cultures. It holds so much meaning that learning should never stop during an individual’s lifetime. The process of becoming a learner continues as individuals decide to take lessons from life experiences and choose what they want to learn and embed an identity as learners in their daily life (Molden & Dweck, 2006). Even when someone has attained the highest degree of

¹⁵ “The hadith is the channel of the Sunna exemplary by the Prophet Mohammad and that it is the guidance to understand God's (Allah's) revelations and the one that cannot be ignored to. The hadith, a literature that has a decisive influence and are considered a source of legal and religious inspiration, become one of the sources of Islamic mandate second only to the Qur'an (Aulia et al., 2017, p. 1).”

education and has been involved in a professional environment, such as engineer, doctor, or teacher, they should keep learning within their work contexts to improve themselves.

In the context of language teacher learning, they do this step since the beginning of their career and then continually develop it in the social contexts such as in classrooms and schools, or when they participate in training and education for teachers (Freeman & Johnson, 1998). In defining language teacher development, Mann (2005) acknowledges the terms of teacher training, teacher preparation, teacher education, teacher development, and professional development. However, the term teacher training according to Mann has a grievous connotation due to the meaning of the word training as "to train is to instil habits or skills" (Edge, 2003, p. 7), which can be equated to the training of animals. This inappropriate use of the term has led to the adoption of a better term, thus the term teacher preparation is used. Teacher preparation makes it possible to embrace the acknowledgement that teacher development can cover all kinds of learning stages, including the early ones. Teacher preparation is then followed by professional development which occurs during teacher's employment (p. 104).

For new teachers, there are stages that they can develop themselves, using tools available from their environment to help them construct their personhood (Mori, 2003) by engaging in social interaction such as conferences, parent-teacher meetings, attending workshops and training or by being involved in common social interaction with fellow teachers in the school where they work. It is necessary for the new teachers to be aware that the journey into becoming an English teacher for a person who used to be an English learner includes stages of identity shift, modification, and learning trajectories (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). The learning trajectories not only reflect the academic aspect but also the challenges that they face in the classroom.

At the outset of their teaching experiences, new teachers might have expectations about how they will deal with their students. However, there is a difference between their expectation and classroom reality, which is known as 'praxis shock' (Friedman, 2004; Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002; Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013). Kelchtermans and Ballet (2002, p. 105) define praxis shock as "teacher's confrontation with the realities and responsibilities of being a classroom teacher that puts their beliefs and ideas about teaching to the test, challenges some of them and confirms others". Meanwhile, Ballantyne (2007) uses the term to describe a condition where new teachers' experiences and expectations are

‘shattered’ and the new teachers are at a complete loss so that they turn to survival skills to overcome the situation instead of actually learning how to do their work as teachers effectively. Praxis shock, although it can be an unpleasant experience for the new teachers, apparently provides a better training ground for them (Lampert & Ball, 1999; Stuart & Thurlow, 2000) compared to the theories and practices that new teachers are exposed to in their formal teacher education at university or college.

Referring to the information about praxis shock above, the function of teacher education is to make guidance and clues available for the new teachers on how to make pedagogic choices and how to use appropriate methods to teach L2. Furthermore, teacher education can also help new teachers deal with praxis shock and reduce the negative impact on their professional development. Teacher education can provide guidance for the new teachers on how to deal with their anxiety, how to socialise and promote the technical skills in teaching including how to design their teaching material and courses. Those things in the stage of teacher education, according to M. A. Clarke (1982), are crucial as they give stability and a sense of security for the new teachers (p. 442). They can gain confidence and have firmer grasps of their classroom reality and deal with their inexperience better as they plunge themselves into the teaching practices and education.

For EFL pre-service teachers the early stage of their teacher training is designed to familiarise them with the common terms used in the daily language of the classroom (Freeman & Richards, 1996) such as words or phrases ‘*accuracy, concept, checking, drilling, eliciting, feedback, fluency, intonation ...*’ (p. 247). It is necessary to make new teachers familiar not only with the terms but also with the environment and school culture where they are trained. Once the new teachers are familiar with the terms and technicalities of teaching, they can use artefacts to support their learning such as the use of their mentor teacher, peer and lesson plan to guide them in doing their work (Johnson & Golombek, 2003). Furthermore, Johnson and Golombek (2003) think that as teachers progress with their teaching activities, the use of a reflective journal becomes indispensable for a new teacher to keep a record of their own learning, trajectories, and teaching activities to help them see their own activities from a different perspective.

Johnson and Golombek (2003) explain that most new teachers are dependent on the tools that they use for teaching, such as a detailed lesson plan that tells them how and what to teach. New teachers will acquire the skills to teach independently as they delve deeper

into the world of teaching, to the point that they will not need such a detailed instruction listed in the lesson plan to guide them. Besides the use of tools such as journal and lesson plans, it is crucial for new teachers to build social relationships within their teaching contexts.

Lieberman and Miller (1999) state that the feeling of isolation that new teachers often experience can be a challenge, thus there are social elements that can help them adapt to the new environment. When new teachers move in new contexts in school which are different from their daily life at home; they develop new relationships with colleagues and students. The tools and social elements are the factors that contribute to an evolving identity that is by now transitioning from learner to professional teacher.

Teacher learning not only applies to new teachers, but also to teachers who are experienced and whose career is settled. Mann (2005) asserts that the learning and development are ‘continuing process of becoming (p. 105)’, which means that the process is continuous throughout the time someone bears the identity as a teacher. The statement is in line with the idea from Roberts (1998) who argues that a teacher can continue to develop and learn if they are doing the process of reflecting on, monitoring, and evaluating themselves as the possible basis for long-term change (p. 305). Conducting the steps of reflecting, monitoring, and evaluating helps teachers to view their activities separately from their own identity, thus they can conduct a fair assessment on their progress. There are several things that can be used to conduct this sort of assessment such as reports after every teaching session, checklists of activities (James, 2001), and questionnaires that can help them reflect on their activities (Richards & Farrell, 2005). Reflective writing can also be used as a mean to conduct self-evaluation (Appel, 1995), although nowadays keeping the series of thoughts online allows wider reach of audience and teachers can interact with their students through the commentary on their blogs or online journal (Towndrow, 2004). Considering the importance of teacher learning before, in the beginning, and during the career span of teachers, it is essential that teachers keep doing it as a part of their professional trajectory. The collaboration between teachers, environment, education contexts, and the people with whom the teachers are interacting can support them develop their professional identity.

3.4 Pre-service teacher identity

Teachers establish their identity through various means such as life experiences, interactions with other people, and social contexts where they conduct their practice. Teaching is a skill acquired over time, and learning how to teach is a complicated venture requiring a lot more than just teaching materials and a set of teaching methods (Alsup, 2006). It involves a journey where the pre-service teacher is accepting their new identity as a teacher and balancing between their two identities, before and after becoming a teacher (Britzman, 2003; Danielewicz, 2001). Pre-service teachers might not have mastered the skills of the teacher because they are individuals who are in the 'shifting contexts' that Britzman (2003) describes; they are in a transition from being students to becoming teachers.

The complexity of teaching makes the process of identity development in pre-service teachers different from that of the teachers because pre-service teachers' professional identity has not yet settled. Their learning histories have substantial influence in pre-service teachers' understanding about the teaching profession and how to carry out the job (Chang-Kredl & Kingsley, 2014). This learning experience also provides an idea about what an ideal teacher should look like, which becomes a kind of model that pre-service teachers want to imitate (Hudson, Usak, Fančovičová, Erdoğan, & Prokop, 2010). Other factors that contribute to pre-service teacher identity development are personal histories, their teacher education program, and in what school they are placed to conduct the teaching practice (Haniford, 2010).

Through discursive components of identity (Gee, 2000), pre-service teachers prepare themselves to be teachers. This is not a solitary process, as it is believed that the presence of others is essential in identity development (Britzman, 1994; S. Hall & Gay, 2011), which can help pre-service teachers to compare and contrast, and also to make themselves distinguishable from their fellows. Furthermore, the interconnected nature of past, present, and future identities of pre-service teachers serves to assist them to manage the continuity of identity construction (Heikonen, Pietarinen, Pyhältö, Toom, & Soini, 2017). This way, they can maintain their understanding of themselves to deal with the changes that they experience within their contexts (Tynjälä & Heikkinen, 2011).

In the Indonesian context, Mambu (2017) has researched pre-service teachers using narrative analysis to examine their work and implementation of their perceived identity as

non-native speakers in their teaching practices. The work involved two final-year university students who had just completed their teaching practice at different schools. Results of the analysis show how Diva, a former debater, used that background identity to deal with difficult situations in the classroom and to establish a stronger position as a teacher. She dealt with students who challenged her teaching ability and her classroom management skills by implementing a debate-like classroom nuance. She used terms that were familiar within the debating discourse such as *motions*, *rebuttal*, and *arguments*, encouraged her students to extend their vocabulary by asking them many questions to keep them busy and prevented them from having pointless conversations with their friends during her class. Furthermore, she gained the upper hand with that identity as a debater, considering that her mentor teacher and her students did not have that experience.

The experience of the second participant, Bruno, was slightly different. Bruno was not as confident as Diva. When he was asked to describe his teaching activities, he mentioned that he encouraged his students to speak more without mentioning the specifics. Bruno placed himself as 'an ordinary teacher' who tried to be communicative. His initial challenge in teaching, however, was discovered when he reflected on his experience of having a pre-service teacher in his class when he was in high school. He did not behave very nicely to the pre-service teacher. This self-reflection made him aware that he might be treated the same way as he treated the teachers in the past. He worried that he could not practice teaching if he dealt with the students who were lazy, naughty and difficult to deal with, much like his old self. However, it came as a surprise when he did not get negative behaviour from his students. His confidence grew slowly, and he developed a romanticised idea of ideal teaching when he said that teaching was like doing social work, and he had to give the best of himself to the class.

From the two examples, the participants displayed how they evolved their teaching skills from interactions with the students. Diva used her past experience as a debater to boost her teaching and made her perform well in her teaching practice. Bruno used his own experience as a naughty student to navigate his teaching skills and the ways he interacted with his students. He knew why he did not like his teacher and he did his best not to be that kind of teacher, and eventually, that awareness led him to perform to his best ability. They match what Craig (2013) expressed that pre-service teachers use the tools available from their surrounding and within themselves to negotiate their identity, how they cope with the

issues of identity shift, and how they are struggling for the establishment of their professional identity (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013). The tools could help them to explore the complex relationship between beliefs, assumptions, perceptions, and professional education, and personal experiences that are shaping the development of their teacher identity (Bukor, 2015).

From those two cases of Indonesian university students, it is apparent that although the pre-service teachers were in similar situations, they dealt with their identity development differently. Their personal experiences, expectation, past behaviours and school contexts helped them shape their teacher identity. To be able to shape their identity, both teachers and pre-service teachers need to make choices, contemplate their options, and consider the context of their identity-making by using their agency, which will be explored further in part 3.6 of this chapter.

3.5 Teacher identity

As M. Clarke (2008) indicates, individuals have to consider factors that make them a teacher when they are doing their teaching job in the classroom. It takes different ways to shape identities from an English learner (Day, 2002; Gao, 2014; Kolb & Kolb, 2009; Lopez, 2010), to a pre-service teacher (Al-Jadidi, 2009; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Mockler, 2011), and eventually to becoming a well-established teacher (Avalos & De Los Rios, 2013; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000). It takes more than just a shift in identity, but also adapting to the context where the identity is shaped, reshaped and constructed (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). Even after the identity as a teacher is established, changes still may happen as individuals interact with other teachers, students, school policy and other contacts with another environment (Johnson, 2006).

In the previous discussion of identity, Gee (2000) defines four ways to view identity and asserted the importance of using identity as a lens for research in education. From his perspective, the most salient perspective for considering teacher identity development would be institutional identity. It takes both the institution to make the position of a teacher official, and individuals to undertake the necessary actions to make them worthy of the title. In discussing teachers' professional identity, there is the notion of agency, or the

active pursuit of professional development and learning in accordance with the teacher's goals, which will be elaborated in part 3.6 of this chapter.

This subsection focuses on the ways teachers perceive their professional identity (Beijaard et al., 2000), personal identity (Alsup, 2006), and what it takes to be the teacher they aim to be. It is essential that teachers understand their "core identity" (Gee, 2000, p. 99). Otherwise, they will find it challenging to shape their identity in different social contexts, which leads to the way Sachs (2005) succinctly describes what teacher professional identity means:

Teacher professional identity then stands at the core of the teaching profession. It provides a framework for teachers to construct their own ideas of "how to be", "how to act" and "how to understand" their work and their place in society. Importantly, teacher identity is not something that is fixed nor is it imposed; rather it is negotiated through experience and the sense that is made of that experience (p. 15).

The fluidity of professional identity from that statement is evident and aligns with the nature of identity that is constantly changing (Riley, 2006). Even though a teacher has an established career, their professional identity can still develop and improve, adapting to the nature of their work, as they utilise agentic actions (M. O. Hamid & Nguyen, 2016). The social context within which the teachers are constructing their identity will help them to make choices. Teachers can react to policies, adapting to changes and mostly finding out "how to be" and "how to act" as a teacher.

From the elaboration above, teacher identity is an ongoing process to achieve maturity in terms of professionalism. Time, space, and life history contribute to the identity formation of a teacher. There are also influences from the outside world that support the identity formation. The formation of teacher identity using past life experiences, environment and its impact on identity development, include studies that can give a depiction of the importance of external influences in teacher identity development. The work of Sisson (2016) gives an account of teacher identity in the case of a 58-year-old African-American Muslim teacher in a public preschool in the United States, whom he calls CeCe. In this narrative inquiry, through semi-structured interviews, Sisson (2016) gathers data to learn CeCe's experience to understand the relationship, power play, and development that shaped her identity as a teacher. CeCe used an unpleasant experience she

had had as a learner as a tool to help her become a better teacher. She grew up in a loving home although the world in the classroom was different. She was ignored by the teacher because she had multiple minority identities: African American female Muslim in the US. Until she was in high school, she believed that she was a low-achieving student. Eventually, she gave up her education because she thought that it was not worth pursuing. However, when one of her community college lecturers reached out to her and convinced her that she "had a lot of chances in life and don't miss it", CeCe was challenged and became motivated. She went back to school and pursued a Master's degree and became an excellent teacher herself. She positively projected her past experiences to provide a fun, caring learning environment for her students when she became a teacher. The impact of the community college lecturer showed that the influence of others played an important role in the shaping of identity. In short, Sisson's work shows that identity is developed throughout a lifetime, particularly in the case of CeCe. Drawing on life experiences and using them to author identities establishes new power relationships, and accepting that the influence of others in teacher's identity development is crucial (Sisson, 2016).

Through a different lens, Bukor (2015) investigates and views the manner in which three language teachers balanced out their personal identities and professional identities using a holistic perspective. The teachers expressed their beliefs, perceptions, and interpretations through autobiographical journals, visualisation, and interviews which were gathered for six months. Bukor's (2015) results showed how teachers' personal life experiences, education, and how they chose their jobs contributed to their identity development. Their personal identity was the non-fixed state of teacher identity because it could change and would influence the development of their identity as a teacher. This is a reason why it is important to see each teacher as having elements of continuity across the development of their identities because experiences and learning from the past are significant to individuals' present and possible future identities. Life history and what individuals have been through can contribute as a tool to understand how individuals comprehend who they are (Anspal, Eisenschmidt, & Lofstrom, 2012; Bukor, 2015; Søreide, 2006). They also help individuals to form a relationship with people in their lives and to connect with their environment or social milieu which they share through life experiences (Coldron & Smith, 1999; Conelly, 1999; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Goodson, 1992).

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that teacher identity can be seen to be deeply rooted in one's biography (Bukor, 2015). Additionally, the role of significant others in the making of identity (M. Clarke, 2008) and their life experiences are useful to develop a professional identity (Anspal et al., 2012). By understanding and separating their personal and professional point of views of teachers' identity (Korthagen & Wubbels, 1991; Meijer, Korthagen, & Vasalos, 2009; Søreide, 2006) they grow to become the teacher they aim to be.

3.6 Teacher agency

In the introductory paragraph of this chapter, the concept of agency was mentioned. The notion of agency has a significant role in the education world and has drawn on different theoretical frameworks and definition in inquiring into agency. The notion of agency has evolved depending on when and what context it is studied (Ahearn, 2001; Feryok, 2012; Hitlin & Elder, 2007; van Lier, 2008). To understand the concept better, researchers have been working on research into agency across different fields such as anthropology (Ortner, 2006), sociology (Castellani & Hafferty, 2009), education and teachers (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Hökkä, Vähäsantanen, & Mahlakaarto, 2017; Kayi-Aydar, 2015; Rogers & Wetzel, 2013), and on studies of identity (Chang-Kredl & Kingsley, 2014; Haniford, 2010; Loo, Trakulkasemsuk, & Jimarkon Zilli, 2017; Necdet, Kasim, Yahya, & Monica Miller, 2017). In teaching and teacher agency domains, research has been abundant as well. Moate and Ruohotie-Lyhty (2014) and van Lier (2008) explore teacher agency in the classroom, and White (2016) investigates how teachers use their agency to deal with classroom conflict. Sinha and Hanuscin (2017) focus on how teachers develop their leadership skills, while Hökkä et al. (2017) use agency to examine the development of teachers' identity and agency as a group. The works of these researchers showcase how agency is exercised, and they explain the relationship between identity and agency. I now turn to how the idea of agency has been defined.

Agency is recognised as the driving force for someone to make choices and decision within their social environment and the presence of agency can be felt and seen across different contexts. For example, in the education context, Ahearn (2001, p. 111) describes agency as "action potential, mediated by social, interactional, cultural, institutional and other contextual factors." Agency needs mediation and context to be considered as

meaningful and represents the manner in which individuals shape their identity. Both teachers and learners can exercise their agency to direct the course of their teaching and learning. For instance, within the education context, Biesta and Tedder (2007) believe that agency is a teacher's capacity to validate and execute their beliefs and understanding about what is good in the education field. To understand the ideas and concepts of agency from learner and teacher points of view, research can be implemented in various ways, across different fields, and using different platforms.

Alexander (1992) as one of the researchers who work on agency, suggests that agency is a concept closely related to culture, that cannot be shaped by being on the opposite side of the culture. This means that agency cannot be constructed if individuals do not have the features that represent the culture where they live. It is because the action of an agent is a representation of their environment and culture. Therefore, agency is connected to the symbolism of internal capacities to reproduce their culture. Furthermore, Alexander (1992, p. 11) also believes that the discussions of agency are "celebratory and heroic" where individuals who have agency are seen as rational, autonomous, and knowledgeable and have other positive attributes that make them seem powerful on their own. This empowering notion causes the liberty individuals have in making decisions to be placed as essentially important (Holstein & Gubrium, 1999; Meyer & Jepperson, 2000). However, there are researchers who disagree with this notion, such as Biesta and Tedder (2007) who argue that the importance of liberty in making a decision is an imbalanced view of agency. They consider that agency can be shaped through the relationships and activities that individuals carry out within a social environment. This idea is in line with the definition from Ahearn (2001, p. 112) that sees agency as the "socioculturally mediated capacity to act", putting importance on the social context where individuals are operating. That being said, it is to be understood that no matter how powerful one is they need their social context to exert their agency, which suggests that agency is interdependent.

In line with the interdependence ideas of agency, Duranti (2004) believes that agency is one's ability to manage and control one's behaviours and the awareness to realise that their actions have an impact in the world and on other people's lives. He provides a working definition of agency that includes three basic properties: 1) control over one's own behaviour; 2) producing actions that affect other entities as well as self; 3) producing actions that are the object of evaluation. Hence, with this establishment of the idea, Duranti

(2004) emphasises that agency is not independent as it also affects other entities and can be evaluated by others.

Although the works of the researchers above contribute greatly in the education field, there are a number of disagreements among researchers. The definition of agency that Ahearn (2001) proposed was challenged by Hitlin and Elder (2007), who thought that the definition could be misleading, especially because the idea is considered abstract and does not help the researcher to identify agentic actions. They contend that Ahearn’s (2001) definition overlooks the individual capabilities to implement skills and thoughts in exercising agency. To overcome the issues of abstractness of agency, Hitlin and Elder (2007) agree with the ideas that Emirbayer and Mische (1998) proposed about three ways to understand agency as:

a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented toward the future (as a capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment) (p. 963).

With this manner to view agency set in motion, Hitlin and Elder (2007) describe four variants of human agency: existential, identity, pragmatic, and life course summarised in Table 3-1 below:

Table 3-1: Four variants of human agency

Agency type	Analytic scope	Temporal scope	Characteristics	Representative theorists
Existential	All circumstances	All temporal horizons	Pre-reflective capacity to defy social dictates fundamental elements of “free will”	Mead
Pragmatic	Novel situations	“knife’s edge” present moment	Ability to innovate when routines break down	Dewey/Joas/ Heise/Smith- Lovin

Life-course	Life pathways	Long-range future life plans	Umbrella term for retrospective analysis of decisions made at turning points and transactions	Elder/Causen
Identity	Routine situations	Situationally- oriented goal attainment	Capacity to act within socially prescribed role expectation	Stryker/Bruke

(Hitlin & Elder, 2007, p. 171)

The current study adopts two of these four variants as the core framework for analysis: identity-agency and life-course agency which will be elaborated further in the next part of this chapter.

3.7 Life-course agency and identity-agency of teachers

Before moving forward to the application of this life-course agency framework, it is necessary to understand life-course and its relationship to the execution of agency. Two of the earlier researchers who investigated the relationship between agency and life course were Emirbayer and Mische (1998). Agency, according to them, is formed based on the social context and the relationship between the actor of the agency and their environment. The environment that is needed to help formulate agency is structured although it can also be pliant when necessary (p. 973). They believe that agency is a dialogical process that happens throughout the lifetime of individuals. The changes within one's identity upon using agency for one's benefit might be slight and unnoticed; however, during the life-course, changes are noticeable when it is observed from one point of time to another. This encourages researchers to study agency in its full complexity within the flow of time, because they believe that the agentic dimension of social action can only be recorded, understood, and analysed if it is complete and observed over the course of a specific time span, an elongated trajectory covering the life thus far. During a lifetime, they believe that individuals experience changes in their identity. This is the reason why agentic actions

need to be observed in a three dimensional way. This manner of viewing the agentic actions are the "iterational, the projective, and the practical-evaluative dimensions" of agency (Biesta & Tedder, 2007, p. 135). They encourage those undertaking research on identity to take account of agency and identity over the life course to comprehend how individuals change the way they perceive themselves, and how the relationship between their past, present and future is connected through time.

The first framework that is used in this study is life-course agency. According to the definition from Hitlin and Elder (2007), life-course agency is "attempts to exert influence to shape one's life trajectory" (p. 182). In this context and definition, they assert the two important components of life course agency: (1) a situated form of agency or the making of choices that have a long-term impact in the life of the agent, and (2) self-reflective belief about one's ability to achieve that life-course goal. To support the idea, Biesta and Tedder (2007) consider that agency from a life-course perspective should be seen as the ability to "exert control over and give direction to one's life", but it is not entirely within individuals' power to create changes in their life. Additionally, aside from the control, individuals also make choices based on the available opportunities and limitations during their life history and the situation in their environment that allows them to make such choices (Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003).

The following works of research were conducted using a life-course perspective across different fields. Fabbre (2017) investigates gender dysphoria and transformation, a work of research that involves the situated form of agency to make choices to become male-to-female transgenders who opted to change their gender identity later in their life. Studies in self-reflective belief of life goals were conducted by Ferrer, Grenier, Brotman, and Koehn (2017) who investigated the links between structural inequalities and the lived experience of ageing among racialised older people, while Kasif and Band-Winterstein (2017) work on a study of sexuality of older women, conducted through a semi-structured interview. In a different context, Dobash and Dobash (2016) uncover the transformation of criminal identity and the identity of domestic violence perpetrators. These researchers investigated the experiences of individuals who experienced changes and transformation to shape and reshape their identities throughout their life-course.

In the education field, Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) combined the life-course agency perspective from Hitlin and Elder (2007) with the tripartite relationship of self from

Bakhtin’s writing (2010; 1984). Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) adapted the tripartite configuration that consists of: “(1) the *I-for-me* relationship, an ongoing dialogue between the fluid, chaotic self that looks out on the world and the more stable notion of *me* sustained and accrued over time, (2) *I-for-other* is used to describe way in which others perceive and author me into existence, for example, through their expectations of me, and, (3) *other-for-me* is the way in which I perceive and author those around me, by what I am prepared to share or contribute to them” (p. 49).

In this work, Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) aim to gain more understanding of the participants’ life-course agency by working on their experience in learning English as a foreign language. Their research involved 12 student-teachers who learned English in the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Data was compiled using reflective paper to chart the participants’ relationship with their English learning. Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) name the activities found during the data collection into these categories as seen in Table 3-2:

Table 3-2: Life-course agency tripartite configuration

Life-course agency		
I-for-me	I-for-other	Other-for-me
Being fascinated	Delivering	Connecting
Empowering	Retiring	Taking a stance
Questioning former beliefs	Expecting others to deliver	Entering a new space
Questioning of self	Meeting expectation of others	Finding own goals

Each of the categories has unique features, depicting how individuals use themselves, other people, and their environment to exercise their agency to shape their professional identity. For example, the ”retiring” agency can be interpreted as the way individuals retire, stop, or give up an effort to achieve something because their environment was not supportive of their decision-making.

In their work, Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) implemented this framework in relation to pre-service teachers. However, this present study will stretch it further by implementing it in relation to teachers in school and private tuition contexts, and for pre-service teachers, as they begin to act and contemplate actions beyond their graduation from the teacher education in university. The reason this framework is chosen is that it fits the

interest of this study as it looks at teachers and pre-service teachers and their relationship with their careers, trajectories, and choices that have led them to their current situation. Furthermore, research in this field within the Indonesian context is relatively new and not many researchers work on this speciality using this framework. Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015, 2016) are significant contributors to the interpretation of data in this study, both for the life-course agency and identity-agency.

The second framework that will be used in this present study is identity-agency adopted from the four variants of human agency from Hitlin and Elder (2007) in Table 3-1 above. Identity-agency refers to the representation of social behaviour enacted in habitual actions that become a pattern. It provides a platform for individuals to commit themselves to their identity and the behaviour that aids them to form their identity (p. 179). The social behaviour is conducted within an environment that works as a medium (with physical, social, and emotional aspects) to facilitate individuals to construct their physical, social, and emotional spectrums of identity (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). It can be understood that identity-agency works when individuals use the events and experience around themselves to take actions (the agency dimension) to achieve their aims and purposes (the identity dimension). Hitlin and Elder (2007) emphasise the importance of agentic individuals who are engaged in social activities and interactions. In the teacher education context, the social engagement during teaching practice and its preparation function as the middle-medium between pre-service teachers in a school or education context where they have conducted teaching and learning activities and the ways agentic actions get feedback, responses and reaction from the people around them (Eteläpelto, Vähäsantanen, & Hökkä, 2015).

Identity-agency works as a framework to provide teachers and pre-service teachers with a platform to shape their professional identity and exert their agency in language teaching (Eteläpelto et al., 2015; Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016; Schatz-Oppenheimer & Dvir, 2014). To make the idea clearer, Vähäsantanen (2015) defines professional identity as “a work history-based constellation of teachers' perceptions of themselves as professional actors ... [which] encompasses the individual's current professional interests, views on teaching and on the students' learning, and prospects” (p. 3). From here, it matters what a pre-service teacher does in a school or education context and how they establish their roles and perform their identity. To achieve the desired professional identity, pre-service teachers need to develop their professional agency, a term known as “the

capacity in pre-service teachers to influence, make choices, and take stances that will affect their professional identities” (Eteläpelto et al., 2015, p. 662) which otherwise can be interpreted as identity-agency.

Identity-agency in this study is investigated by focusing on pre-service teachers during the stage of their teacher education to understand their identity formation to become teachers. Meanwhile, their life after graduating from university was captured using life-course agency, which covers a more expansive scope of their dynamic trajectories. The framework of identity agency is presented in Figure 3-1, a chart that Eteläpelto et al. (2015, p. 663) use to depict the relationship between the three entities of agency.

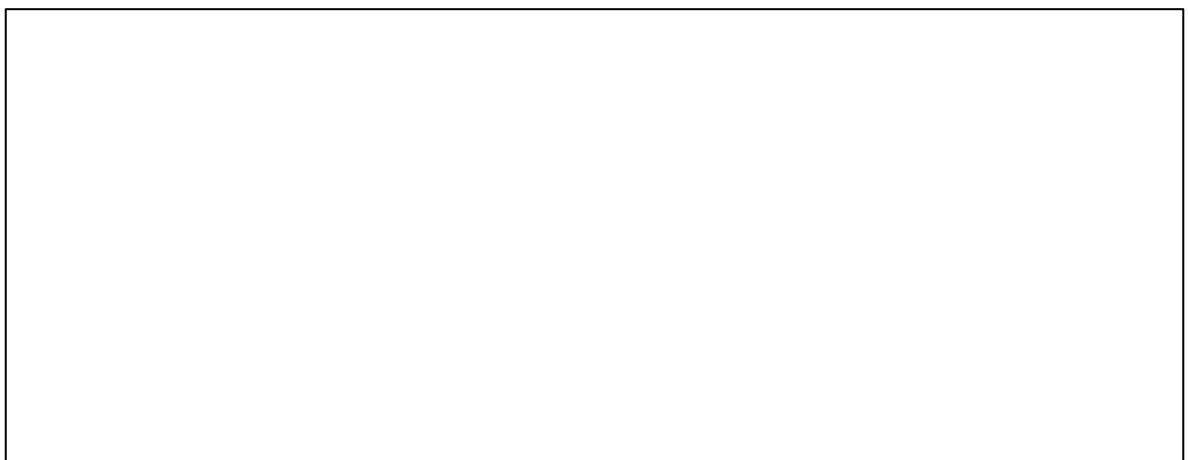


Figure 3-1: Understanding professional agency within a subject-centred sociocultural framework

The picture shows how the three components of the professional agency are interrelated and support each other. The sociocultural approach of this study by Eteläpelto et al. (2015) focuses on the social circumstance of how individuals can understand their agency and how the individual and social environment are separate but influence each other. There are factors such as 1) the manner in which individuals exert their power to influence and make choices that affect people around them, and 2) understanding of the relationship between professional agency (commitment, motivations, interests, and goal) and workplace identity. Furthermore, the third factor is the exceptional work experiences which support development, the role of environment and sociocultural circumstances to exercise professional agency. The final factor is the need to use a professional agency to

develop creativity, and negotiating identity that also entails the social circumstances to understand agency.

The approach that Eteläpelto et al. (2015) implemented in their work missed out the details of personal challenges and issues because it focused on the external influence of agency such as the classroom context, the curriculum constraints, and facilities. To overcome this issue, Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) conducted similar research using Eteläpelto's (2015) identity-agency framework but implementing a different approach of data analysis to gain more information and deeper personal understanding about the participants. They use the dialogical approach (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Ligorio, 2010; Sullivan & McCarthy, 2004) because it provides a close and intimate reading of the narratives provided by participants. The approach can detect a participant's emotional register, relationship and activities in their accounts, the time-space context and to whom or for whom participants feel their responsibility lies when making a decision (p. 321). They take up Duff's (2012) suggestion that in studying professional agency, it is crucial to note how individuals use their values, experience and beliefs to negotiate who they are because individuals can use their professional agency as a resource to develop a professional identity (Eteläpelto et al., 2015).

Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate's (2016) study involved 12 students who took part in a program called JULIET, a minor subject in University of Jyväskylä Finland that prepared future foreign language teachers. Data were collected through written accounts during the first two years of the program. Other data came from teaching reports and 40 reflective accounts that participants submitted after completing the first autumn semester. Data were analysed through a series of steps: a careful reading of narratives to find emotional registers, relationships and activities in the accounts, and time spaces of the events. The next step was to categorise the motions and directions of activities in participants' narratives and give codes to different motions.

Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) develop a breakdown of how identity-agency of the participants was constructed in Table 3-3: The expansive forms of identity-agency show how participants directed their development towards the positive sides of things, such as becoming more confident as a teacher or taking responsibility for their actions. These expansive forms of identity-agency supported and expanded pre-service teachers' professional identity to prepare them to grow into a fully-professional teacher. The

reductive forms of identity-agency, on the other hand, had the opposite effect. This identity-agency took shape from the feeling of losing confidence during the practice of teaching in the classroom to withdrawing from teaching activities entirely. Meanwhile, the attentive forms of identity-agency indicate actions that pre-service teachers took when they were doing the classroom teaching. They reflected on their experience, paid attention to their environment and considered the advantages or disadvantages of issues related to their teaching practices.

Table 3-3: Identity-agency categories

Identity-agency		
Expansive	Reductive	Attentive
Developing pedagogical conviction	Taking direction: withdrawing	Monitoring environment
Taking responsibility	Creating boundaries	Anticipating
Becoming confident	Losing confidence	Pondering
Taking direction: pursuing		

These three forms of identity-agency provide a platform for a thorough analysis of which directions pre-service teachers are heading in their professional development. The detailed analysis of accounts will help this present study to find out what kind of activities and the ways in which the participants shape their professional identity as future teachers. This framework is a guide to closely analyse the ways pre-service teachers exercise their identity-agency to shape and enact their professional identity in Indonesian contexts.

3.8 Chapter summary

This chapter explores the significant components of the literature used in this study. It covers the discussion of identity, teacher learning, pre-service teachers' identity, teacher identity and teacher agency. The main framework of life-course agency and identity-agency are elaborated in this chapter to encase the importance of identity and agency of English teachers which is implicated throughout the journey of each participant. This chapter reviews the literature on identity, agency, and how learning trajectories of teacher progress over time. As the framework, identity-agency and life-course agency provide a channel to explore the possibilities, challenges, values, and influences that affect identity formation and life experiences during the participants' life trajectories.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

For the present study, a case study approach was adopted to understand the identity formation of English teachers in three contexts in Tegal City. This chapter explores the research paradigm and the elements that made it up. Furthermore, it explores the data collection process, analysis, and the presentation of data for this inquiry into identity-agency and life course agency of English teachers in Tegal City. This chapter presents and explains the thinking behind the choice of paradigm and research design and methods and the planning for conducting the data collection. Ethical consideration is presented as well as the research context and methods of data collection. It concludes with the presentation of data and procedure to ensure the validity and reliability of the data, and a chapter summary to wrap up the chapter.

4.2 Preparations

Before I contacted the gatekeepers of the research sites, I contemplated conducting research on my campus in Semarang, my own city. However, Bloor and Wood (2006) argue that factors such as shared location, proximity, and background between the researcher and the researched party can influence objectivity. I wanted to avoid this bias in my study because of my position as the researcher, which required me to remain neutral. There were several universities in Central Java that had a teacher training program and English education study programs. My choice of Tegal City to become my research location was because this city had the education institutions that met the features of participants I needed to join the research.

Once I decided on Tegal City as my research location, I looked up the list of universities, schools, and private tuition centres and found the contact details of the sites. It is a preferred method in Indonesian culture to conduct an informal approach in advance of the formal one (Kebudayaan, 1999). Therefore, as an icebreaker to help me gain access to the research sites before sending a formal invitation, I made phone calls and sent emails to the leaders of the chosen institutions before going back to Indonesia. I contacted five schools, four private tuition centres and one university. I chose those schools because they

were listed among the best schools in the region regarding facilities, school achievement, and the rank and scores of the graduates (Dinas Pendidikan, 2015). Among the five schools, two responded, and only one agreed to take part in the study. Other schools were not available because they were preparing for exams, or they had other researchers already in their school, and they could not have too many researchers on the site.

Meanwhile, in private tuition centre settings, one agreed to participate, and I believe this was because the owner was a fellow student when we were doing our Master's degree in Semarang. The other private tuition centres were not available because of various reasons such as they were busy with their students to accept a researcher, they did not have enough students that could be representative samples for my research and they had never had any experience working with a researcher so, they were reluctant to start. I was happy I got one private tuition centre because it was registered, audited, and had quite a large number of students. There was only one university that had a teacher training program in Tegal City, with teacher training practice and English department major and the dean agreed to welcome me to conduct research.

I conducted the preparation stage while I was still in New Zealand. All contacts I had with the people in Indonesia were done through emails and telephone conversation. Upon deciding the research sites and the candidate of participants, I moved forward and prepare other things that were more technical in the research execution, such as making the choice of research paradigm, design, methods, and instrument for data collection. All these are presented in the following discussion.

4.3 Research paradigm

The big picture of conducting research started with the WH-questions. For example, I want to go to a place, so I need to know where the place is. I need to know how I am going to get there and who I am going to meet or ask for information. I have to plan what I will do there and how long it will take to get there. I have to know the reason why I want to go to that place, and start planning the trip, and so forth. This short analogy depicts how I conducted this research. Before conducting the study, I had to have clear ideas about what I wanted to study and how I was going to do that. To ensure that I had a clear plan, I referred to Ling and Ling (2017) who describe a research paradigm as a way to ponder on and look at research from higher ground to get a broader view without overlooking the

details of research. By ensuring that the general ideas, purposes, manner, and motivation to conduct research and how its outcomes in the final design are going to be presented, a researcher can set out to carry out the plan. This thinking was the platform I used to define my research design and methods. With the ideas, approach, and logic that have become the foundation of my research, I chose to implement the interpretivist paradigm (Petty, Thomson, & Stew, 2012) to work on answering the research questions.

The interpretivism paradigm refers to an understanding of knowledge and science (Flick, 2015), where a researcher has to be aware that participants might have different perceptions and points of view about the information and facts shared through the interview. This is the reason for an interpretivist paradigm. A researcher needs to crosscheck and confirm information with the source to get clarification and to align views about the matter under consideration. As this research aims to understand human nature, society, and the life history of participants who live in Tegal City area, the interpretivist philosophy offered multiple realities or perspectives both from the participants and the researcher. This paradigm bridges the different beliefs on the same issues and attempts to intertwine and integrate them into a cohesive set of findings that will be useful to understand how participants exert their agency in their English learning and identity formation (Goldkuhl, 2012). Once I set the paradigm, presenting the preparation, design, methods, and the instruments that cover how data was gathered, analysed and presented in an orderly fashion.

4.4 Research design

In the quest for understanding human beings, language, and society, researchers explore different ways and methods to reach a point of explainable perceptions. In respect to understanding complex human nature where numbers might play little role in helping to achieve that purpose, researchers have often opted to employ narrative description about humans and their features. There are scholars whose ideas have been quoted over time such as Creswell (2013), Ragin and Amoroso (2011) who describe research design as a plan to gather data and the manner of analysing information that a researcher discovers which would help them answer the research questions. The design covers all aspects of research, ranging from the smallest attribute of the study to the techniques of data analysis.

The focus of this study is on teachers and pre-service teachers and how they interact in the society and how they shape their identity in their English language learning, and thus their complicated personal and interpersonal phenomena become important parts (Creswell, 2013). In addition to that, Krathwohl (2009) asserts that qualitative research is appropriate to explore people, situations, and emotions attached to phenomena.

Recent research that focuses on identity has used qualitative methods to deliver the exploratory results (Allison, 2014; Behnam & Mozaheb, 2013; Gao, 2014; Zacharias, 2012a). To emphasise the point of choosing qualitative research, I leaned into the definition of it from Berg and Lune (2012) who define that in qualitative research, people try to find the ways cases are designed, but they do not generalise the findings for all cases. The design can help people to gain understanding about how a particular group of society behaves by recognising the marks they had etched during the interaction with the researcher, in the form of notes, stories, and photographs. This method also focuses on what kind of actions, behaviours, and information participants provided to help the researcher grasp the overall information about the phenomena in the research site (Gillham, 2000). Moreover, Berg and Lune (2012) assert that qualitative research will enable the researcher to express their understanding and the way they see matters based on how the participants comprehend and allow their thoughts and ideas to be known.

Using this point of view, qualitative research is suitable for my study of the identity formation and agency exercise of research participants and how they interacted and built an understanding of themselves.

4.4.1 Planning the methods and instruments

The need to obtain data from various sources encouraged me to conduct and use multiple methods and instruments. To gain data which covers opinion, ideas, and thoughts of the participants from all possible sources, I planned the methods into main and secondary sources of data. One of the things that I planned ahead was the type of research instruments to use during the site visit. There were observation, narrative account and interview with the participants. I drafted the themes for the narrative accounts and listed questions for the interview that would work as the guide. For observation, I planned to gather information from the interaction between teachers, students, and pre-service teachers and what they did during the teaching and learning activities.

This planning stage was a step where I prepared myself before the research process began, and to be ready for possible changes during the implementation of the plan. After I was ready with my methods and instruments, I moved to the next step to reach out the people in the research site in Indonesia.

4.4.2 Research methods

The study in the three contexts Ladang High School (LHS), Ladang Private Tuition Centre (LPTC), and Ladang University (LU) had significant functions and different features, yet they were somewhat related to one another. The intertwining relationship I describe here lay in the fact that LHS students joined English courses in LPTC, and some of the pre-service teachers from LU did their teaching practice in the high school context or had a worked in the LPTC, while the teachers in LPTC used to be a pre-service teacher in LU. Another significant relationship between these contexts was that the LPTC often became the place where the pre-service teachers conducted their training. Although it was an informal education, the variety of education type and regulation made the LPTC an appropriate place to expand the horizon of the pre-service teachers especially in their knowledge about the type of education. They could opt to have their teaching practice in the LPTC, as it was not a rare incident that university graduate work in this type of informal education.

To capture detailed information regarding the research sites, precise description and reconstruction of cases were required (Flick, 2015). Moreover, to seek understanding of social phenomena occurring naturally in the research contexts (Bloor & Wood, 2006), a case study was implemented in this study to provide insights and detailed descriptions about the phenomenon. This case study also functioned to bring about and experiment with a theory (Bloor & Wood, 2006) of identity-agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016) and life-course agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015).

In the multiple research contexts, although they differed in academic level and types, they possessed close similarities such as settings, participants' background, and social customs. These similarities were the things that bound the three contexts together. Adopting Stake's diagram, (2006, p. 5), these similar features were referred to as "*The Quintain*", a word to represent a collective target of the research that shares the same features or phenomenon. I present the intersectional relationship of the three contexts in Figure 4-1:

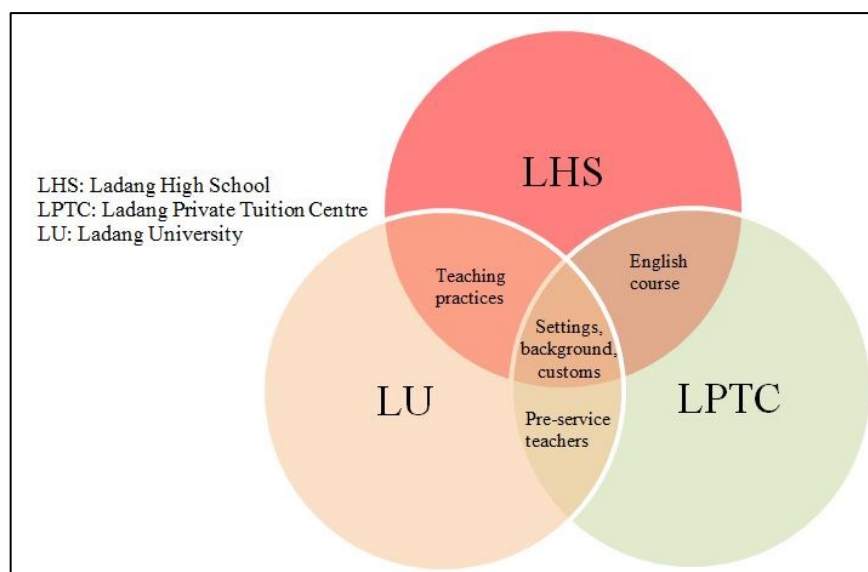


Figure 4-1: Intersectional relationship of the three contexts

4.5 Ethical considerations

My Human Ethics application was approved by Massey University (see Appendix B) several days before I got verbal approval from the gatekeepers. With that Ethics approval, I sought official permission from Capital Investment Board of Central Java Region – CIBCJR - (*Badan Penanaman Modal Daerah Jawa Tengah*) who authorised research in Central Java area. I prepared then sent all the required documents (see Appendices B to E) to obtain the approval letter. CIBCJR approved my request after two weeks and granted me permission to conduct research in Tegal City. That approval from CIBCJR was a key to accessing the permission from the National Education Agency in Tegal City. I informed them that I would be conducting research in the school, university, and private tuition centre. Ten days later, I got the permission to carry out the research. With all the required documents from local government and human ethics approval from Massey University ready, I flew back to Indonesia to begin my data collection in late November 2015.

At the beginning of my Human Ethics application before the data collection stage, I planned to use the Figured Worlds (Holland et al., 1998) as the framework. As is often the case, the final shape of this project emerged over time as my own understanding of the context developed which expanded through the discovery that more appropriate approaches to data were needed. After I finished data collection and began to analyse the data and saw what emerged from it, I realised that the questions of identity and agency were central to understanding the data. The Figured Worlds framework was no longer

suitable to use for such rich, abundant, and widely-spread information gathered throughout the process. Therefore, I decided to use a different framework that I considered would be more appropriate. The choice fell on the identity-agency and life-course agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015, 2016) as they were more compatible with the nature of data that was shared by the participants. The changes in the framework resulted in the change of title and the inclusion of participants in the report. Earlier documentation (in Appendices B, C, D, and E) reflects the original intentions; however, the changes in the framework have not had an impact on the ethical concerns of the project.

4.5.1 Informed consent

Informed consent is acknowledging the participants' liberty by giving them a portion of authority in making their own decision (Frankel & Siang, 1999). To ensure that participants were fully aware that they were involved in research, I followed the standard required by the ethical review bodies by explaining the research to the participants and answering any questions about it.

4.5.2 Risk and benefits

It was essential that I explained to the participants about the potential risks and benefit of taking part in the research (Grimes, Fleischman, & Jaeger, 2009). In Javanese culture, it would be awkward if I told my participants that they would get something from me if they participated in the research. It would influence their willingness to join because if I gave a gift at the beginning of the study, they would feel obligated to take part. It was something that I did not want because I wanted the participants to be willing and not coerced or feel obligated just because I gave them something before data collection. To mitigate this issue, I did not tell my participants at the beginning of research about any present or gift. However, after I completed data collection in all research sites, I left each of them a small thank-you gift that I carried from New Zealand, which was appreciated because I received messages from them thanking me for it.

4.5.3 Privacy protection

In conducting research, it might be an easy thing to promise the participants that their identity would be protected (Bosk & Vries, 2004) but in reality and depending on specific

circumstances, this could be a challenge to meet. In my research, I have used pseudonyms throughout the writing of the study to ensure that the participants remained anonymous. The names of research sites and their villages are also pseudonyms, and I have not pinpointed the exact locations, although I did use the actual name of the city. Overall, the ethical consideration for this research was made by the guidelines defined by the Massey University's Code of Ethical Conduct for research (see Appendix B).

4.6 Gaining entry

As soon as I stepped off the train that took me from my hometown in Semarang to Tegal City, I was greeted by the hot air that smelled of salt and sea. It was supposed to be the rainy season in Indonesia, but that day was dry and sunny although it was still 8.50 am. It was in early December 2015 when I arrived. At the exit, I was welcomed by a rush of men who offered passengers of the train a ride to wherever we wanted to go. They were *pedicab* drivers, *ojek* rider (motorcycle taxi), and some taxi drivers. I refused because I wanted to explore the city and make myself familiar with the area, so I walked to the research site instead.

My arrival signified the beginning of my data collection, and my physical connection with the three different contexts: a high school, a private tuition centre, and a university. They were located in three different parts of the city. The school was within a 10-minute walk of the train station (Figure 4-2), while the university was about 10 minutes by *pedicab* in normal traffic.



Figure 4-2: Tegal City train station

The private tuition centre was the farthest from the train station, about 20 minutes by *pedicab* (Figure 4-3).



Figure 4-3: Pedicab (*becak*), a traditional, human-powered transportation system

I benefited from the referred approval (Vallance, 2001, p. 70) because it is easier to gain access through the gatekeeper. The principal of the high school, the owner of the private tuition centre, and the university dean were the gatekeepers. Gatekeepers are the people who are in positions to grant or deny access to the research settings and often require the researcher to answer questions about why, what, how, when and where the research will be carried out (Feldman, Bell, & Berger, 2002; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Vallance, 2001).

As I had contacted them informally before my arrival in Indonesia, it was easy to recall the agreement and reconfirm their approval to participate in my study. The first research site I reached was the high school. Although the principal had agreed to my request by telephone contact, it was a coincidence that we had a mutual friend who was a dean at the university where I also did research. The dean introduced me to the principal of the school. This action was in line with what Fetterman (2010) states about the role of a facilitator to access a research site. The facilitator should be someone who has a significant amount of trustworthiness with the people in a location, and for me, that person was the university dean who was my classmate when we did our Master's. One of the benefits of having a middleman here was that his trust in me was extended to the principal (Fetterman, 2010), which helped me as I did not have to start from scratch to know him.

Mr Tedy, the principal, accepted me in his office. I thanked him for welcoming me, as I handed him the official letters I had got from the local National Education Agency, containing the permission to research the area of Tegal City. After the pleasantries and small talk, I answered any questions from the gatekeepers related to general research procedures (Leedy & Ormrod, 2013; Marshall & Rossman, 2016) and the school schedule. He suggested that I conduct my observation after the school holiday in January. I agreed to follow the designed activities, and after I got the signed approval from the gatekeeper, I proceed to the second research site.

That same day in the afternoon, I the private tuition whose owner was already known to me. Mrs Leila took me for a course tour and showed me around her facilities. She introduced me to her staff and the teachers. She offered me the schedule of her institution, and from there, I arranged my activity to adjust to the things I needed to do in the other research sites. After giving her written approval for me to conduct research, we made an appointment for our next meeting in the following weeks.

The last research site was the university where I did my first visit in the second week of December and met the dean. Mr Hidayat assured me that he had cleared all the required permission from the rector. Therefore, I could immediately conduct the research. He introduced me to the Head of English Education Department, Mr Danu, and stated that he would be available should I require assistance. Mr Danu then informed me that the pre-service teachers had to end their semester in the fourth week of January. After that, there would be insufficient time to research the site as pre-service teachers would have finals followed by a semester break. The pre-service teachers were in the last weeks of their teaching practice for two months when I began the observations in their classes, which I did in the same week of my first visit. The time I spent at the university was relatively short compared to the time I spent on other sites. The final exam, Christmas holiday, New Year holiday, the upcoming final exams, followed by a semester break somewhat forced me to squeeze the timetable for conducting research in this particular site. Figure 4-4 depicts the research process from the beginning to end.

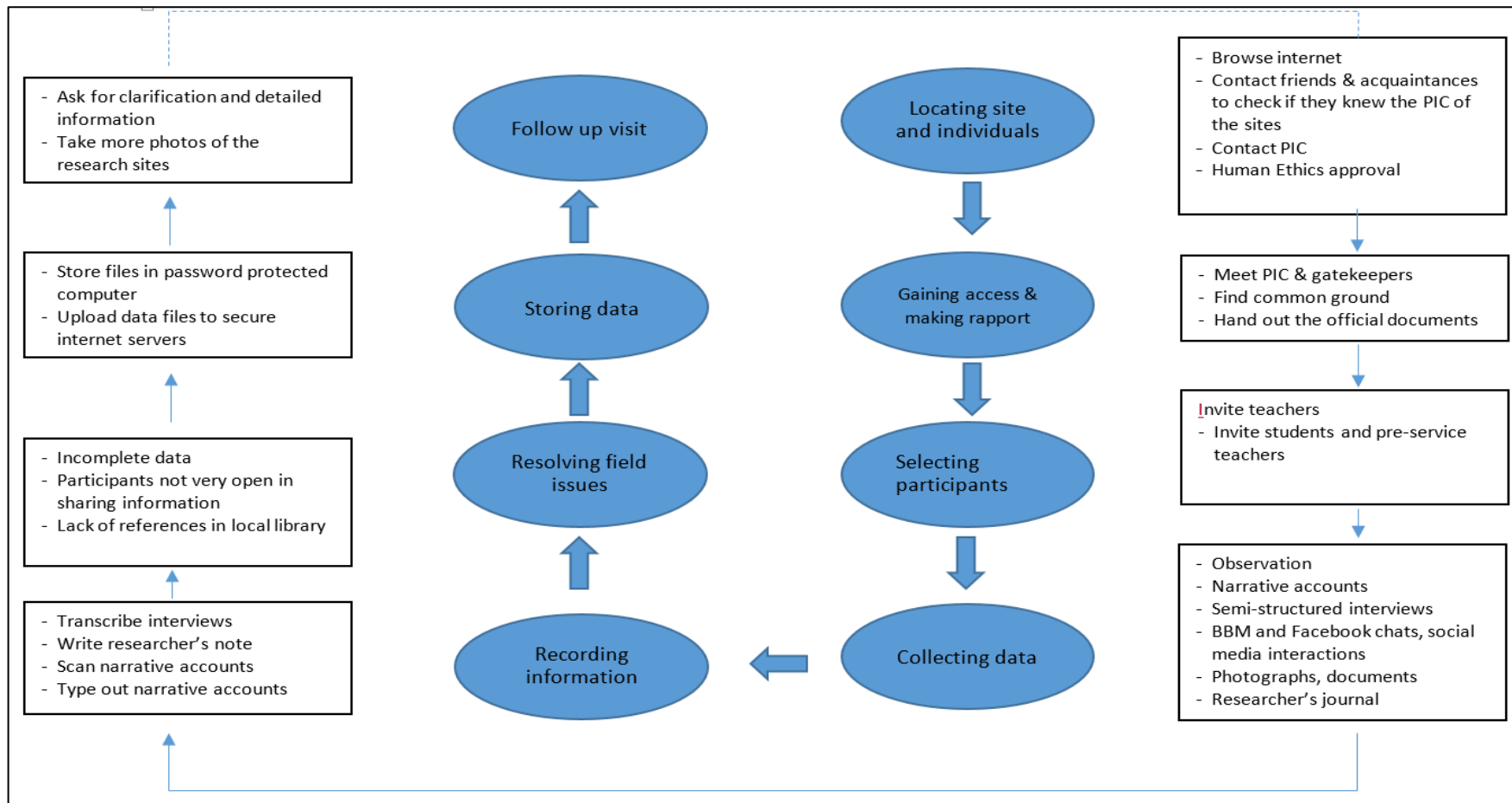


Figure 4-4: Data Collection flow chart

4.7 Timeline

The time for data collection was divided into two periods. The first data collection was conducted from November 2015 to February 2016. Table 4-1 below presents the information about the activities during that stage. Table 4-2 below presents the second period of data collection.

Table 4-1: On-site data collection Stage 1 in Tegal City November 2015 – February 2016

Timeline	November 2015	December	January	February 2016
Activities				
Field entry	—◆			
Participant recruitment				
University		—◆		
High school		—◆		
Private tuition		—◆		
Observation				
University		—◆		
High school			—◆	
Private tuition			—◆	
Written accounts				
University		—◆		
High school			—◆	
Private tuition			—◆	—◆
Interviews				
Pre-service teachers		—◆	—◆	
High school teachers			—◆	—◆
Private tuition teachers		—◆	—◆	

Other activities				
English club				◆
Extracurricular activities				◆
School activities	◆			◆
Social gathering	◆			◆
Off-site meetings		◆		◆
Off-site contacts (emails, chat)	◆			◆

Table 4-2: On-site data collection Stage 2 in Tegal City August– September 2016

Timeline \ Activities	August 2016	September 2016
Revisiting sites and more picture collections		
University	◆	
High school	◆	
Private tuition		◆
Exploring the city		◆
Follow up Interviews		
Pre-service teachers	◆	
High school teachers		◆
Private tuition teachers	◆	

4.8 Research contexts

4.8.1 Ladang High School

Ladang High School (LHS) was considered to be one of the best schools in Tegal City based on several criteria. They had 1) the highest scores for the national exams on six major subjects (English, Mathematics, Bahasa Indonesia, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology) of the students at the time of graduation every year; 2) they won significant numbers of academic and non-academic competitions; 3) they won the best school administration and management achievement, and 4) they had complete school facilities; 5) the students achieved excellent individual academic performance (Dinas Pendidikan, 2015). Most of the buildings in this school were two-storey buildings. There were classrooms, language laboratory, computer laboratory which also functioned as multimedia laboratory, mosque, sport stadium, teachers' room, teachers' meeting and coordination room, staff and administration office, a small canteen, chemistry laboratory, physics and biology laboratory, a school hall, and a raised platform where a set of *gamelan* was located and used during certain occasions (see Figure 4-5).



Figure 4-5: Gamelan practice in the school hall (HS, Ob: 8/12/2015)

There was a small pond with fountains near the *gamelan* set, and many plants around the school area. The school had many posters with various messages put on the walls and the wall magazine that students ran was displayed in the school hallway as seen in Figure 4-6. In 2015, this school had about 950 students from year 10-12. There were three majors available for the students to be allocated based on their scores and interests: Science, Social Sciences, and Language majors. Students could choose their preferred major, or the teacher assigned them based on their academic achievement.

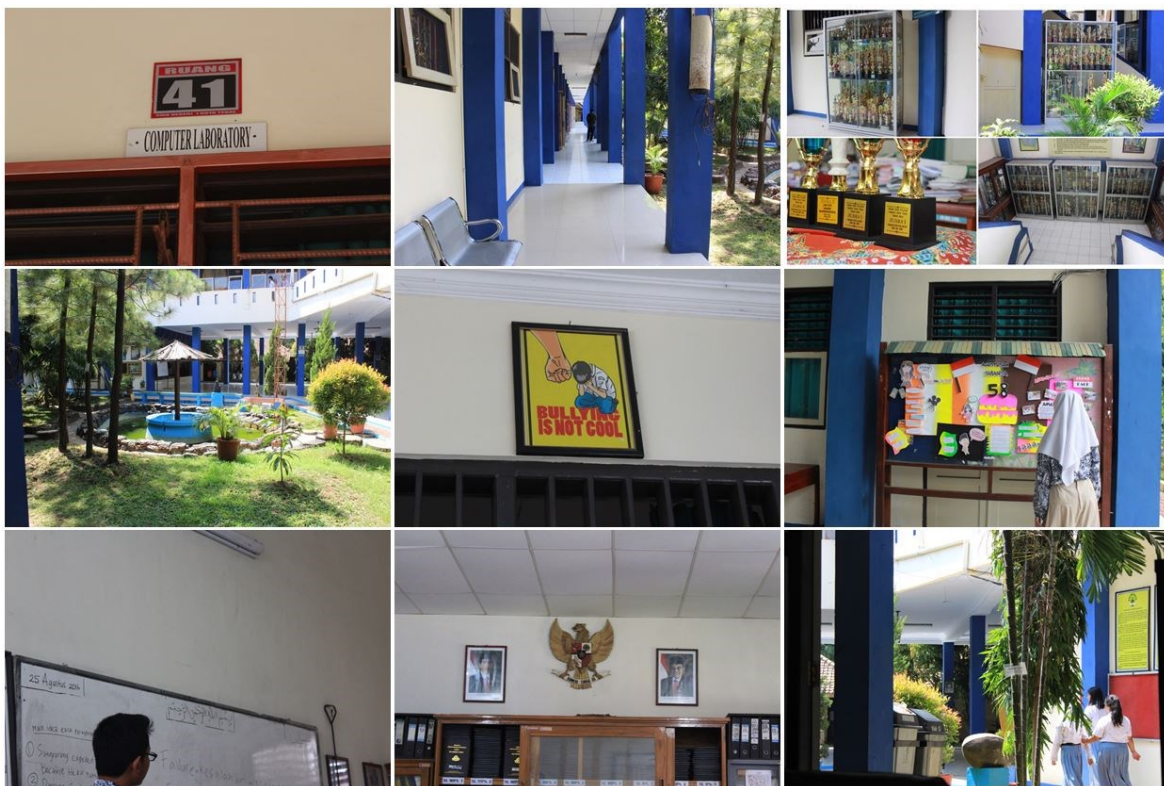


Figure 4-6: Various corners of LHS (HS, PH: 25/08/2016)

There were 57 teachers taught various subjects as shown in Table 4-3. The principal managed the school with the help from the school committee¹⁶. They played a role in improving school quality and services, gave suggestions related to school facilities and

¹⁶ School committee is an independent organisation whose members are parents, teachers, and education experts (Zulkifli, 2015).

infrastructure, and monitored the quality of the school. It was also supported by 17 administrative staff that was responsible for managing the flow of school activities and schedule. One classroom usually had 25-30 students with one teacher responsible for the learning activities with the seating arrangement as seen in Figure 4-7.

Table 4-3: Subjects taught at Ladang High School

Group A Mandatory subjects	Religion studies Pancasila Education and Civics Bahasa Indonesia Mathematics Indonesian history English
Group B Mandatory subjects	Craft and Skills Arts and culture Physical education, health, and sport Academic interest subject
Group C Academic interests: Science	Biology Physics Chemistry
Group C Academic interests: Social sciences	Geography History Sociology and Anthropology Economy
Group C Academic interests: Language	Indonesian language and literature English language and literature Arabic language and literature
Optional subjects	Media Literacy Other foreign languages (Japanese, Korean, German, French) Applied technology Intensive interest or inter-interest

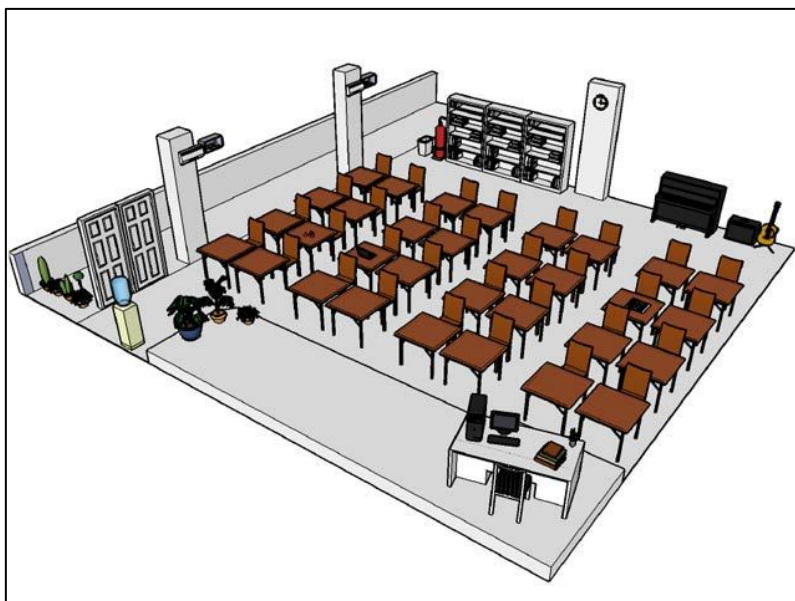


Figure 4-7: Typical classroom layout at LHS

The students wore different uniforms on particular days and school hours were varied as shown in Table 4-4.

Table 4-4: School time and uniform

Day	School hours	Break time	Uniform
Monday	7 a.m. - 4 p.m.	9.15 a.m. 12 p.m. 2.30.p.m.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White and grey suit, • Black shoes • White socks • White head covering
Tuesday	7 a.m. - 4 p.m.	9.15 a.m. 12 p.m. 2.30.p.m.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Batik top • Khaki bottoms
Wednesday	7 a.m. - 4 p.m.	9.15 a.m. 12 p.m. 2.30.p.m.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Batik top • Khaki bottoms

Thursday	7 a.m. - 4 p.m.	9.15 a.m. 12 p.m. 2.30.p.m.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White and grey suit, • Black shoes • White socks • White head covering
Friday	7 a.m. - 11 a.m.	9.15 a.m.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Seragam pramuka</i> (scouts uniform) • Light brown top • Dark brown bottoms • Black shoes)

Each morning before the bell rang the teachers got ready to teach. Usually, they waited for the students by the door, and when the bell rang, students lined up to enter the class. They kissed the hand of the teacher. This was a gesture known as *salim* that signified respect, politeness, and good manners towards elders, teachers, or parents that Indonesian people usually do (Amir, 2012; Diomasaigh, 2016). After everyone was seated, the head of the class led everyone to pray before the lesson starts (Figure 4-8). After they finished praying the teacher began to call the roll and start the lesson.



Figure 4-8: Teaching and learning activities (LHS/OB: 15/01/2016)

4.8.2 Ladang University

Ladang University (LU) was founded on 10 March 1980. It was located near the city harbour. The campus had six faculties and 19 study programs that students could choose from. The faculties are listed in Table 4-5:

Table 4-5: Faculties and Study Programs at LU

No	Faculties	Study program
1	Faculty of Teaching and Education	a. Bahasa Indonesia and Local language and literature education b. English education c. Counselling and Guidance education d. Economy education e. Pancasila Education and Civics f. Mathematics education g. Science education
2	Faculty of Law	Law science
3	Faculty of Politics and social science	Public administration science Communication science
4	Faculty of Fishery	Waters cultivation Fishery resources
5	Faculty of Economy	Corporate management Accounting Taxation management
6	Faculty of Engineering	Mechanical engineering Industrial engineering Civil engineering Industry management engineering

I conducted my research in the Faculty of Teaching and Education, focusing mainly on the English education study program where the pre-service teachers were preparing to become

English teachers. The university had microteaching laboratories which pre-service teachers used to practice teaching with their peers before they conducted the teaching practice at schools. Before teaching practice, seventh-semester pre-service teachers were required to meet the requirements as follow:

1. Take Micro Teaching subject in 6th semester and conduct teaching practice with their peers in the teaching laboratories. The meetings lasted up to 14 meetings with a final evaluation at the end of the semester.
2. Gain a minimum overall GPA of 3.00 by the end of the 6th semester.
3. Have no E grades.
4. Complete and pass Curriculum and Material Development I and II subjects.
5. Pass the microteaching evaluation.

The teaching practices were conducted in the assigned schools where they put teaching theories into practice for two months. The pre-service teacher had to comply with the regulation of the school regarding clothing or uniform, the working hours, and the timetable for teaching. A school teacher, the *guru pamong* or guide teacher was assigned to guide the pre-service teachers.

The guide teacher's primary job was to make sure the pre-service teachers knew the school environment, regulations, learning hours, curriculum, the habit of learning, and how to evaluate the pre-service teachers. Meanwhile, the pre-service teacher's task covered the duties of understanding the curriculum and syllabus and learning the materials for their teaching. They were required to prepare their teaching materials under the supervision of the guide teachers. They were in the last weeks of their teaching practice in schools in December 2015. Although they were doing their practice, they were still required to take some subjects at the campus; therefore, they had to go back and forth from the school to university.

4.8.3 Ladang Private Tuition Centre

Ladang Private Tuition Centre (LPTC) was founded in 1990 and obtained its registered status from the National Education and Culture Agency of Tegal City in 1993. The tuition centre had gone from strength to strength expanding and moving its premises. It had various types of students; the most dominant were local high school students, followed by professionals, and job seekers. Some students wanted to pursue higher education and wished to get good TEFL

and IELTS score to meet the requirements of the university where they wanted to continue their education. Some international students were also learning in this LPTC such as from Korea, Yemen, Japan, Singapore, and China (PT, RJ: 15/01/2016).

LPTC had two administrative staff to operate the institution; they sat behind the desk in the lounge. Guests had to fill in a Guest Book (Figure 4-9) to record the number of visitors, people who sought information or anyone who was interested to register to LPTC.



Figure 4-9: Guestbook at the LPTC

On one of the walls, Leila put several things such as official accreditation, the charter of appreciation, and certificates show the achievement and official status and on another side of the wall, there was a class timetable that was changed periodically (Figure 4-10).



Figure 4-10: Certificates of acknowledgement and timetable

As the institution gained more recognition, more students came and it grew. Currently, it offers numerous programs to the students as listed on their brochure (see Figure 4-11) and written in Table 4-6 below.

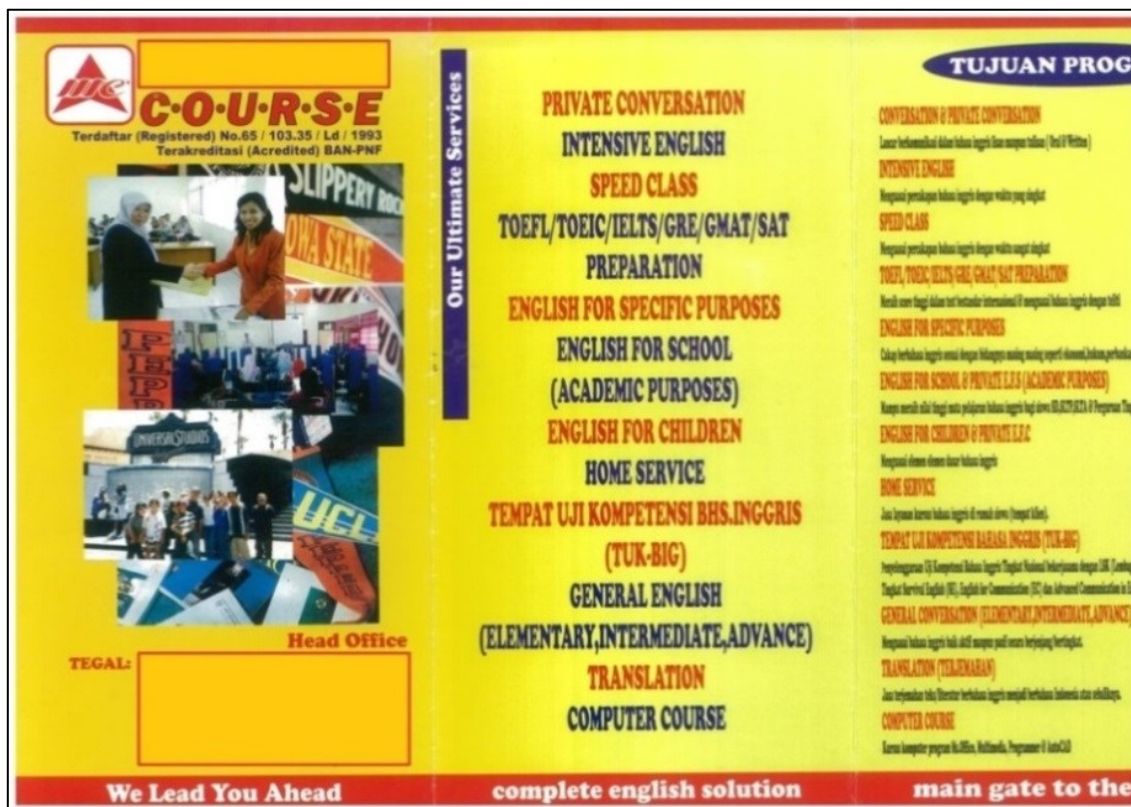


Figure 4-11: LPTC programs and information in the brochure

Table 4-6: Programs at LPTC

No	Name of program	Purposes
1	Private conversation	Trains students to communicate in English fluently for both oral and written forms of speech.
2	Intensive English	Provides intensive English training to master English in a short time.
3	TOEFL/ TOEIC/ IELTS/ GRE/ GMAT/ SAT PREPARATIONS	Helps students to achieve the highest score possible in international standardised test and to master English.

4	English for specific purposes	Aims to train students to be very fluent in their specific fields such as economy, law, banking, maritime, medical, engineering, and to excel in job interviews.
5	English for school or academic purposes	Prepares students to achieve higher English scores at school and during the final national examination.
6	English for children	Introduces the basic elements of English to young learners.
7	Home service	In-home private English lesson.
8	English competence test centre	Holds the National Level of English Competence test in cooperation with Competence Certification Institution and the National Education and Culture Agency of Tegal City for the level of Survival English, English for Communication, and Advanced Communication in English (ACE).
9	General English	Supports the student's learning through general conversation course for both active and passive English skills in elementary, intermediate, and advanced levels.
10	Translation	Provides translation services from English to Bahasa Indonesia and vice versa.
11	Computer course	Provides training and courses in basic computer skills (Ms. Office, Multimedia, AutoCAD and programming).

The private tuition centre opened daily from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. including weekends. It was closed on Sundays. Due to the changes in school hours, which now ran from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m., the private tuition got busier on the weekend as the students from high school preferred to have their course on weekends when they did not have to go to school. The classroom settings in LPTC are different from the one at LHS. The rooms were smaller because it was intended

for small group learning. The chairs were set to circle against the wall so that students and teachers could face each other, as seen in Figure 4-12.



Figure 4-12: LPTC students and teacher

Two administrative officers worked morning and afternoon shifts to manage the LPTC. They took care of the registration, managed the timetable for students and teachers, made appointments for any test that people wanted to have, as well as organised the payment terms and released certificate of graduation for the students who completed their courses. In the case where people from an organisation wanted to sit on an English competency test, they prepared the test site and ordered the question and answer sheets from the National Education and Culture Agency of Tegal City.

4.9 Participants

The way researchers choose their research defines what kind of participants they recruit. Dyson and Genishi (2005) argue that whatever place is selected as the research site, the

researcher also chooses it as the case. Using this statement, I had three locations and three cases, which gave me abundant resources for participants I could choose from.

To narrow down the extent of participants, I implemented “the big-net approach” to choose them (Fetterman, 2010). This approach helped me guarantee a broad view of the participants before I selected the specific interactions with them and extended the invitation. Furthermore, I also employed what Maxwell (2013) refers to as purposeful selection, where I extended the invitation to the individuals to participate based on the criteria defined. For example, in all contexts, I expected my participants to have diverse English learning experiences and to be active users of English, requirements which almost all of them met.

I distributed the information sheet and consent form to the high school students, high school English teachers, private tuition students, private tuition teachers, and the two cohorts of pre-service teachers. I received all their feedback which indicated that everyone agreed to participate in the study and signed their consent forms, which systematically ensured that the participants were fully aware of their involvement in the study and that nobody was forcing them to do so (Berg & Lune, 2012).

In total, there were nine interview participants across the three contexts: three high school teachers, three private tuition teachers, and three pre-service teachers (see Figure 4-13).

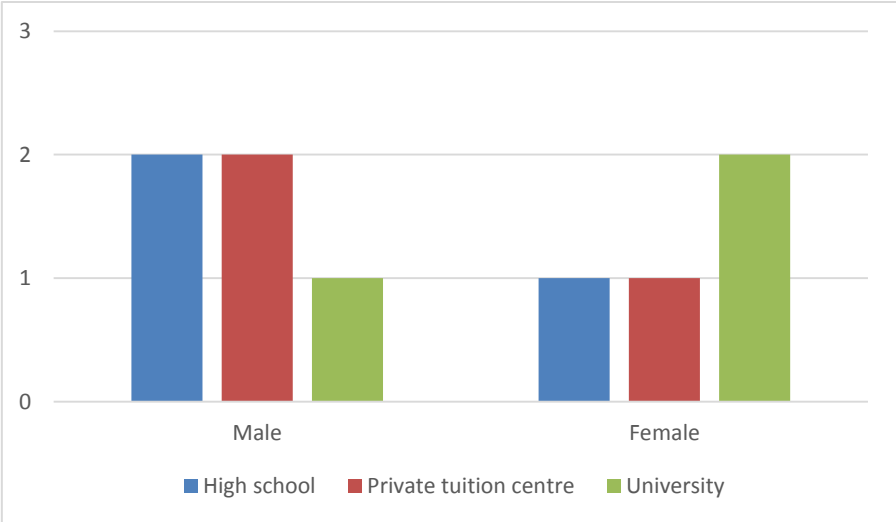


Figure 4-13: Participants’ gender distribution

The interview participants' age range was from 20-55 as shown in Figure 4-14. The participants who were aged 20-30 years old were the pre-service teachers and one private tuition teacher. The ones with the age range of 30-50 years old were the other two LPTC teachers and the oldest group of 50-65 years old was the LHS school teachers.

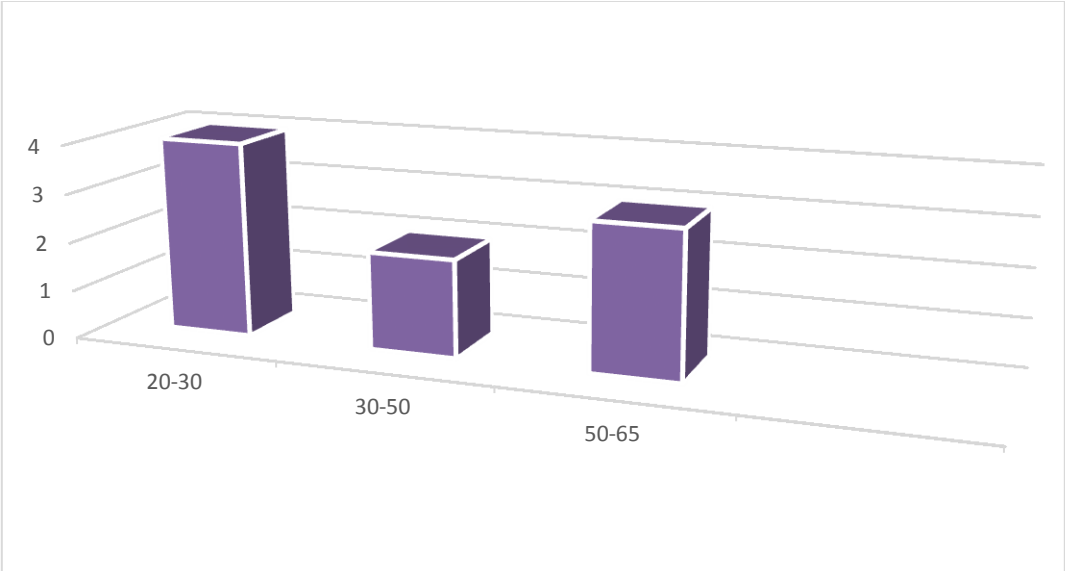


Figure 4-14: Participants by age group

To summarise, the implementation of data collection technique to each participant is presented in Table 4-7.

Table 4-7: Participants and data collection method implementation

No	Context	Participants' details			Instruments						
		Name	Age	Gender	OB	INT	NA	SMC	PH	RJ	DOC
1	LHS	Budi	54	Male	√	√	-	√	√	√	√
		Roni	52	Male	√	√	-	-	√	√	√
		Fila	53	Female	√	√	-	-	-	√	√
2	LPTC	Leila	46	Female	√	√	-	√	√	√	√
		Ardi	45	Male	√	√	√	-	√	√	√
		Anto	26	Male	√	√	√	-	-	√	√

3	LU	Adi	25	Male	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
		Naza	22	Female	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
		Isti	21	Female	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

OB: Observation INT: Interview NA: Narrative account SMC: Social media chats PH: Photographs RJ: Research journals Doc: Documents

In the event, as the rich, abundant, and comprehensive data emerged from the teacher interviews, it became clear that I would not be able to give adequate attention to all the data that I had collected in this thesis, and I decided to concentrate on the teacher accounts. I have nevertheless used accounts from two of the LHS students who agreed to participate in observation and writing narrative accounts. Other data from written accounts, photographs, documents, and social media interaction were used to support the narratives.

4.10 Implementing the primary methods and instruments

The need to obtain data from various sources encouraged me to conduct and use multiple methods and instruments. To gain data which covers opinion, ideas, and thoughts of the participants from all possible sources, I planned the methods into main and secondary sources of data elaborated in this part as shown in Figure 4-15.

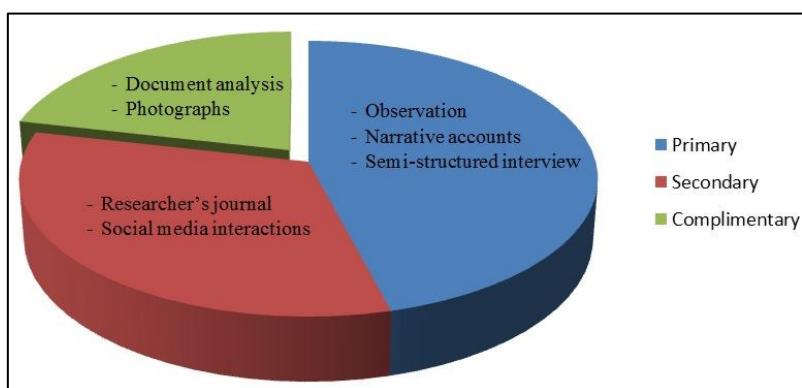


Figure 4-15: Data collection methods

I originally planned just the primary methods which covered observation, narrative accounts, and interview. As the research panned out, I expanded the instruments and methods considering that the research site provided abundant information. In order to capture the

desired data, I added the secondary and complementary data collection methods – as elaborated in the next parts – which turned out to be useful and enriching.

4.10.1 Observation

Before conducting the observation, I made plans for what I wanted to observe and discover in each research context. As an observer, I would follow the rules of the class and maintained a keen attention to details and enforced my listening skills (Heath & Street, 2008). By participating in the class, I aimed to achieve a complete manner of inquiry and data gathering (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). I would maintain unobtrusive behaviour by sitting on the back of the class and trying not to disturb the class. I attempted to drop all my assumptions about the research contexts and try to be as inconspicuous as possible to maintain objectivity and to prevent participants from feeling threatened or unsettled (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003). The observation in three contexts allowed me to immerse myself in the environment to observe class activities, listen to the interaction, and see everything that unfolded (Fetterman, 2010; Marshall & Rossman, 2016). The observation was planned to be conducted once a week for a month in each class in the research context.

The implementation of the observation yielded a broad range of information such as the classroom layout and general atmosphere. In the high school context, I noticed how the students interacted with their teacher and how the class was organised. The pre-service teachers' interactions their peers and lecturers and I observed the decorations, clothing, and the language they used during a lesson. I noticed the subtle gestures, facial expressions, and their tones of speaking and overall activities. I took some photos for closer examination later and recorded a short video when the participants were doing their activities. While doing the observation, I took notes on what was happening to make sure that I did not miss the details, as shown in Figure 4-16.

The pictures and video were used to look into the details of the overall activities in the classroom as they also help to convey important characteristics outside the observer (Yin, 2014). From the observation, I collected notes and details of events in the classroom as seen on Figur4-16 which helped me to recall the events when I wrote my report. The practice of my observation was detailed for each class in all contexts as presented in Table 4-8.

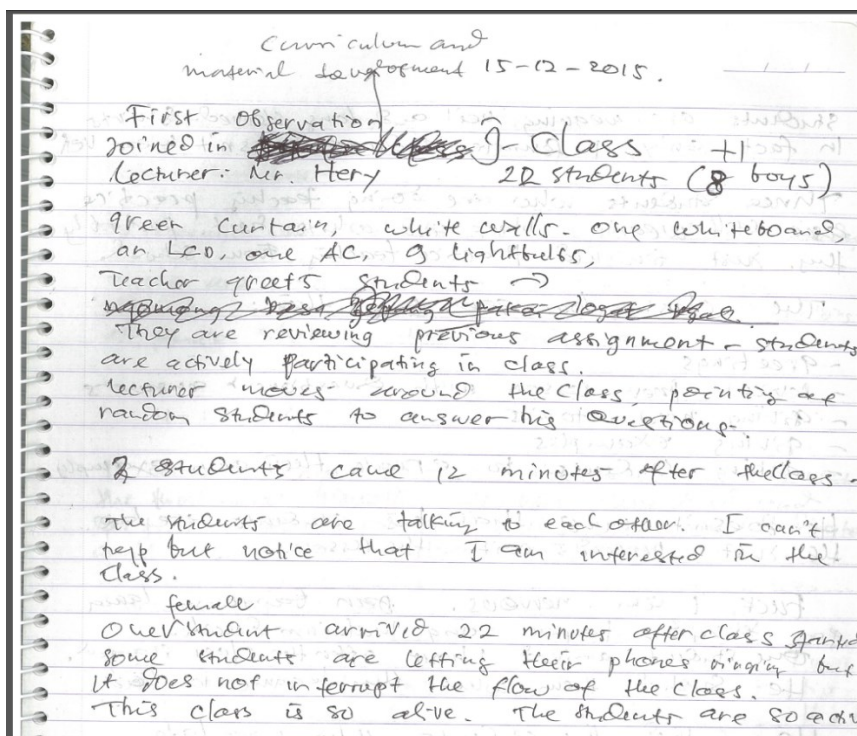


Figure 4-16: Observation notes

Table 4-8: Observation summary

Context	Frequency	Duration	Activities
LHS			
- Budi's class	Two times	One session (45 mins)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sat on the back of the class • Followed class rules • Paid attention to details • Took notes • Took photos and videos
- Filia's class	Two times	One session (45 mins)	
- Roni's class	Two times	One session (45 mins)	
LPTC			
- Leila's class			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paid attention to details • Took notes • Took photos and videos
- Ardi's class	Two times	One session (60 mins)	
- Anto's class	Two times Two times	One session (60 mins) One session (60 mins)	
LU			
- Class A	Two times	One session (100 mins)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Took photos and videos
- Class B	Two times	One session (100 mins)	

4.10.2 Narrative account

The second main method in gathering data was the narrative accounts. My consideration in choosing narrative accounts was to obtain written ideas from the participants in LHS, LU, and LPTC. When a person shares their narrative account, they configure a certain context of their life story to another person (Roy, Mokhtar, Karim, & Mohanan, 2015). I asked the participants to write at least 100 words on the topics above using either English or bahasa Indonesia. The time allocated for this activity was planned for 45 minutes where I answered questions that arose during the writing process. This narrative account was used as a reflective media to explore their past and present experiences in English learning, using these topic presented in Table 4-9:

Table 4-9: Narrative account topics for LU context

A	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. About myself2. Things I like or dislike about learning English3. Most influential teacher
B	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. My opinion about my English skills2. Who/what motivates me to learn English3. Where I am going to use English in the future
C	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. What is it like learning English as a student in Tegal City2. What efforts I would do/have done to learn English3. My ideal English lesson/classroom

The A, B, C themes for the university contexts were defined and grouped with the purpose of getting diverse narratives from the pre-service teachers. Using these themes would enable me to cover ideas that I wanted to explore in their learning experience. The narrative themes for private tuition centre students were slightly different because I wanted to know how they perceived their experience learning at the private tuition centre and what sort of experiences they got from there an is shown in Table 4-10.

Table 4-10: Narrative account topics for LPTC context

A	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Disadvantages of joining English course 2. Things I like or dislike about learning English 3. Most influential teacher
B	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. My opinion about my English skills 2. Who/what motivates me to learn English 3. Where I am going to use English in the future
C	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Advantages of joining the English course 2. What efforts I would do/have done to learn English 3. My ideal English lesson/classroom

There were some changes in the use of data from the narrative accounts as I have mentioned in section 4.5 Ethical considerations in this chapter. I collected written accounts from the LHS students, but I was not able to use that data in this thesis because the content of most of them was less relevant to the focus of this research. I used only two of the narratives from a few students to back up the information given by the teachers from their interviews. The summary of the narrative accounts that were collected are summarised in Table 4-11 below:

Table 4-11: Narrative account summary

Context	Number of accounts
LPTC Teachers	5
LPTC Students	23
LU pre-service teachers	60

4.10.3 Semi-structured interview

The interview, which is described by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) as an interaction between two people to build knowledge and share information about their mutual interest, is one of the most frequently used methods of data collection. I chose semi-structured interviews because they have been identified as one of the most important sources of evidence (Yin, 2014), also because they provide more understanding into the meaning and focus on the essence of what

the people involved in the activity are experiencing (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003). Semi-structured interviews enable sufficient flexibility which permits the interview process to determine how the information is shaped (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003). I planned to interview the high school teachers, the pre-service teachers, and the private tuition teachers.

The semi-structured interview offers a compromise between two extremes (Dörnyei, 2007). This means that, in semi-structured interviews, the pre-service teachers are “encouraged to elaborate on the issues raised in an exploratory manner” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 136). The implementation of the interview plans was rather complicated. I conducted separate interviews with the participants. The tight timetable and the activities of the participants made it rather difficult to arrange for a meeting but I managed to gain enough information from them. In conducting the interview, I tried not to be too strict with the protocol I constructed beforehand to maintain the flow of information and the conversation. I used the list of open-ended questions that I prepared beforehand to aid me build a structure of the interview, although in practice as the conversation went on, sometimes the next questions were already answered in an earlier response. With these semi-structured interviews, the participants were given the opportunity to explore and elaborate freely about any issues that were being discussed (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 136).

It was crucial that I established strong credibility to earn the trust of the participants (Gillham, 2000). In the research site, I did not immediately conduct the interviews. Instead, I made myself familiar with the surroundings and with the participants. I joined the high school teachers’ class after the observation stage; I spoke with them in the teachers’ room during the break time, helped them during speech and debate practices with students and so forth. I joined extracurricular activities in LHS students’ English Debate Community. I had lunch with private tuition teachers and enjoyed local cuisine, and talked to the staff while having a snack in the lounge of the private tuition centre. In the meantime, the pre-service teachers were easiest to get along with as their teachers were people whom I was familiar with and they allowed me to join their activities such as participating in group work during lesson planning for their teaching practice. I made efforts to get along with the participants to gain their trust and confidence so that they would feel at ease and they could share the information I asked for.

The research participants were individuals who have been learning and using English for a long time. Therefore, when I offered for them to use either English or bahasa Indonesia, most of them opted to use English. For example, in LPTC, three out of four teachers used English throughout the interview. In LHS, one teacher used English all the time while the other two teachers used a mixture of both languages. Meanwhile, in the LU context, two of the pre-service teachers used English for the interview. The others used mixed language as well.

I aimed to use the flexible nature of the interview to enable me to explore the answers from the participants and help me to discover more information from them. It was easier to work with the teachers as they have experiences dealing with interviews and had been participants in research before. The pre-service teachers, on the contrary, were a novice at being interviewed; therefore, most of them were reluctant to volunteer when I extended the invitation to them. However, I was able to gain consent and managed to recruit three pre-service teachers to participate in the interviews. Therefore, overall, the participants for semi-structured interview are shown in Table 4-12 below:

Table 4-12: Interview participants

Participants	Age	Contexts
Budi	52	LHS
Roni	52	
Filia	53	
Leila	46	LPTC
Ardi	45	
Anto	24	
Adi	25	LU
Naza	22	
Isti	21	

I interviewed the participants from December 2015 to February 2016. The duration for each interview ranged from 40 to 80 minutes. Sometimes, it was not easy to set the time,

especially with the teachers, because they had a busy schedule and sometimes they had to attend a meeting at short notice. That being said, for all the teachers the interviews were carried out in several batches when they were available and not in their teaching schedule.

The pre-service teachers were able to give detailed responses once we found common ground and understanding. The first interview I did was with Adi and Naza, in the last week of December 2015. It lasted about 70 minutes in one visit, one followed by the other separately. The second interview was with Isti which lasted about an hour, which we did the day after I had the interview with Adi and Naza.

I asked conversational questions and tried to be as fair as possible and to maintain the flow of the inquiry as suggested by Yin (2014). This conversational interview and the social interaction I did before I interviewed them made the participants feel comfortable answering my questions. By eliciting data through the questioning of the respondents (Bloor & Wood, 2006), I aimed to gather as rich data as possible on contextual and negotiated data (Frey, 2000). The summary of interview sessions is presented in Table 4-13.

Table 4-13: November 2015 – February 2016 interview sessions summary

Contexts	Participants	Content
High school	Budi Roni Fila	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initial information sharing: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Aims of the research and what to expect from it. b. Getting to know each other
Private tuition	Leila Ardi Anto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curriculum, student’s learning, school hour, policy making, government and regulations. • Personal background, education trajectories, and professional history. • Important decision making that changed life-course and professional choices. • Living abroad experiences, interaction with foreigners and their views on foreign culture and how they influence their identity.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social environment, local culture, influential individuals and how those people changed their lives.
University	Isti Adi Naza	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Informing the participants about the aims of the research and what to expect from it. • English learning experience, reasons why they learned English, and their experiences in English learning. • Important figures that influence their life. • Students and how they perceived young learners • How they dealt with issues and challenges during teaching practices. • How they managed the time during the teaching practice period.

I began considering the data for analysis and found that there was some information lacking. I went back to Indonesia in August 2016 when I had a chance and used the opportunity to conduct follow-up interviews as detailed in Table 4-14 below:

Table 4-14: August - September 2016 interview sessions summary

August – September 2016		
High school	Roni Filia Budi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confirm the data mentioned in the previous interviews, clarify unclear information, seek further information, and extending the data from the interview. • Take more photos and documents
University	Isti Naza Adi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How they progressed with their learning, the plans, and how their views about English has/has not changed

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The maturity of individual as teachers and how they deal with life after graduation. • Confirm the data mentioned in the previous interviews, clarify unclear information, seek further information, and extending the data from the interview.
Private tuition	Leila	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Take more pictures and collect additional documents

The topics that I presented during the semi-structured interviews ranged from their past learning experience to their views about their students' English learning, the views about English in Tegal City, their expectation when they were learning English, what choices they had to make during their journey of learning English, their initial and original desires, and plans about their future. I also asked about the points where they changed their choices to become English teachers, their opinion about curriculum and government regulations related to English learning, how they cope with the constant changes in the school environment and how they face the challenges as English teachers in a multilingual society in Tegal City.

I recorded all the interviews using a recorder and my phone as a backup. I had informed them previously that I would do so. After each interview in the evening, I uploaded the data into my Google Drive and saved it into my password-protected laptop for backup. I listened to the audio and wrote notes about things that needed clarification and to further query the participants. I also matched the answers with the notes I made during the day to make sure that I made correct notes.

4.11 Secondary and complementary tools and resources

In addition to the primary data collection techniques and instruments, I also implemented the additional tools and resources to complete my data as follows:

4.11.1 Researcher's journal

I used a small book where I wrote all the details of activities during the period. I noted the time, place, duration, and people I met in the book. After each day, I wrote down the activities and reviewed events, conversations and informal chats I had with the participants to avoid forgetting them. For example, during the interview sometimes I missed asking a question in the list, which later I followed up in an unrecorded chat. To make sure that I remembered this, I wrote it down in the book, which I called my researcher's journal. I matched my record with the conversation I had with the participants, to crosscheck data for accuracy and consistency.

4.11.2 Social Media interaction

The existence of social media really helped me to carry out data collection after I returned to New Zealand. It was touching that the pre-service teachers reached out to me to keep in touch, and I responded in kind. By maintaining contact with the participants, I got recent updates about their lives. I had additional information that I gained through Facebook chats with one of the participants. This interaction helped me to gain more details about participants' recent update about their lives. The easy access to internet in Indonesia made it possible for the participants to connect with me, although time differences sometimes came between us. Overall, the existence of these social media became an important component in my research.

4.11.3 Photographs

To support the data I had already gathered, I collected photographs and documents from each research site. As an English idiom says a picture is worth a thousand words, there were things that words could not describe, and for this, I used photographs as an additional data instrument. The visual imagery of the research site was rich and colourful. Some facial expressions of the participants, the faces of the students and the beautiful colours in the contexts held meaning that could not be captured by memory and words alone. There were so many details that could provide information for qualitative researchers. Hence, to help capture the smallest detail, I brought my camera phone and camera to preserve the events, places, or moments I considered interesting as data themselves (Gotschi, Delve, & Freyer, 2009; Musello, 1980; Spradley, 2016).

4.11.4 Document Analysis

While I was in the city, I tried to search for information about the area in the local library. Unfortunately, although the library was massive in its size, it did not hold many collections of books related to the city history, education information, economic condition and the like. The archive was minimalist, and the internet helped me more than the actual books in that library. The only available ones were kept in padlocked bookshelves (Figure 4-17) and I had to ask for the librarian's permission to access those books.



[Please see the librarian if you want to use the reference collections]

Figure 4-17: Library books in Tegal City Library

However, because I was not a resident of Tegal City, I could not borrow the books and had to read them in the library. Furthermore, copy service was not available in the library so I had to take pictures of some of the available references using my camera phone. The references from the library provided me with information about the culture, the society, and the religious features of in Tegal City.

From the city library, I turned my attention to the other research sites because I understood that the offices of schools and institutions usually are famous for keeping the records well organised (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Zacharias, 2012b). The research contexts provided the documents I needed, which strengthened my intention to use them as additional information. Bowen (2009) stated that document analysis is “a systematic procedure for viewing or evaluating documents – both printed and electronic (computer-based and internet transmitted (p. 27)”. I used documents such as textbooks from LHS which contained learning

materials (Figure 4-18) and curriculum and syllabus along with the lesson plans from the LPTC. The textbooks from the school provided me with understanding of the differences of learning material between School-based curriculum and the C-2013. Meanwhile, the curriculum and syllabus from the LPTC gave me an understanding of the differences between the formal and informal education and how the lessons were composed.

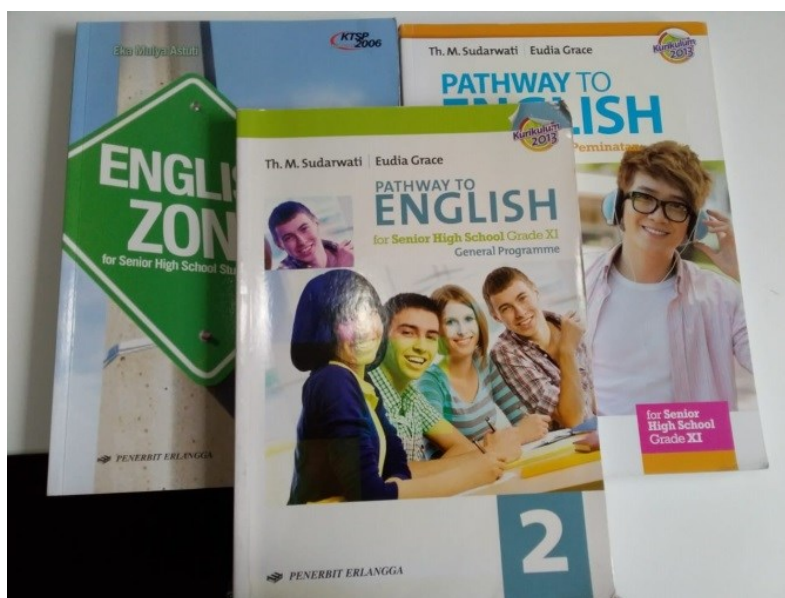


Figure 4-18: Textbooks from LHS

To gather information about the curriculum changes, I collected documents from old newspaper both online and off-line. I read those articles and built thematic analysis (Bowen, 2009) to recognise the pattern and emerging information about the reaction of the curriculum changes. I used them to help me get a better understanding of the social phenomenon and how the media covered the reaction of the people involved in the changes. This use of documents strengthened the triangulation strategies that I used to provide "a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility" (Eisner, 1998, p. 110). I was not able to obtain documents from the university context due to privacy reasons.

4.12 Data Analysis and presentation

The transcription process of the interviews began as soon as I finished each interview at the beginning of my data collection stage. I transcribed the first interview data and translated that too, which took me around two days to finish. As I moved forward with my data collection, there were more audio files to transcribe and I could not keep up with the workload. I did transcribe them although I did not pursue trying to finish them all in one day. Nevertheless, I listened to each interview after every interview completion to review and crosscheck it with the notes I made during the day and prepared for the follow-up questions to be asked the next time I met them.

As previously mentioned, the participants used both English and Indonesian languages which eased my work and helped me to transcribe faster without having to translate their speech. For the participants that used a mix of both English and bahasa Indonesia, I translated the parts that I chose for analysis. There were bits and parts of the interviews that I left out of the analysis because not all that the participants had said was of relevance to the research questions.

After the entire transcription process of all interviews was complete, I analysed the data using MAXQDA (Faith, 2015; Walter, 2011). The steps I took using this software are explained in the following steps:

1. Imported the transcription into the software and read the text thoroughly to find themes, patterns, or important details.
2. Selected texts that had themes based on the framework from Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015, 2016) coded them with appropriate themes in the frameworks.
3. Conducted in-vivo coding where specific sections from the transcription are labelled to maintain originality of the data (Sullivan, 2012) to show an example of the analysis steps for life-course agency framework by Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) and gave the themes different colour codes for easier grouping and categorisation during the final stage of the analysis. Figure 4-19 illustrates this practice, applications, and problems associated with it as I went through some general themes and subthemes using the frameworks to find more specific themes

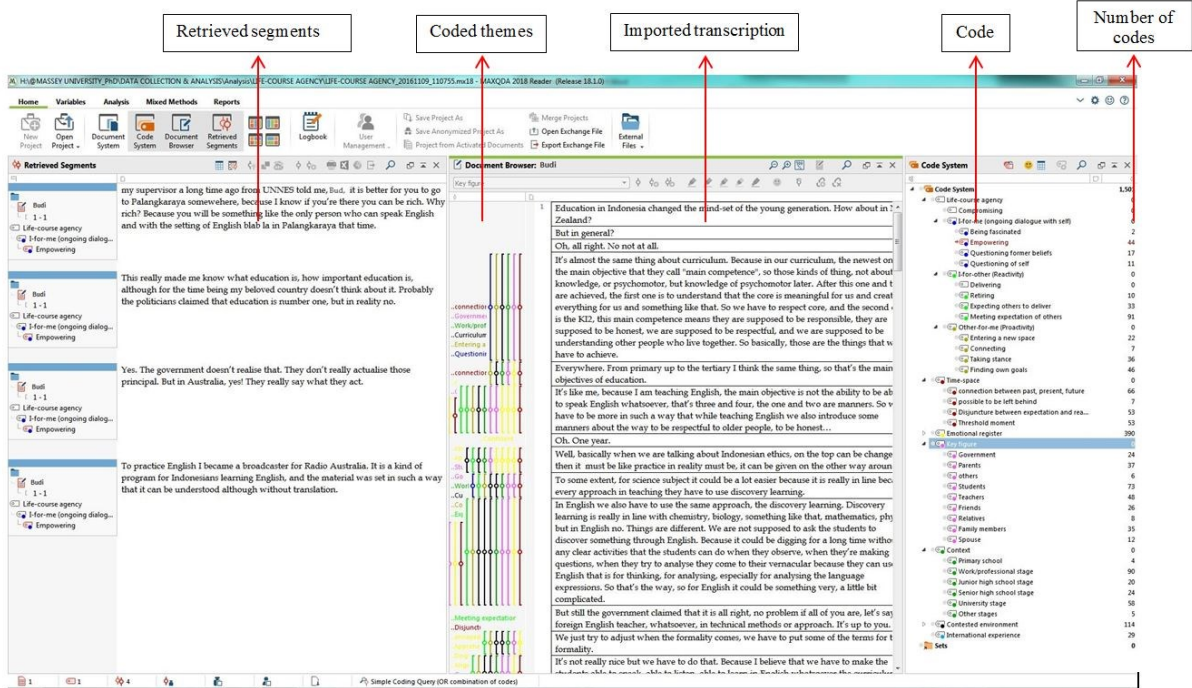


Figure 4-19: Coding and analysing process

4. Repeatedly read and searched all themes that belonged to life-course agency and identity agency.

4.12.1 Organising and coding data

To make the steps of data analysis easier to do and read, I made categorisations for the data and created codes for each interview theme, instrument and participant in the corpus organisation as seen in Table 4-15.

Table 4-15: Data Corpus organisation

Contexts	Data sources	Acronyms	Participants
LHS (HS)	Observation	OB	Budi
	Interviews	INT	Filia
	Narrative account	NA	Roni
	Social media chats	SMC	Leila
	Photographs	PH	Ardi
LPTC (PTC)	Researcher journal	RJ	Anto

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Class 1 (C1) • Class 2 (C2) LU (Uni)	Documents	DOC	Adi Naza Isti
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Class 1 (C1) • Class 2 (C2) 	Narrative accounts Theme A <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topic 1 • Topic 2 • Topic 3 Theme B <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topic 1 • Topic 2 • Topic 3 Theme C <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Topic 1 • Topic 2 • Topic 3 	NA Th Tp	

Examples:

LHS/OB/C1/Budi: Ladang High school observation Class 1 with Budi.

LU/PH: Ladang University photograph

LPTC/INT/Leila: Ladang Private Tuition Centre interview with Leila.

4.12.2 Presenting the data

As the nature of qualitative study requires words to elaborate data and findings, this study involved human activities and society in three different contexts. Therefore, the data has been presented using narratives as a tool to search for uniformity within individuals from different backgrounds, languages and culture to tell stories (Bernard, 2013). By using narratives, I was able to explore how people were behaving, when they made decisions, why they decided or chose something in life when they had to move forward or halt their lives, and what happened in the participants' lives.

I put the data in order of the context: LU, LHS, LPTC so that the trajectory of identity development in their earlier stage of English learning could be visible and easy to follow. Conclusions and stories were instantiated in quotes and examples of expression from their transcription following interpretation of data (Bernard, 2013). Moving from their past lives to present enabled me to create a progressive narrative.

4.13 Validity and reliability

One of the perks of being a researcher was it gave me the benefit of experiencing a life outside my own hometown. From November 2015 to February 2016, and on my return in August and September 2016, I stayed, lived, and had experiences living like the people in Tegal City. By spending time with the participants, I gathered reliable data that I would not have been able to gain otherwise. Field research offered validity that questionnaires and experiments do not provide. By being present and coexisting with the participants, I could see emotions, feelings, angst, doubts and other feelings that the participants experienced. This research gave a description about how to capture that as the first-hand witness in itself was a valid source of information (Babbie, 2013).

Furthermore, to ensure the validity of data, I conducted multiple data collection strategies. One instrument complemented the others so that when my researcher journal did not provide enough information I could cross check with the interview or photographs taken in the sites. This triangulation defined as the combination of methods point of views, research materials, and opinions from participants about a particular issue (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

After I completed the first data collection stage and finished the transcriptions, I emailed the files to all participants to get their feedback and to get confirmation that they said what was written in the transcription. Once I left the research site, I maintained contact with the participants by the use of email, social media contacts, and phone calls. I used these things to help me pursue further information that I might have missed during my stay in the city. In addition, the secondary data collection stage also ensured that the data I gained was trustworthy and reliable. By continuing contact and making sure that I asked for clarification of the participants, I consider their thoughts as valuable and that their voices matter, and they alone were the ones who had the ownership of experience and insights (Harvey, 2015).

4.14 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this present study is to discover how the English teachers and the pre-service teachers in Tegal City shape their identity under the framework of identity-agency and life-course agency. The research questions were investigated using the qualitative method by implementing a case studies approach. It also explains the human ethics procedure to obtain permission and consent from the participants, and approval from the official bodies that allowed me to conduct research in Tegal City. This study also ensures the anonymity of the participants by using pseudonyms for the precise location of the three research sites and the names of the participants. It presents the data organisation, coding, and presentation as well as the validity and reliability of the data.

The participants of this study were three teachers in LHS, three teachers in LPTC, and three pre-service teachers in LU. The information from the participants was gathered through the semi-structured interview for the teachers, and semi-structured interview and the narrative accounts for the pre-service teachers. Their narratives were supported with documents, photographs, researcher journals, and the extended contact between me and the pre-service teachers through the use of social media. Additional information for the LHS teachers was taken from the narrative accounts written by a couple of LHS students who consented to participate in this study.

Chapter Five: Identity-agency and life-course agency of the pre-service teachers in Ladang University

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the professional identity development of three pre-service teachers at Ladang University: Adi, Isti, and Naza who studied in the English education major. Within the 14 weeks in the seventh semester, and these participants had completed their teaching practice program in weeks 1-10. When I met them, they were in the last four weeks of the semester.

The chapter elaborates how participants understood their own process of becoming English teachers throughout the period of their studies, up to the time when they did teaching practice at schools. They made choices to expand themselves through different experiences and in some cases to retract from making decisions and paid attention to their surroundings. They absorbed, learned, and interacted with their environment to develop their professional identities as English teachers and as individuals after they graduated from university. The chapter demonstrates how the society, family, important figures, and past education contributed to their ongoing process of professional identity development. This chapter also describes how the pre-service teachers prepared themselves to become English teachers through the exertion of identity-agency and how they made active and conscious choices in their careers both for personal and professional growth. The data is drawn from the interviews and narrative accounts gathered from December 2015 to February 2016. There was a follow-up interview from August to September 2016 with these teachers and the pre-service teachers from which further data was collected.


The analysis process of the participants was done in two ways. The first part of the narrative covers their education and life experiences until the end of university study and playing the role of the pre-service teachers. Their development, experiences, and trajectories were explored using the identity-agency construct (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016) to capture the features and choice-making in their professional development as pre-service teachers, drawing from their experiences within and outside their education contexts during

the time they were in university. This approach was used because identity-agency provided a suitable framework of analysis in for a narrow, specified context where the pre-service teachers were expanding their identity to become teachers. The second part of the analysis focuses on their life after graduating from university, as they sought various experiences in their evolving identities and experiences. This second part will be analysed using life-course agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015), because the framework offers a broader viewpoint that will help to capture the moment when they made life-altering decisions. Furthermore, the life-course agency helped me to track their progress as they shape their professional identity that is still progressing and changing. These two frameworks complement each other for the analysis of the pre-service teachers' identity making and agency choices in the important stage of their life and the effects that could result from making the choices.

5.2 Adi - English is opportunity. It's money

When I did my observation at the Ladang University context, Adi was among the participants whose classes I joined in one of the lectures. After the observation, I asked the pre-service teachers to write narratives and then invited them to interviews. I observed his class twice and joined in another session where I introduced the narrative topics. One thing that made me interested in Adi was his writing, in which he indicated where he lacked English skills. He also indicated what made learning English important for him (see Figure 5-1).

I was interested because at that stage of learning, he was acutely aware of where he stood regarding English learning. This made me see much potential that could be developed and explored from his narrative. I invited Adi for interviews to which he responded by text messages that he would love to join. Before the interview I was not aware which one he was in the classes I had observed, but when I met him, I realised that he was one of the pre-service teachers whom I had noticed as being active in classroom interactions; he answered and posed questions when he was not clear about the topic. In my journal, I described him as “*a big confident guy, actively participating in the class, asked too many questions that his friends booed him*” (RJ/131215/NA). Adi was the only male participant among four participants who responded to my interview invitation.

2. What motivates me to learn English? 

→ When I speak with other person from other country and they know with my speaking, and they understand it make me proud and make me conscious, actually every ~~per~~ person/human in this world have one problem in language. If they ~~can~~ understand they will connect and help each other speak heart to heart. everyone from other country must be has different language so I think english is one of the most recommended to be international language, to speak one person from different country to ~~other~~ other person from other country.

Figure 5-1: Adi's motivation to learn English

Adi grew up in a Muslim family and society in Tegal City. Most of his neighbours were Muslims, and the environment was very religious. His parents had two sons, Adi and his younger brother. His parents owned a furniture business and sold the products to nearby areas and cities. Adi's family lived in a house in the suburban part of the city, away from the noise, traffic, and luxury of living in the centre of the city. Adi was educated in Islamic schools from primary school to high school where he learned Arabic and other subjects. His introduction to English occurred in his early years of primary school.

I learnt English for the first time in the 3rd grade of primary school.

Adi had had an early school-based start on his English learning trajectory. Local government regulated that English was introduced as a local content, where it was up to the principal of the school to control the syllabus, teaching materials, and how many hours of lessons in a week. Local content subjects were not included in the national exams that would be held at the end of his primary schooling. Adi got one lesson a week of 30 minutes. At this stage, students in his primary school were taught basic vocabulary and tenses, mainly focusing on getting them to be familiar with the subject. Adi recalled that he did not learn

much English in primary school because he thought English was a difficult subject to learn. He said he never paid attention to the lesson because he thought it was hard; as a result, he dropped his learning attitudes when it came to English.

Adi got more advanced English lessons when he was in secondary school. This stage demanded more of his time and willingness to learn the language because all students in the school were required to achieve the minimum score to graduate and enrol in high school. At this stage, Adi began to exercise his agency regardless of how insignificant those acts were. At first, he did not bother but went on as usual lacking motivation, which he expressed below:

When I was in the first grade of secondary school, I studied English little, because actually when I was in secondary school, I hated English very much because the – sometimes how it's written and how we speak are different.

Nevertheless, this indicates a degree of agency where he created a boundary around himself. Adi's difficulties in learning English lay in his intense dislike of the subject due to his inability to differentiate how the words were written and spoken. His mindset was the most significant hindrance that he created to prevent him from learning. He established a boundary around himself, an agency that Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) categorised as a reductive agency, that made him select what he wanted to learn and what he did not want to learn. However, there was one aspect of English that he liked and that was reading English texts, especially the ones that had drawings in them. This led him to learn something from the parts of the English lessons he enjoyed. Selective decision-making in what skills he did not want to learn was caused by his lack of abilities to understand spoken English. Eventually, it led to his preference for reading texts with pictures. Adi did this because he could learn something without having to produce the English sounds which he did not know how to say, or listen to the sounds that he did not know how to write.

The other motivation for Adi to learn English in secondary school was to get a passing grade. However, his school was located in the suburban part of Tegal City, and school location had an impact on quality; for example, the schools located in the city centre would have more resources for learning such as books, computer and internet, audio-visual devices and perhaps, a language laboratory. On the other hand, most under-resourced suburban

schools had only whiteboard and textbooks as the learning media and rows of chairs and tables for students and one desk for the teacher. The decoration consisted of a few pictures of national heroes across the classroom wall and the state symbols, photos of the president and vice president placed above the whiteboard. The facilities did not support English learning, especially for listening and speaking skills. Nonetheless, although the school had limited facilities, his teachers were quite adaptable to the situation. They added teaching materials downloaded from the internet relevant to the syllabus as learning supplements. Adi considered this teaching style and new learning material fun because he got to see something different from the textbooks he owned. Adi recalled how he and the other students did not get the actual practice of using English at school, but, fortunately for him, he had a different platform where he could practise his English:

Every day, my young brother speaks English with me. He gave me the inspiration to learn English.

Despite the learning situation at school, things began to change when his younger brother motivated him to speak English with him at home. Regardless of the fact that Adi's brother had almost the same level of English, he had more enthusiasm and curiosity to develop the skills, and he needed a partner with whom he could practise. Adi remembered that he spoke every day with his younger brother. They talked about many things such as their favourite films and music, food and their parents. This practice was essential in Adi's learning as he remembered how he felt confident in front of his brother and felt that practising helped him to improve his speaking skills. Together, he recalled how they played audios of English words repeatedly to get the pronunciation right, they watched DVDs and imitated the conversations. It was not a very advanced sort of learning, but it showed the way he exercised a type of agency which Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) refer to as expansive agency, where he expanded his identity by pursuing his learning and at the same time fulfilling his brother's expectation to become the partner for practising English.

Although the communication with his brother was barely sufficient to be called fluent English, this time-space marked the beginning and a distinct trigger for Adi to embrace English learning and to have an interest in the language. His goal was to be able to

communicate in English, which he had not been able to do before because he did not have anyone to speak with. Henceforth, with his brother, he actively pursued his aim to speak English and practised the language.

He continued practising English with his younger brother until he entered the senior high school. At this stage, he experienced a different atmosphere of learning English. He had the lesson twice a week for 45 minutes in each session. The materials taught to him were based on the high school curriculum defined by the government, and they focused on reading and writing skills under the tutelage of the teachers. Adi's relationship with different strands of English underwent disparate shifts throughout the time he was in primary, secondary, and high schools. The early exposure to spoken English which was different from how the words were written was demotivating for him. However, the practice with his brother gave it a new life, as he found a reason to learn and to achieve the speaking skills he desired. When he was in high school, though, he once again was encountering reading and writing as the main skills being taught. Fortunately, at this stage of education, he was mature enough to recognise his need for greater oral components for his English, thus he sought it elsewhere. In addition to the classroom lessons, Adi joined English extracurricular activities which were conducted outside the school hours. He said that he needed to join the activity because he only had English lessons in the classroom for 90 minutes a week and he did not feel that it was sufficient:

I never attended an English course [private tuition]. I just joined some extracurricular activities, and I got many experience and knowledge from that.

Adi's school offered several extracurricular activities that students could choose from, among options such as scouting, learning traditional dances and arts, self-defence, or handicrafts. Those who were interested in English language practice could participate in English conversation clubs or English debate clubs. Adi chose to join the English conversation club twice a week. A mentor guided the participants by providing the topics of conversations, setting the timetable, and organising an outing to visit a special place now and then. Adi reported that he took part in these activities to expand his English knowledge as well as to use his skills in an actual conversation with people who shared similar interests.

Once again, he exercised his agency of pursuing, where he actively involved himself in sharing ideas, conversation, arguments, and meetings with the other members of the club. Nevertheless, it was not this feat that was difficult, so much as the social hurdles to overcome. He recalled how he felt awful when his friends who did not join the activity called him "show-off" and put him down every time he tried to have a conversation with his fellow English club members. His friends told him that it was no use for him to learn English because he would not meet anyone who spoke English to talk with. Although they were relentless in teasing Adi and giving him unfavourable responses, it did not make him lose interest or withdraw from his learning. Their sceptical attitude did not dim his spirit, and he kept exercising his agency to take direction and pursue his mastery of English.

5.2.1 Encounter with foreigners

When we were talking about the chances of using English, it led me to ask the participants about their experiences of having encounters with foreigners. I asked the question because, in the Indonesian context, the fact that someone was able to communicate with a foreigner was a form of prestige. Having a good command of English was an achievement that most people were unable to accomplish. For that question, Adi gave a response that I found interesting:

Interviewer : Let's go back to the topic about experience with a native speaker. Have you ever been abroad?

Adi : No. I haven't. I hope one day. But I have ever met native speakers.

Interviewer : Okay. Would you tell me more about that?

Adi : I haven't been abroad but I had experiences with foreigners. In senior high school, the teacher in my school invited two persons from other countries, one from Fiji and one from England. When I spoke with them and they understood what I was talking about, it made me proud that they understood me and I understood them. It made me want to, um, be enthusiastic to learn English. It motivated me to be eager to speak more. (UN/I/Adi)

When foreigners came to his high school, Adi saw this as an excellent time to practise his English in real human interaction with English-speaking people. He told me he was

sweating and felt very nervous before he spoke to them. However, although nervous, he stepped forward and took a direction in pursuing his goal to communicate with foreigners.

There were several things to note about this interaction. The first was the validation he got from the foreigners about his English skills and how they told him that they understood what he said. Their validation was like the encouragement he needed to learn English further and disregard the hindrances that came from the people around him. The presence of these foreign volunteers was one of the driving forces for Adi to commit himself to his English learning in the future. Secondly, all the years he had endured being called a show-off by his friends, which made him felt uncomfortable and somewhat put down, had paid off. His friends who used to make fun of him were in awe that he could communicate with the foreigners. The importance of this kind of experience was made greater because Adi lived and learned in a small city, a place where the presence of foreigners was sparse. This interaction was a thing that later on became deeply ingrained in Adi's sense of learning. It encouraged him to expand himself further and to improve himself.

When Adi finished high school, he did not immediately go to university. He did not have an idea where or what to study in university. His parents gave him free rein in choosing what he wished to do with his future. Apparently, the freedom made Adi feel even more confused. He was not prepared to make a significant decision regarding his future at the age of 18. He felt uncertain for some time, but eventually, he decided to halt his studies. This was an act of withdrawing (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016) because he did not make further attempts to pursue higher education during that time space. Having decided that he did not have activities to keep him busy led to Adi joining his family's furniture business and helping them run it. Regardless of the fact that he did not continue his study at the moment, this decision showed that Adi remained an active agent in his learning path.

5.2.2 University endeavours

Adi decided to go back to studying after a two-year hiatus. His decision came from the encouragement that his younger brother gave him. Adi remembered how his brother won many English competitions and he even got a scholarship to study at a government-owned university. His brother shared his views that through English, people could achieve what they wanted. Following his brother's suggestion, Adi felt that he wanted to learn the language

because he wanted to become a teacher. Therefore, he enrolled at Ladang University and took an English major. The first few semesters in university were challenging for Adi as he still considered English as a tough subject to learn:

I just take my conclusion that English is a difficult subject, but in the world nothing is impossible. I tried to make difficulties become my chance to be better.

Halting his studies had taken its toll on Adi because it felt like he was in secondary school again. Although he was disheartened, his determination to learn and make things possible was an appropriate attitude to deal with a difficult learning situation. The way he perceived difficult challenges as a chance to be better showed that he was using his expansive agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016) to make himself a better learner of English. He pursued the opportunity to become competent in English and to beat the learning difficulties. His optimism was a propeller that helped him to perform better in specific skills.

My English skills are not so well, so I have to improve especially in Listening because sometimes when someone speaks English fast, I can't hear it correctly. Sometimes, I can hear but I don't get the real meaning, so I have to improve my ability in Listening.

Being a university student majoring in English education provided a new horizon for his learning. Adi's biggest challenge remained his listening skills, which he had expressed before in his earlier narrative. To overcome this challenge, he spent his free time listening to English songs and then wrote down the lyrics, although he could get them online easily. Adi chose the songs he liked most or the ones that were popular at the time. He argued that it was necessary for him to do it this way because he wanted to familiarise himself with the English sounds. Another way he used contextual resources was by watching English films without Indonesian subtitles and playing them back and forth until he could understand what the actors were saying.

In addition, Adi participated in activities that involved strangers who shared the same interest in learning English. There was a radio station that broadcast English programs once a week. The announcer was one of his lecturers, and he invited the listeners to take part in the

games, conversations, and other programs. The lecturer used the platform to encourage students to participate in this program so that they could practise their English. Whenever the program aired, Adi stayed tuned, made phone calls to the radio station, requested songs or said hello to his friends who were also listeners.

Once a month, the radio organised a meeting for the fans of this English program where they had outdoor games, English quizzes and puzzles, English poetry reading and so forth. Adi was a part of this program, and he thought that this platform helped him build his confidence, strength, and ability to mingle with people from different background.

Although he had difficulties, he felt that the environment for his learning was easier compared to when he was in high school. He had friends in the same department and they all had the same need to practise English, so Adi did not have difficulties in finding partners to have a conversation. In addition, there were fewer people who were condescending to him when he practised his English because he mostly associated himself with fellow English department students. The encouragement and positive learning environment made him able to develop his awareness to become more responsible for his learning experience and to make the most of it.

5.2.3 Teacher in the making

Adi's English improved substantially during the time he was in university. He was required to complete a teaching practice program, and he met all the requirements and was deployed to the high school to conduct teaching practice. Adi stated that this stage was a milestone for his professional development as he had the chance to reflect back to the time when he was a student:

I was a naughty student until my teacher was angry with me. Before doing the practice, I only wondered if I were a teacher and got a student like me. Now I get what it feels like.

He realised that being a teacher was challenging, especially if they had to deal with a student like himself. As a pre-service teacher, he dealt with high school students who were in the transition from being a child to reaching the age of maturity. He contemplated his past self

and mapped what was wrong with his attitude. Pondering the past and understanding what was coming was a form of agency that Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) labelled as attentive agency.

Adi was paying attention to his new teaching environment, and it made him slightly uneasy. He recalled how he had not been a well-behaved student when he was in high school. He often mocked the pre-service teachers who taught him while they were doing their teaching practice program. From that memory, he worried about meeting similar students like himself in the past. To some extent, his fears were true.

At the first time, they still didn't pay attention.

He recalled how he felt that he was invisible to his students. In the first few encounters, he experienced rejections from his students in the form of indifference because they did not know him. He told me that in those meetings, whenever he stood in front of the class, the student did not settle on their chairs. Some of them were still running around and joking with their friends. In sum, the first meetings were disastrous for his credibility as a teacher. Adi remembered how he had been unkind to the pre-service teachers who taught him and this led him to believe that his own behaviour caused a degree of apprehension of how his teaching would be, now that he was in charge.

But after several times, they noticed me and oh ya, who is he? Is he a new teacher?

Adi saw his students' scepticism towards him as a challenge to enhance his teaching skills. He took the bad responses from the students and turned that into an opportunity to boost himself. He thought that to make them learn, he needed to get their attention, as a result, he changed his teaching style and thought of new ways to get them to notice him by making the lesson enjoyable. He prepared himself by learning the material before teaching so that he could deliver the lesson well. Adi remembered that he often had to stay late at night to study before his class to make sure that he knew what he was teaching.

It's about our confidence and our behaviour, if we have confidence and we know about the material, the students will pay attention. But if you don't understand about the material they will not.

Confident teaching made him appear like a good teacher, and he earned his student's trust that he was competent at what he did. Furthermore, he brought teaching media such as pictures, dolls, paper crafts, even snacks that he used as rewards for the students who performed well. The things that he brought into the class were not everyday treats for his student such as their regular teacher might bring them. He behaved maturely because he was aware that he was the adult in the class, and did not respond to their misfit behaviour in the classroom such as belittling him and considering him a sub-teacher. What Adi did was to evoke curiosity from his students, and eventually, this made them learn something from him. This showed how Adi was exercising his agency that Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) called developing pedagogical conviction. He learned how he should deal with teenage students and achieved an understanding that that teaching skill was an essential part of his professional development. Therefore, to accomplish this, he reflected on class management and organisation that he had learned from university to manage the class and organise the way the class should run. He maintained professional contact but remained a friendly teacher for his students. As he taught the students more frequently and got more involved in teaching activities, he was aware that his self-confidence improved and he became less insecure about his teaching skills.

However, as a person, he realised that he was not perfect, but despite the hurdles and hardship during the practice, he mastered the skills to cover up what he addressed as "weakness".

Don't show your weakness. If you showed your weakness, they will...mock you, bully you. For example, checking the dictionary is one of the weaknesses.

In an Indonesian classroom, a teacher is often the only source of knowledge. It is expected that a teacher knows everything, although it might not be the case. In Adi's perspective, he thought that it was a weakness when he could not answer students' vocabulary questions. He used word association to find the meaning of a word without directly telling them the

meaning. He found that this method of teaching was quite useful as it helped his students to learn and be more involved in finding the answers to their questions. He still used a dictionary when he did not know the meaning of a word. However, he avoided, if possible, using it in front of his students.

I try to find the meaning of a word by using similar words, for example, you don't get the real word but you can use similar words.

By presenting an image of “knowing it all”, he built his confidence and gained trust from his students. He learned that sometimes a word was confusing to explain to students, therefore, he always prepared before entering the classroom to avoid the embarrassment of not being able to answer their questions. The activities that Adi did showed that he was protective of his students as he provided a space for the students where they would not be frustrated or feel unsafe in learning. In doing so, he was calling on a form of agency that emerged from his past learning experience.

Furthermore, besides being protective, he also focused on student experience and created a relational identity with them. He used a teaching method where he involved the students in their learning by interacting with them actively. He approached them at their desks, talked to them, asked questions and responded to them whenever they had one. He gave feedback on what they did whenever he gave exercises to his students. By doing these activities in the classroom, he engaged the students in active learning, and from this point, he learned each of his students' potential, strength, and weakness in their English learning. Adi considered that active teaching was equally crucial to active learning because that was when the actual learning took place, an agency that is more expansive and proactive because he understood what the students needed from him.

Adi observed that some of his students seemed enthusiastic to learn English from the way they responded to his instructions. He recalled the interaction where he asked them if they were aware of the importance of learning English:

They know if English is an international language so they have to study English harder and they have to be able to master English. If they are able in English I

believe they will get what they want. Because of English they can get a job, be an entrepreneur, and stuff.

Most Indonesian students learned English because they needed to graduate. They did not learn for the sake of learning or mastering the language. Adi knew this circumstance, and he encouraged his students to do more than just learning for the scores. He told his students that if one mastered the skills of English, it was as if that person had the keys to many possibilities to learn, to get jobs, to expand the business, and so forth. It was not an easy task to change the point of view, and some of his expectations were not met. He pondered the issues both in his manner of teaching and the way his students learned. He thought that the issue was related to causes that were beyond the visible part of the students, such as their motivation and interest in learning. In Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate's (2016) terms, this is an instance of Adi exercising his agency attentively by monitoring his environment. He paid close attention to how the students behaved in the class; he noticed their learning problems and challenges. He was aware that the issues that the students faced mostly lay in their motivation, or the lack of it, to learn the language, and his actions in attempting to enhance this are indications of agentive moves on his part to encourage students to be more involved in their learning.

5.2.4 Fluidity of identity

From the narrative of Adi's trajectory, it can be seen how he evolved from being a clumsy learner of English into a learner and user of English who knew what he needed to do to achieve his goals. The slight and yet constant changes in Adi's identity formation would be visible if it was seen from a bird's eye view. In the follow-up interview in September 2016, Adi shared what he did after he finished his education. He graduated a few weeks before we met again. After that meeting until now, I kept in touch with him via phone contact, BBM and WhatsApp chats, and sometimes emails where he shared a few things he did after graduation. To understand his point of view in a better light, his life after graduation was analysed using the life-course agency framework from Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015), which provides an appropriate approach to see the changes of identity formation and in the way Adi made choices and exercised his agency.

What can be seen from his progress when he graduated from university was his realisation that English was a useful tool to achieve his dream. He realised that learning English intensively in university opened a plethora of possibilities for him. The journey after graduation was an exciting path to follow.

There was a stark difference in Adi's skills and how he perceived English before and after graduation. Throughout the teaching practice period, he developed a sense of independence and authority in English teaching related to his identity as an English teacher. He managed to overcome his past insecurities when dealing with his students as he diminished his sense of weakness in teaching English. The actions he chose during the time showed his expansive agency as a pre-service teacher and he developed a firmer footing in his teaching method and approach that made his students believe that he was a capable teacher. He believed that he would be a good teacher. The changes and development in Adi's trajectory are shown in Table 5-1.

However, in the time after graduation, he was involved in activities other than teaching that made him see more values to English that he could achieve in a field that was not related to education or students at all.

English is the opportunity. It's money. In the future, I see myself communicating with my friends from another country and have a relationship with people.

Living in a harbour city which was a transit between two provinces made Adi realise that although the city was not big, Tegal could offer him an opportunity to get access to international networking and making a relationship with friends from different countries. At the time of speaking in the first interview in December 2015, what he expected of himself and what his environment provided might not be a match, but Adi was working on making the two worlds meet and become an instrument for him to reach his ideal future. Adi saw the empowerment and possibilities of using English in a different field, and he said he was excited to see what could come from implementing it in a real-life context.

Earlier in this chapter, I stated that Adi did not immediately continue his education to university stage after he graduated from high school. He joined his parents to run their furniture business during that education hiatus and worked for them. After graduating from

Table 5-1: Adi's identity-agency and choices

Time space/ context	Choices	Identity-agency										X	Important figures		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	*			
Primary school	Disliked English							☺							Brother
Secondary school	Practice English with brother				☺										Foreigners, friends
High school	Met foreigners – prove he could use English				☺										Parents
Graduating high school	Halting studies to help parents with the furniture business						☺								Students
Early university year	Use challenges to propel his learning to be a better English learner								☺						Friends
University – teaching practice	Reflect his past experience when he's teaching								☺						Students, past teacher
University – teaching practice	Did not want to frustrate his students by providing a positive learning environment												☺		Students
University – teaching practice	Watched his students and tried to make them learn English											☺			Students
University – teaching practice	Realised that he was the teacher and had to take control of the learning process	☺	☺	☺											Students

Identity-agency legend:

Expansive

1. Developing pedagogical convictions
2. Taking responsibility
3. Becoming confident
4. Taking a direction-pursuing

Reductive

5. Losing confidence
6. Taking direction – withdrawing
7. Creating boundaries

Attentive

8. Pondering
9. Anticipating
10. Monitoring environment

Protective

- * Drawing on past experience

university, however, it was a different story. He wanted to be a teacher because he thought it was a noble job, and there was a demand for good English teachers in many areas in Indonesia. He also wished to meet his parents' expectations of him to have a job after graduation, like other people who just finished studying. Indonesian parents, although not explicit about their hopes and dreams, often expected their children to work after finishing university. Adi felt this obligation to his parents, and because he studied in a teacher training university, he thought that it was natural that he should be a teacher.

He sent application letters to various schools right after he graduated in September 2016, and was expecting interview invitations. During the time he was waiting, he went back to helping his parents run the business. Adi informed me that he gave himself a waiting time to search for teaching jobs although he did not know for how long that would be. However, when next term of the 2016/2017 academic year started in January 2017, he had not received any interview invitations, so he diverted his focus from expecting to get a job to managing his parents' business. He dropped his wishes to work in the education field. He exercised what Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) categorised in life-course agency as the retiring agency. He no longer wanted to pursue a teaching job and gave up the idea of becoming a teacher.

Months after graduation he informed me through online messaging, that he was now focusing on his dedication to manage the business. His parents started the business to serve the local market, clients around their residence, and those within Tegal City. Adi told me of his plan to expand the market, and he thought it would offer greater business benefit if he marketed the products abroad.

Once Adi decided to go international with the business, he was entering a new space that he was not familiar with (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015). To familiarise himself with the new environment, he did research on what was new in the furniture world and looked for trendy designs. He suggested his parents create new designs and sell them to broader types of customers. It was an arduous process, but with his parents' experience and his fresh ideas, Adi did what was needed to expand the business by reaching out to a more prominent market internationally.

He might have some knowledge about selling furniture in the local market, but the international market was entirely foreign to him. He realised that growing a business took a

lot of energy, time, and dedication on his part. His parents, however, were both supportive of his plan. What he was not prepared for was the fact that going international meant the communication and marketing strategies would involve an extensive use of English that he had not foreseen before. However, as he had set his mind, he set out to beat the challenges.

I felt like I did not learn much when I was in university. This English in real life is more complex than what I knew.

Adi plunged himself into a business world that was different from what he had learned in university. Although he initially was sure that he had enough English skills to be involved in the international market, he understood that he had to master new skills. For example, when he had to meet people from business fields and bureaucrats and interacted with business people from a different country, he found that his vocabulary in business was lacking. The contacts he had to make with bureaucrats and government people required him to learn documents in formal and business English. He admitted that he did not know exporting procedures, but that did not deter him from learning. He researched and asked around from people who had been in the business for a while. Adi took proactive steps to overcome this challenge by joining a private English course for business English to improve his skills and to develop his communication and marketing skills. This was an act of exercising his agency, which in Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate's (2016) work was addressed as an agency of empowering himself. He used the power within himself to create an advantage that would improve his value by mastering a different genre of English. Not only that, as Adi chose to learn the language further, he expanded the opportunity to build the business, thus, meeting his parents' expectation of him to be a good manager for their business (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015).

The business people don't talk flowery words; they are sharp and intimidating because my English was not as good as them.

He felt intimidated because of his English, and because he was new in the business world. However, even in this environment, he kept exercising his agency and monitoring

environment, which made him aware of what kind of communication strategies were used in business contexts. The progress and awareness of his new environment can be seen in Figure 5-2.

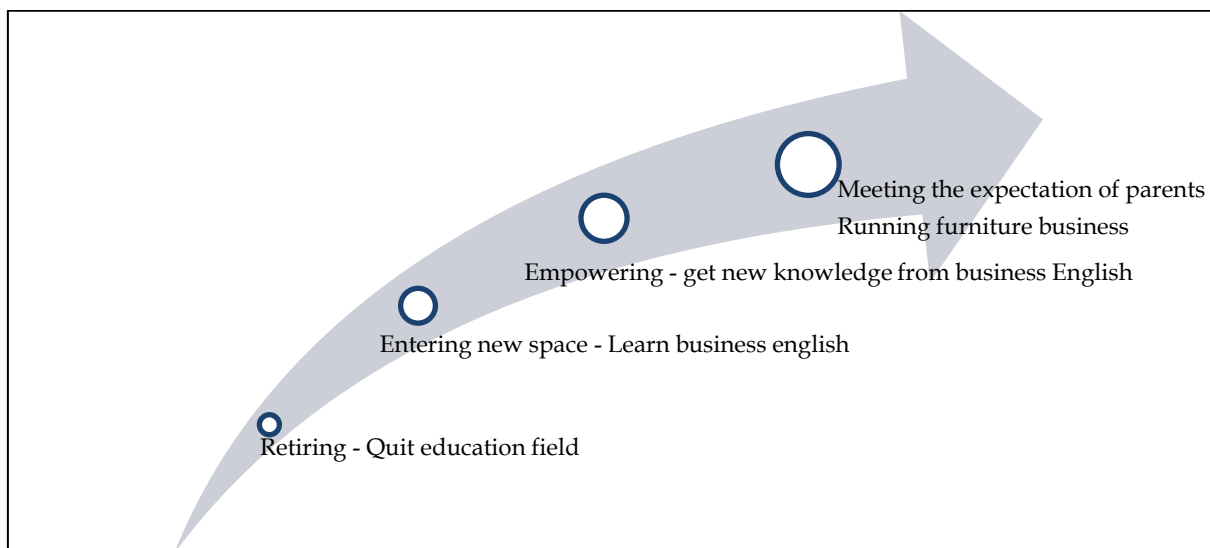


Figure 5-2: Adi's life-course agency after graduation

5.2.5 The end justifies the means

It is interesting to observe how Adi's view of English changed. Previously, he expressed how happy he was with the fact that foreigners understood his English when he was in high school. It was a gesture of acceptance and encouragement that he sought from foreigners. Their understanding and validation of how he used English were enough for him at that time. Interestingly, although his skills improved significantly after university education, his values, benchmarks, and beliefs about his language skills had also experienced changes.

If in university and as a pre-service teacher he showed that his English was quite good and was confident with his skills, in this business world he felt he was a learner again. He thought as if everything he knew about English was debunked with the fact that his knowledge was not good enough. He found that despite his good skills, communicating with business people was hard. After graduation, however, his purpose of using English was no longer for seeking validation from foreigners, but rather aiming to use the language to communicate his intention in doing business and he found that this real-life use of

English was necessary to support his personal development and the expansion of his business.

Throughout the trajectory, Adi experienced circumstances that changed the way he viewed himself. He changed from an unsure teenager who had very little interest to learn English to a young university student who was confident despite the circumstances and survived the mockery from his high school friends. As he grew older and had teaching experiences, he became more confident in using English and believed that he would be a good teacher. However, as his journey continued, he found a new fascinating world that kept him from remaining static and satisfied with his achievement. He pushed himself to be a better user of English and stretched his horizon in the field related to business and human interaction. All that happened made him more mature regarding personality and professional aspect. The kind of gradual development in identity-making was a process that enabled Adi to become somebody he wanted. He was satisfied that he could prove to his parents he was good at being a teacher during his teaching practices. He was also happy that his new identity as a businessman set him up for bigger challenges.

5.3 Isti - You will become an apostate who behaves badly if you learn English

Isti arrived at our meeting breathless and sweaty; then she offered a heartfelt apology for being late. She said she had finished her class just before the time she agreed to meet me on a Tuesday afternoon in the last week of December 2015. We met in a small food stall within the campus area. Isti was one of the pre-service teachers who volunteered to join the interview after I extended my invitation to her class. She was the youngest student in her batch as she was only 21 years old, but she was already in her final year. She was a petite young woman who wore a veil to cover her hair and long sleeved-shirt and a matching flowery skirt. She had a serious air around her and was a quiet young woman who seemed closed off. However, as we talked, I found out that she was quite funny and expressive in using her hands to emphasise her explanation about different issues.

Isti was born in Brebes, a regency about 35 kilometres to the west of Tegal City. She lived with her parents in Brebes until she graduated from high school. The neighbourhood where she grew up was very religious and traditional. Isti grew up in a family of teachers. Her grandparents owned a *Pondok pesantren* near their house where *santri* came and

stayed to learn Islam. Her great-grandparents were the *ustadz* or teachers in that school. Her father was a teacher in a primary school, as well as some of her uncles and aunts, who taught in the schools nearby. Her family had a firm belief that being a teacher was a profession for the next generation of the family. Isti relocated to Tegal City when she enrolled in the university. She stayed in a rented house with her friends and only went back to her hometown once or twice a month.

5.3.1 Education

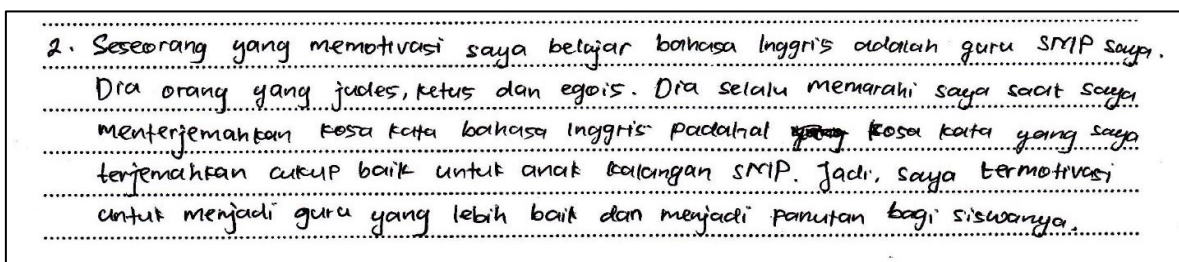
Isti went to a *madrasah* in her hometown from primary school to high school. She told me that her parents thought that it was best for her to be educated in a school that included Islamic teaching in the curriculum. In her *madrasa* school, Isti got her first encounter with English lessons, but she did not elaborate a lot on her early education as she did not remember much of it.

The encounter with English continued when she was in secondary school, and she felt that the demand to learn English was greater as she was required to get good scores to graduate from her school. At the time of the interview when I asked her to recall the story of her education in secondary school, I noticed how she looked a bit upset and became agitated and emotional. I suggested that we took a break and talked about something else to lighten the mood.

I found out minutes later after she calmed down that the cause of her emotional state was because she remembered one of her English teachers, whom she addressed as Mrs Yayuk. She also disclosed her opinion about her teacher in the written narrative in Figure 5-3.

Her written narrative contained negative emotions that influenced the ways she dealt with her situation. She described her teacher using strong words that indicate negativity such as “*judes*” and “*ketus*” which in the Indonesian language are used to describe someone with unpleasant personality and traits. This was the kind of English teacher who taught Isti and gave her, and probably her friends as well, unkind treatment. Furthermore, she recalled more details about the teacher below:

She always used GTM (Grammar Translation Method), she gave books to the students and asked us to read and read and read. Every time there was a student who couldn't read, she would say "Isti, you read." There would be another student who couldn't read, and she would point at me to read all the time. Every time there was a student who could not translate a text, she threw the task at me. Once I protested with the way she did that. I said, "Ma'am, I am tired of doing other people's work and fix their mistakes. I don't want to do that again." She said, "Okay. If you don't want to do that, you keep silent. You don't have to have the book." She took the textbook and I could not learn from it.



2. Seseorang yang memotivasi saya belajar bahasa Inggris adalah guru SMP saya. Dia orang yang jutek, ketus dan egois. Dia selalu memarahi saya saat saya menterjemahkan kosa kata bahasa Inggris padahal yang kosa kata yang saya terjemahkan cukup baik untuk anak kalangan SMP. Jadi, saya termotivasi untuk menjadi guru yang lebih baik dan menjadi panutan bagi siswanya.

Someone who motivated me to learn English was my secondary school teacher. She was very sharp-tongued, mean, and selfish. She was always angry at me when I translated English vocabulary although the vocabulary that I translated was pretty good for a secondary school student. So, I was motivated to be a better teacher and be a role model for the student.

Figure 5-3: Isti's written narrative about her teacher

She recalled how she felt depressed every time she had English lessons because she knew she would be the one chosen to cover up for other students' inability to do the assignments. Isti did not know what GTM was when she was in secondary school. Only after she was in university could she understand what the method was called. She did not welcome her teacher's favouritism towards her because it was burdening her. For Isti, it was daunting, and she could not comprehend the reasons her teacher did that to her. She remembered that sometimes she agreed to do her teacher's bidding and complete all the tasks by herself. Other times, when she had much homework from other teachers, she refused to do the tasks. She considered that her teacher was not being fair to her, which became the reason why she refused.

The choices that she made relating to her English learning signified how she had a strong agency to set boundaries (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016) and stand up for herself and did not always do whatever her teacher told her. Unfortunately, the way Isti resisted made her teacher become meaner by taking away the textbooks and completely ignored her need to learn. She was asked to stay silent, and without the textbooks, she did not know what was being discussed. Isti could not learn properly, and she lost her confidence when dealing with this particular teacher. The way her teacher sabotaged her learning was etched in Isti's mind, which pushed her to withdraw from having an interaction with both the teacher and the subject itself. She recalled how it was a bad experience dealing with Mrs Yayuk during her school time, and she had to endure the treatment for the rest of the school year until finally, she graduated from secondary school.

In high school, her learning experience was better because she went to one of the most popular schools in Brebes. It was one of the best times of her studies because she got the chance to enjoy sophisticated learning facilities. She noted that the school provided an LCD (Liquid Crystal Display) and a computer set, which enabled the teachers to introduce the students to the use of technology for English teaching. She told me that she had a teacher who knew how to teach the students and she began to like English, although she admitted that it was not the best subject that she mastered. Furthermore, the school also had a library where she usually spent her break time reading books and having a conversation with her friends. Her interest in English developed slowly at this stage, but she recalled that she made steady progress, so that when she graduated, she managed to get a score that was above the minimum bar to graduate.

5.3.2 Choosing a major

Graduating from high school was a milestone that Isti got through quite smoothly. It was the plan after high school that caused some concerns in her family about what to do next for her. She had enjoyed English when she was in high school, and she expressed her desire to pursue learning the language. In our conversation, she stated what she wanted to be in the future:

Interviewer : So, if you had that English skills, what type of job do you want?

- Isti* : Teacher. I want to be like my father.
- Interviewer* : Oh, your dad is a teacher?
- Isti* : Yes, he teaches Civics. But actually, my family did not allow me to be an English teacher.
- Interviewer* : They didn't want you to be an English teacher?
- Isti* : Right. They wanted me to be an Arabic language teacher, but since I was not interested and not very good at it, my parents gave up and let me do what I wanted.

Growing up in a family of teacher shaped her beliefs that she should be a teacher too, and in her case, she wanted to be an English teacher. Unfortunately, her family was not very supportive of her choice of major. As the family had a *pondok pesantren* where the use of Arabic was essential, they strongly suggested that Isti learn Arabic instead of English, so that she could contribute her skills to the *pondok pesantren* that her grandfather owned by being one of the *ustadzah* (female teacher). Furthermore, she stated that other members of the family were not familiar with English. They did not have enough reference and knowledge about English, so they were quite suspicious about the language. The viewpoint formed an unfavourable opinion about English culture and English-speaking people that she quoted below:

One of my ustadzs said that "If you imitate what they [English speaking people] do, you will become one of them"¹⁷. You will become an apostate who behaves badly if you learn English."

The opinion from older members of the family was harsher because they brought in the issue of religion, which was an essential part of her life. Her parents shared the same beliefs with her *ustadzs* and the older members of her family. Although they were supportive of her desires to become a teacher, they were adamant about preventing her from learning English. In her recollection of that conversation, her parents tried to steer her to follow their wishes.

¹⁷ The hadith quoted: "Whoever resembles a people is one of them." – The wording of the Prophet Muhammad recited by Abu Dawood, a Persian scholar of prophetic hadith.

Despite her parents' objection about her choice of major, she was firm about what she wanted. She was exercising her expansive agency, which Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) refer to as pursuing. Although her parents did not want her to learn English, through long discussion and efforts to convince them, they eventually agreed with her choice. Isti, who had learned Islam since she was small, apparently had her own understanding about the *hadith* that the older people had used against her:

I knew about the hadith, but my interpretation was not that narrow. I just want to be more open-minded, and I am preparing myself, as long as my knowledge about religion stands strong. However, I also do not want to be left behind, because everything is in English nowadays, and it is an international language. So we have to be clear about what we want to do.

Isti understood from where the concern had come. For herself, she knew that associating herself with English would not make her an apostate, although she also understood that she needed to make a more significant effort to convince the elders in the family about the issue. She wanted to make them see that not everyone who learnt English would be bad. She also felt that she needed to alter the interpretation of English that the older people in her milieu had. Their concern that she would be a poorly behaving person if she chose to learn English became her motivation that she could be not-that-kind-of-person.

As previously stated, her great-grandparents were respected *ustadz* who were very conservative in viewing the way family members should behave and live their life. Their religion had been a significant part of their lives, and the older generation believed that this was the right way to live, by practising the religion in all aspects of their lives including getting an education, job, and in making important choices. None of the teachers in the family had become English teachers, as her uncles worked in a primary school and taught general subjects such as sports and mathematics, and the others became *ustadz* in the *pondok pesantren*. They were not familiar with the idea of a family member becoming an English teacher.

This concern stemmed from the fact that the older people in her family had an unfavourable image of people using English. They held a jaundiced view of western

culture because they watched TV shows, where liberal lifestyles were displayed, and they read newspapers about western people being sent to war to kill people. However, according to Isti, the most important thing that gave the older people in her family unfavourable opinions about English-speaking folks was the foreigners they saw visiting Tegal City for business or pleasure. According to them, the foreigners acted inappropriately, such as partying, men and women mingling in a too friendly manner, and not wearing proper clothing. The conclusion that they drew from observing the foreigners they saw from afar was unfavourable. Because of this limited information, they became sceptical about the foreign culture.

Isti recalled how her grandparents were worried that she would be influenced by the lifestyle and the way western people dress if she chose English. Isti disagreed with this curbed perception of English, mainly because she saw the culture of specific speakers of English as separate from the learning of the language and the many roles it had in the modern world. On a personal level, Isti recalled that she wanted to have a better opportunity for her future and she had faith that she would not turn bad just because she chose to learn English. She was aware of the opportunity she could have if she learned English. This meant that she had a long-term view of what she wanted to be even though her parents thought differently.

The objections came not only from her uncles and grandparents but also from her parents. She recalled how they did not want her to be too far away from her hometown. Isti believed that learning English would give her a bigger opportunity. If she had chosen to learn Arabic and she knew it could be useful, it would not get her very far from home. She considered that her option of work in the future would be limited to her hometown by becoming the teacher in the *pondok pesantren* that her grandparents owned. She reasoned with her parents that she would commit to her learning and be good at what she was going to do when it came to English and directed herself to get what she wanted.

5.3.3 University life

The first few semesters in university were a tumultuous journey for Isti. The wholly different setting from her high school learning took her some time to adjust to. It was not

only the English learning that troubled her but also her personal development and how she perceived herself as a learner.

After I graduated high school, I started to gain my confidence. When I was in the fourth semester, I realised how shy I was before. That's why I felt so left behind and I have a lot to make up for. I have to keep up with things, and it took the last two years for me to know it.

She described herself as a shy person when she was younger. In her class, she did not dare to ask questions when she was not clear about the lesson. She was not a very social person and only had a few friends. As she grew older, there was a maturity and understanding that led her to realise that her shy nature hindered her learning progress. Her awareness of her lack of confidence and the negative impact of being closed off made her try to be more open.

In the fourth semester, she began to get along more with her friends in the same department. This meant that she spent more time at the campus meeting her friends and participating in student activities. She even joined the English debate club where she met the members to practice speaking English once a week. According to Isti, her involvement in the activities made her more open to having interaction with other students, because she could learn from her friends, too. Isti's self-esteem developed slowly but steadily. She expanded her social skills as well as her efforts to understand English better (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016) and grew more confident. It took the involvement of other people for her to grow and improve her English skills confidence:

There were foreign volunteers at the campus; their names were Lisa and Chloe from Germany. I felt afraid to speak with them because they were native speakers and my English was so little, but to them it meant something. When I made mistakes, they could accept it by saying that it was okay and encouraged me to speak up. It made me more confident to speak with them also to present in front of the class because I have spoken to the natives and they could accept my English.

The stark difference before and after she met the volunteers was mainly in her confidence when she needed to speak English. Before meeting them, Isti was very conscious of her pronunciation, which almost always prevented her from speaking in English because she was doubtful. Her interaction with the volunteers boosted her confidence because they encouraged her to believe that it was okay to make mistakes. It was an expansive agency of taking the right direction to pursue (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016) her English mastery that she chose regarding her learning. She used the feedback to improve herself and be a better learner of English by keeping practising and being more confident when she had to present in front of the class.

In a different setting, Isti also achieved an improvement regarding her English. In her hometown she experienced the alteration of perception about English:

In my neighbourhood, some children wanted me to teach them English. It's free for them because I consider my neighbours as family. Some of the parents paid some money but they were my private students to whom I come every night and they wanted me to teach their children using full English for the material.

The requests from her neighbours could be interpreted as trust that she earned after learning English for several semesters. She was perceived as someone who was able to use English and seen as a speaker of English who would not pose a threat to their children. They trusted her to teach their children and did not think it would harm them. Their trust even extended as far as paying her for the private lessons she gave to their children. Isti recalled how after she had given those English lessons for some time, her uncles and grandparents began to reconsider their opinion of English as well:

They told me to teach a little of English to the younger students, and I tried to find a way to teach reading Alquran using English as the language of instructions but they asked me not to explore it too much because they still think that it is more important to learn religion.

Indirectly, the request from her uncles and grandparents encouraged her to develop her pedagogical skills to show that English did not have to be seen to be in opposition to

religious instruction. She developed her expansive agency of taking responsibility to become their English teacher. Isti realised that this was a stage where she had to negotiate her way to achieve the goals of teaching English without intervening too much in their learning of religion that the elders requested. Her uncles and grandparents, although slightly less suspicious of English language now that they saw the progress that she made throughout her learning, were still a little bit wary of fully accepting the teaching of English. Indeed, they saw her as still the same niece and granddaughter as she was before, with the addition of English skills. It was safe to assume that it was significant progress in thinking considering that before Isti enrolled at the university, they thought that English was bad, but now, they even asked her to teach the students in the *Pondok pesantren*. Isti felt appreciated, and she indicated that the trust had influenced her confidence.

5.3.4 Teaching practice and praxis shock

Although she had thus gained teaching experience with her neighbours' children, in the last semesters of her university studies, Isti had to complete a formal teaching practice program at a school. When she began her mandatory teaching practice in her final semesters, Isti was assigned to teach year 11 students in a high school for two months. The students were 16-17 years old, just a few years younger than her. Isti was enthusiastic to do this, although she admitted that she was nervous because it was her first experience being a teacher in a formal setting. It was different from the teaching contexts she was accustomed to in her hometown where they were casual and informal.

During the teaching practice, Isti used her former teacher in secondary high school as an anti-model and created an idea about what an ideal teacher should be. In contrast to her earlier unpleasant learning experience, she thought that a teacher should be caring to the students and not grumpy or mean. She displayed the attitude of protectiveness towards her students by being a nice and friendly teacher so that her students could learn better. She was drawing agency from her earlier experiences that traumatised her. The ideal imagery of a good teacher was the value that she believed she could control and wanted to implement at the school, where she dealt with various kinds of students:

My students were funny and crazy; they didn't think that I was a teacher but their friend. They knew that I was learning to be a teacher and understood my situation; therefore they felt like I was a part of them, sometimes they approached me and hugged me.

She formed a concept of her ideal teacher, and that was how she modelled herself when doing the teaching practice: a friendly teacher who was close to the students. However, this elicited a response which was not exactly what Isti was looking for, although she welcomed their treatment of her. Unfortunately, being their teacher demanded that she to be conscious about her environment, and she realised that her ideal picture of a teacher in her head was not in line with the actual students she was facing.

This contrasted with her expectation and she struggled with the classroom reality and Isti was experiencing what has been called a praxis shock (M. Clarke, 2008). Their behaviour, learning habits, characteristics and background were something that she could not control. The way her students treated her like a friend was blurring the boundaries that should exist between a teacher and the students, as she allowed physical contacts and closeness. They did not regard her as a teacher whom they should respect and obey. Isti might have had this perfect idea of a teacher, and she tried to execute it in class. However, she could not control, define, and impose her idea of how ideal students should be to her students. They were independent beings who had their own minds and ideas about how to be students. However, although the situation was not like what she hoped, she attempted to lighten the challenge by providing them with a different type of teaching from the ones that they usually had.

It's like using TPR where students played charade to guess the words ... one student had to make gestures such as how to ... describe "to write" in the past tense. This way, usually they understood better, and I could teach them ten words that they could remember. 10-15 they could remember the words, so they could improve themselves.

Her efforts showed that she developed a maturity in handling problems, as she developed her pedagogical conviction, employing an expansive agency. She tried to mitigate the problems in her teaching by implementing a different approach. It is

interesting to note that her chosen methods were still departures from the GTM that her former teacher used. For example, she used a range of techniques she had learned about in her studies, such as TPR (Total Physical Response), Silent Way and Jigsaw. She found that those approaches were more appealing to the students. She sometimes brought real things as a model for teaching fables and short stories. The TPR teaching method she implemented involved students in physically moving from their seats to follow the instructions. She used games such as charade to make students guess the meaning of a word. It turned out to be fun, playful, and engaging, while at the same time they still could learn.

At the end of the teaching practice after nearly two months, Isti had an epiphany that she needed to be assertive and be more creative in her way of teaching. Unfortunately, she reached this awareness only at the end of the program; therefore, she could not fully implement the changes and creativity she wanted to apply to her students. However, her understanding of the teaching method theories and implementing them in her class was one of her successes in teaching. In her mind, she thought that the students had to have had little variation of learning style from their teachers; hence she was convinced what she did would interest them.

Throughout the teaching practice time, Isti developed a belief that she as a teacher was indispensable to the students. By observing and monitoring her environment (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016), she believed that students were the most important thing in education. She viewed the link between a teacher and the students and their distinctive roles as something more important than a lot of things, such as money.

Money can come from anywhere, but you cannot teach without a student, you can make money without your students, though. You can't be called a teacher without your students, but you can always make money in other ways.

Her convictions that a teacher needs the students to achieve the right to bear an identity as a teacher showed that she matured during the process. It was a realisation that both parties were needed to achieve the goal of education and learning. As she struggled with her students at the beginning of her teaching practice, it took her some time to develop this

belief. She thought although she was not very successful in her teaching practice, she was happy to learn that she needed to be more assertive in teaching, and for that, she needed to be their teacher instead of their friend. Isti's choices of agency and how she changed her view about herself, and the evolution of her from a shy girl to a pre-service teacher who was gaining her confidence, the evolution of the agency she had chosen is presented in Table 5-2 below.

5.3.5 Alternate route post-graduation

Throughout the time after Isti graduated from university, we maintained contact and sometimes chatted online. From there, I was updated about what she had been doing over the time since university graduation. Those times provided a challenge for Isti to define her identity. Previously when I had met her during her university time, she stated that she wanted to be a teacher, but in our recent contact through texts, she said that she had landed a different job, far away from the education field. There were personal and social reasons why she chose a different job that was not expected by her family. I captured our conversation where she explained why she did not become a teacher in Figure 5-4.



Isti : Yes, I still work in a bank but I don't know

- Isti* : I wanna resign this September, of course, I wanna be a teacher but its hard to be a teacher here
- Interviewer* : Ahh..do you want to be a teacher in Jakarta?
- Interviewer* : Why is it hard to be a teacher? In Tegal/Brebes, aren't there many schools that need English teachers?
- Isti* : Yeah I wanna be a teacher in Jakarta or something better than my job now [laughter], my mother wants me to be (a) teacher in Singapore but I'm not sure.
- Isti* : In Tegal I had to do devotion and if I wanted to be a teacher, I had to have a connection and join PPG (Pendidikan Profesi Guru) in Semarang.
- Interviewer* : Alas, it's very complicated to be a teacher. Why are you not sure about being a teacher in Singapore?
- Isti* : Yes, it is rather difficult to be a teacher, sis. I don't know what the requirements to work abroad are. It's all right to have a small salary if I stayed at home.

Figure 5-4: Follow up chats with Isti

In order to understand her comments, it is necessary to know about the situation for newly recruited teachers or honorary teacher (see Chapter Two) in government and private schools. In the bubble, she explained why teaching was not an attractive option by listing three words: “*ngabdi*”, “*channel*”, and “*PPG*”. The first word “*ngabdi*” derived from the Indonesian word “*pengabdian*” or devotion applied to honorary teachers. It was challenging to be an honorary teacher because they were only assigned to teach a few hours a week, paid based on the hours of teaching in the first week, to cover up the whole month of salary. To make up for the lack of teaching hours in school, a new teacher often had to teach at different schools, so that they could find themselves teaching a large number of hours in a week, thus earning more salary. Isti considered that doing this service was slightly too much for her to take because, despite the possibility of being recruited as a government employee, the chance could be slim because of a large number of fresh graduates in the same situation.

The second word that she stated in the bubble was “*channel*” which means that she needed to have a connection to get a teaching job. Although not compulsory, having someone from the inside of an institution that an individual wishes to apply to could be a help. This practice is quite common in Indonesian society, although in recent times, job vacancies have been openly advertised in the newspaper so that people can apply without the

Table 5-2: Isti's identity-agency and choices

Time space/ context	Choices	Identity-agency										X	Important figures	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	*		
Secondary school	Refused her teacher's "favouritism"					☹	☹							Teacher
Secondary school	Withdrew from having interaction with her English teacher					☹	☹	☹						Teacher
Graduating high school	Chose English major despite her parents' and elders' objections and concerns				☹									Parents, relatives
University	Made new friends and joined extracurricular activities to practice English			☹										Friends, instructors
University	Interacted with foreigners and made excellent progress			☹										Friends, foreigners
University – hometown	Taught English to neighbours' children and <i>pondok pesantren</i> students		☹											Students
University – teaching practice	Became a nice and friendly teacher to provide a good learning environment								☹			☹		Students
University – teaching practice	Tried different teaching method to achieve the purpose of learning	☹												Students
University – teaching practice	Became aware that teachers and students were indispensable to each other										☹			Students

Identity-agency legend:

Expansive

1. Developing pedagogical convictions
2. Taking responsibility
3. Becoming confident
4. Taking a direction-pursuing

Reductive

5. Losing confidence
6. Taking direction – withdrawing
7. Creating boundaries

Attentive

8. Pondering
9. Anticipating
10. Monitoring environment

Protective

* Drawing on past experience

connection. Isti did not want this kind of connection although she could have asked for her father who was a teacher to help.

The third one that Isti stated in the bubble was *PPG*; or Isti did not want to take part in this program, because it had to be done at the same time she was doing the *pengabdian*, which meant she would have fewer teaching hours in schools and less income because of that. The second reason was that the PPG program was held in Semarang, which was a five-hour return trip by train from Semarang to Tegal City. She would need to pay for accommodation in Semarang because it would be too far to commute. She believed that the salary would not be enough to cover the cost of travel, living in Semarang and the fees to join the training. For this action, she exercised retiring agency, as she did not pursue this program for her teaching career.

This salary concern was also the thing she expressed in her text where she said that *“It’s all right to have a small salary if I stayed at home.”* Staying at home with her parents would mean that they could cover her expenses, and she would not have to worry about being paid a low salary. Isti did not want this situation mostly because she did not want to burden her parents. She did not take this chance to be a government employee, instead chose to be proactive and made her own career path. She was performing an agency that in Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) is referred to as ”finding own goal”. She made a different decision from what was expected of her by her family and chose her own trajectory that satisfied her own need to shape her identity.

She took proactive actions in seeking, attending, and accepting a job in a private bank in Jakarta. She did not wait until she got a teaching job to make that decision. Honestly, I was rather taken aback with the information she shared with me because she had told me she wanted to be a teacher and she had fought hard to gain her family’s permission. She recalled that one of the reasons she got the job in Jakarta was because the scores she achieved from university studies were good. Another reason was that she had good English proficiency. Jakarta was not like Tegal City. It was more competitive and tough to get a good job without excellent qualification. Furthermore, a position in a bank was one of the most sought-after positions among fresh graduates and even for people who had graduated longer from university, because it offered a good salary, clear career path,

and a bonus if the employee performed well. The fact that she got a job in a bank in Jakarta proved that she was skilful and competitive.

Getting this bank job meant that she had to relocate to Jakarta, leaving her family behind to start a new life in a new place independently. She said her parents were happy that she got the job, although her mother had a wish that she would become a teacher in Singapore, Isti was not sure about the requirements, and she was not well-informed in that matter. She was aware that she might need to take a different course to acquire the minimum requirement of being a teacher in Singapore, but she was not ready at the moment and opted to stay at her current job in the bank until her contract ended in September 2018.

Choosing to go to Jakarta meant that Isti was choosing a profession that was not suggested by any of her family members and she did not meet her parents' and grandparents' expectation for her to be a teacher in the *pondok pesantren*. She was exercising her empowering agency as in Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015), where she chose her own path that was not defined by her family, and at the same time, she was also exercising retiring agency when she withdrew from the teaching trajectory she had been on.

Overall, Isti's journey (see Figure 5-5) to shape her identity was interesting to observe. She changed from being an insecure girl who did not know how to communicate with people into an independent young woman who pursued her own path. Since she graduated from high school and had to choose a major, she showed that she was a strong-willed person. She took her parents and family members' considerations into account, but she was the one who made the decision. She was not always in agreement with the suggestion from the family members, but she tried to meet them halfway, like maintaining her identity as a good Muslim by keeping her veil and not diverting from what her family taught her. There were possibilities that Isti could have in her life because she was young, and her trajectories were not settled to the point where she worked in a bank. She believed that she had opportunities ahead of her and was enthusiastic in shaping her future using the English language skills she had and hand maintained.



Figure 5-5: Isti's life-course agency after graduation

5.4 Naza - They know what we speak so we have a connection, it makes me feel good

Naza was a 22-year-old young woman who majored in English education at Ladang University in Tegal City. She was one of the participants from the university context whom I met five times during the data collection stage. I came across Naza's writing and became interested in her profile. In her interview, she recalled the time she worked with international volunteers in some activities outside the campus and I considered that piece of information interesting because, in Tegal, international organisations were rare. I also learned that she was a very active person with various activities such as going to campus, teaching in a private tuition centre, and becoming a member of the committee of a students' organisation.

She spoke fluent English and delivered her answers to my questions smoothly. Her learning trajectory was interesting and complex; intertwining with the ways Naza shaped her learning and developed her teacher identity. In her written account (Figure 5-6), she wrote about her grand plan after graduation and that was the thing that made me want to invite her for the interview and she agreed.

5.4.1 Madrasah and education

Naza grew up in a village called Rumangkan in Tegal Regency where she spent her childhood and early education. Rumangkan was a small but densely populated village. Most of the people worked as traders, civil servants, or blue collar workers. One of the

most popular home businesses in the village was the brickmaking industry that employed local people as seen in Figure 5-7.

I'm the first child of my family. I have got 2 little sisters. My father passed away and now I'm living with my mother and my sisters. I'm a university student. I'm studying in the small private university in Tegal called **Ladang** University. I take English Education and now I'm in the seventh semester. I plan to graduate next year, September 2016. After I graduated from university, I plan to move to another town. I'll work there as a teacher or ~~that~~ whatever I could do. While I'm working, I plan to prepare my Master degree. I want to get Scholarship abroad in Manchester University. I'd take Technology of Education or TESOL.

Beside a university student I am also blogger. I'm blogging about skin care tips and beauty. And I plan to create another blog about culinary and travelling. Hey, I've got a smart phone worth 4 millions because I win the blogging competition! I love reading, writing and sharing. I also love Japanese and English. I hope someday I could teach English in Japan. That would be a perfect job for me.

Figure 5-6: Naza's written narrative



Figure 5-7: Brickmaking in Rumangkan village

There was no rice field area in this village due to the density of population. It was a unique village because it had an enclave area of another village in it. There were only four

primary schools in the village; two of which were Islamic-based schools, two private secondary schools, and only one private high school. Her parents enrolled her in a *madrasah* where she learned Arabic as a compulsory subject besides the general subjects such as mathematics, Geography, Civics, and bahasa Indonesia. She continued to a similar school for her secondary schooling.

In vocational high school, she chose computer networking as her major. This was one of the ways she exercised her expansive agency in taking direction to pursue what she wanted (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016). She remembered the lessons, such as various kinds of computer-related skills, from setting up the network, computer hardware and software, basic HTML coding, and how to create a website and blog. Sometimes, she recalled, her teachers gave an assignment for the students to write an online journal to record their daily activities. Naza created a blog to complete the assignment which she occasionally updated. She used this blog as a form of an online journal where she wrote about her daily ventures and her thoughts on issues at school. She said she tried to use English on her blog, but because she was not confident about her English skills, she alternated between English and bahasa Indonesia. She realised that it was for a school assignment, therefore the audience of her blog revolved around her classmates and school friends. However, although it was exposed to a limited audience, she tried to maintain it until she graduated from high school.

5.4.2 The Monster

The first time Naza was exposed to English learning was when she was in the third grade of primary school. It was introduced as a local content lesson offered once every week for 45 minutes.

English is a monster you know. The structure is too complicated for me. I did not have enough knowledge or enough sources to learn English when I was in primary school, secondary school, and vocational high school.

The metaphor she used was "monster"; therefore, she would like to be as far away as possible from the monster to avoid the threat and difficulties in dealing with it. One of the

things that made her view English this way was because it was too complicated for her. She indicated that the structure, which comprised the grammar, syntax, tenses, phrases, clauses and everything else was hard to learn. She recalled the challenging factors of learning the language because of the differences from the Indonesian language. The irregular verbs were her main problems, and she felt that it was baffling to memorise all the changes in the word forms. She expressed that her other problem was with the complexity of tenses and when to use them in a context that was familiar to her. She said because bahasa Indonesia did not have the concept of tenses, she found it difficult to recognise the time markers.

Her internal issue about language learning was added to by the challenges that came from the school environment. The school did not have enough resources to support her and her friends to learn English properly because it only had a whiteboard and board marker, and the teachers only used textbooks. There was no means to practice her English in daily life and she did not see the benefit of it to her learning. Her agency of withdrawing from learning English created mental boundaries that prevented her from having the interest to learn properly. The stage of unwillingness to value English and refusal to learn English lasted until she was in the final year of vocational high school when she realised the importance of learning English and the possibility of where it could take her:

I was a poor learner of English; then I realised that English is very important nowadays, so I keep studying English whatever it is and anytime when I have a chance.

This stage was important in Naza's learning trajectory as the awareness came from her self-reflection and the way she paid attention to what was happening in her surroundings. She observed her environment and noted the shift in how people around her perceived English. For example, she noticed her environment where people were beginning to take a real interest in learning English by joining English courses to take various tests to meet the requirements to enrol in university or to get a job. Although she did not take part in this activity, she was aware of the shift in the way people reacted to English. She recalled that whenever she read the newspaper, she found job ads that

required the applicants to have English and computer skills. In the entertainment field, she noted that television hosts began to mix English and bahasa Indonesia whenever they broadcast a live show or hosted quiz programs.

If previously she did not see why she should learn English because it did not relate to her personal life, during this time, she began to consider that English did have an impact in her life, and if she did not react properly, she might be left behind. She recognised the importance of English for her personal development. One of the biggest triggers for her change was the job ads in the newspaper. She thought that she was going to need to master English if she wanted to get a good job. She was content that she had the computer skills, but realised that she would have more choices of work if she also mastered English. The awareness did not come quickly, but it was a slow build-up which happened over the final year in high school.

With the realisation, Naza began to change her attitudes towards her English learning. She was exercising her expansive agency to pursue her English learning and mastery. She recalled that in her class she usually had not paid attention to the lesson. She moved to the front seats so she could focus on what her teacher was saying. She read more of her textbooks to expand her vocabulary. As a student, she needed to get good grades to pass the national exams. However, that was not the only reason she became more involved in her learning, because she also wanted to learn the language so she could be a part of the society that considered English as essential. Her changing perception of English encouraged her to try harder in learning the language. She mapped the problems in her learning more specifically and took steps to overcome the issues, and expanded her language skills by pursuing what she wanted to learn with the support from her family.

I asked them to buy me my first digital dictionary, so I could learn how to pronounce correctly, how the letters spelt, one by one of the letters, and how they sound similar but have different meaning...

Her family responded positively to her intention and gave her what she needed. A digital dictionary was a fancy gadget that not everyone could afford to buy because the price was quite high in 2012. The gadget was popular amongst avid and dedicated English learners,

but not so familiar for ordinary people who were not very invested in learning English. Naza practised her speech by imitating the pronunciation of the word sounds from the dictionary. She also learned the definition of the word, practised how to spell correctly and used it in sentences. She actively did her learning independently as the school did not teach this kind of skill.

In the vocational high school, English lesson was not taught really deep to the structure.

As she indicated, vocational high schools had a different approach to teaching English from public schools, as they taught field-specific language skills. She was taught the vocabulary of technical terms for computer networking but less about how to use the language in a practical interaction. She thought that her English learning was not satisfactory; therefore, she pursued her learning independently. However, the major of computer networking did teach her some useful skills that she used when she was in university, which will be elaborated on later in this section.

She pursued her independent learning with the aid of the electronic dictionary, texts she found in newspapers, ads, radio programme, and even brochures from local mobile phone shops who loved to advertise their services in English. She grew more confident in her learning. Naza wanted to be able to use English on public platforms like that. With her continuous efforts, eventually, she managed to tame her “monster” by directing her learning to meet what she wanted at that stage. However, she said she was not satisfied to learn only in high school, which was one of the reasons she wanted to learn more and decided to enrol at Ladang University to expand her learning.

5.4.3 Living with English

The starting point for her English learning in university was when she discovered how much she did not know about English. This fact strengthened her will to learn more intensively and pursue her learning (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016). Although the learning curve in university directed her into preparation to become an English teacher, Naza revealed that she was attracted to the subject because of something else:

At that time I think if I learn English I will be able to access more knowledge in the future, another reason is that English is one of the favourite majors in Ladang University.

Naza was exercising her attentive agency of anticipating the possibility of what she could get by learning English (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016). Her earlier acknowledgement about the importance of English when she was in high school was strengthened by the decision to pick English major. She had this vision that she would have access to broad knowledge in various fields with her English mastery. She learned that updated information about new technology development, journals, and other informative innovation was presented in English, leading her to become more invested in her learning.

At the end of her first semester, Naza got a job offer to become a part-time teacher in a private tuition centre. When she agreed to take the job, she realised that she was not fully qualified to become a teacher, but she also saw this as an opportunity to expand her skills and learn some useful things about teaching. Naza was expanding her identity from being just a learner of English to being a teacher as well. She was assigned to teaching English to young beginner level learners, and she agreed to take that responsibility.

Being a teacher in this private tuition centre provided her with a more practical situation where she could use English with her colleague, as using English was mandatory. She believed that the role of her boss was very significant in this trajectory of her professional identity development. A few months after she started becoming a teacher in that private tuition centre, her boss, Mr Didik, asked her to join an online course called “Sekolah TOEFL” as a student. She explained that the course provided lessons for improving reading, listening, writing and speaking skills of the participants. It provided platforms where the participants could interact online through chats and share online writing, video calls, and English games as well as TOEFL practices and exams. The participants came from the various levels of education, from high school students to doctoral candidates from different cities in Indonesia. Naza agreed to join this course because she thought it was an excellent opportunity to learn more English from a different body than the university where she was a student. In this course, she learned the tips and tricks to excel in the TOEFL test so that then she could teach the skills to her students. By

joining this course, Naza recalled that she had a chance to meet people who were also avid English users and learners. She used the opportunity to meet and interact with the people once a week where she could practise her speech and exchange learning experience with her friends.

There were benefits in joining this program for her identity as a teacher. From the course, Naza was developing her agency that Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2016) called pedagogy conviction because by positioning herself as a learner, she got the point of view of what a good English teacher should be. She then implemented that idea with her students, by teaching them the way she was taught. She grew more confident in teaching her students with the new-found knowledge. Furthermore, her boss helped her with some useful encouragement:

He introduced me to the world of teaching, that if I wanted to be a teacher I have to be an extraordinary teacher. He guided me to study and showed me what I needed to become a good English teacher. He's like a role model to me.

The role of her boss in guiding her to become an English teacher was a contribution to her identity-shaping journey. Naza's manner in submitting to his agency benefited her both in her personal achievement and professional growth. Under his tutelage in the private tuition centre, her manager taught Naza how to teach young learners and how to deal with issues and complications that came with the job. He taught her how to manage her emotions when students were behaving in a way that seemed unpleasant to her, how to get them to learn in a fun way, and how to effectively communicate with those young learners.

Naza viewed herself as a learner when her manager was teaching her so that she could develop a sense of expanding her professional identity by pursuing the skills she wanted to learn. She felt better about herself because her English skills were improving and she had a place where she could share the same thoughts with her fellow learners in the Sekolah TOEFL. However, this situation also had a minor drawback in her college life. The increase in her English skills beyond the level of her friends' made her feel alone in her learning trajectory. Sometimes, she felt that the subjects she learned in the university

were too easy for her. The side benefit of this situation was that she got A for almost all subjects, and she did not complain about that part.

One of the things she did to overcome the sense of disconnection from her university learning was to come back to blogging. In high school, she had a blog for assignments but she abandoned it because she was busy with other activities. In university, when she felt that she did not get a channel to express herself, she went back to it and began actively writing again. She shared that she got paid by having cooperation with Google AdSense who paid her for every click of the visit in her website as seen in Figure 5-8.

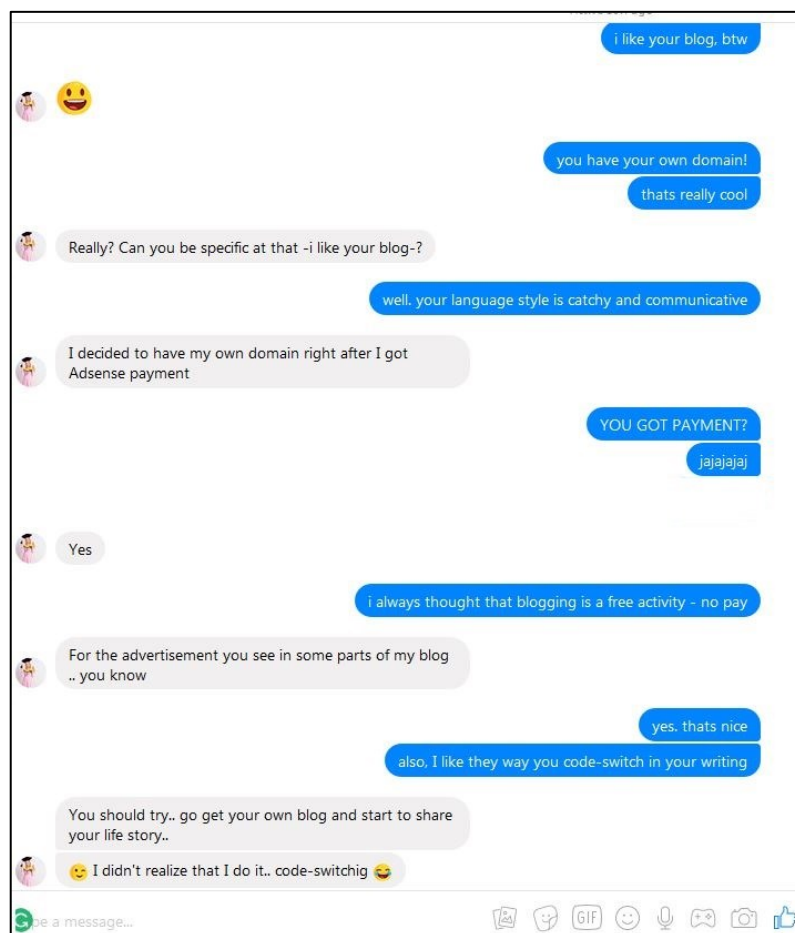


Figure 5-8: Facebook chat with Naza

Previously, she used public blogging sites to write about her opinion on different topics about student life, the food she bought, and tourism in Tegal City. She also gave

reviews about beauty products she used, and she gained more audience from this content. Her audience varied from Indonesian teenagers to older people from abroad. For this blog, she mainly used bahasa Indonesia for her local audience, and occasionally she used English for international visitors. With the increasing numbers in the audience, her confidence grew and she saw the need to expand her blogging into something more audience-friendly.

Because of the blog’s popularity, she got paid by Google AdSense who advertised on it. In late 2013, she bought a personalised web domain. After she changed into a personal domain, the hit counter increased sharply with a daily hit up to 5000 visits in December 2016 (see Figure 5-9), but in her most recent update, this blog was visited by more than 66,000 people a month.

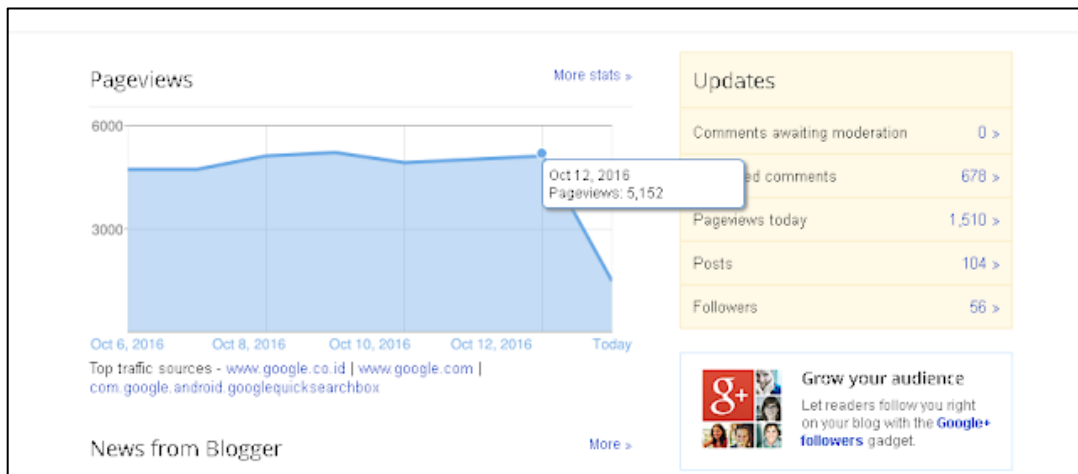


Figure 5-9: Naza’s Blog visitor statistics

She joined various blogger communities, from female blogger, social buzzer, beauty blogger and Muslim blogger communities. She participated in their activities to discuss current issues and trending topics in both languages. Through this community, she shaped her international citizen identity. She interacted with people from Korea, Japan, Germany, or other countries who had the same interest of K-Pop, feminism issues, women’s health and many others.

She thought that if she became part of the international community, she could give back to her students by providing an example of what English could bring in real life. She considered that as a teacher in the private tuition centre and as a future teacher, she should know how to use English in real contexts. She thought that by doing these activities, she could tell her students that she had used English internationally.

Another thing she did to become an international community member was to join an international voluntary organisation during the semester break. In this organisation, Naza worked with a locally located international organisation that regulated the coming and going of foreign volunteers. She was one of the team members whose assignment was to work with the foreign volunteers to refurbish the Borobudur Temple, to plant mangroves that prevented sea erosion along the coastal lines of the Java Sea in Tegal City. Furthermore, the voluntary activities also involved her in a program to give English training and become involved with local communities, by becoming a trainer to give sex education to teenagers and street children.

The activities on blogging, participating in international communities, and volunteering were the representation of her expansive agency. She paid attention to her surroundings and assessed them to see where she could fit to develop herself. Her work brought her into contact with people with whom she communicated using English as her medium, and she felt that it bolstered her confidence in using English in real life context.

I could learn so many things from them and I could ask if there's any term in English that I didn't understand. If I understand what English is I can interpret other people from other countries, and they know what we speak so we have a connection, it makes me feel good. It's a kind of motivation when I have the experience to interact with the native speakers. Not all people experience that.

She was attentive in seeking the feeling of connection with people from different countries and paid attention to her environment. Her efforts to understand the culture and manners of foreign people showed her open-mindedness and willingness to accept a different culture in her life. She saw the importance of being open-minded so she could learn from foreigners. This agency benefited her because then she became a better learner

and user of English. She used her knowledge of the interaction to engage with her students at the private tuition centre, the street children students, and her future students.

5.4.4 Students and Naza

As a student in a teacher training faculty, Naza was required to complete teaching practice in schools. She was assigned to teach high school students in Year 11 for two months. The school context was a different teaching experience from the one she had in the private tuition centre because the students at the school where she did her teaching practices were young adults who were more mature. The high school students all shared a clear aim: to get a passing grade to graduate. Although they had the same goal, she did more than just teaching them English; she also took it upon herself to boost their motivation.

They are good enough for senior high school students but they are a beginner in English. As a teacher, I have to bring something interesting for them so they feel more motivated to learn English. I told them that it is important to learn English because sometimes the motivation that you can give to your students is by doing that first to yourself.

Naza became aware of her students' English mastery and thought that they were at the basic level. As their teacher, she considered that she had to be creative to make them learn something useful. Her understanding of her students' competence showed how she exercised her attentive agency where she noticed her surroundings. As she gained more understanding about the students, Naza used her previous teaching experience to help her students learn properly. She believed that students in high school would be convinced by her teaching if she showed that she was competent. One of the ways she did so was by adjusting her teaching style to match the age of her students.

She shared her volunteering activities to show them how to use English in real life experiences. She intended to make them understand that using English should not be limited to the classroom only, and she tried to convince them that they could also do what she did with the foreigners.

With this belief, she was growing her identity as a pre-service teacher (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016). In a context that was more formal and guided, the school required

her to follow the curriculum and syllabus, which meant that she had to exert more efforts to complete her assignment. It was more than just learning for fun, as she had a target that she had to achieve within a particular span of time. She exercised her attentive agency when she pondered what the students needed to make them interested in learning English.

The school did not provide teaching media besides the textbooks and teaching material. The results of her agency came in the form of creativity where Naza tweaked her classroom setting and the ways of teaching. Instead of using just books and the provided media, she stretched her efforts to bring toys, pictures she drew, and artefacts from foreign countries that she was given during her volunteering period. She showed her students a flag from Germany, wooden shoes from the Netherlands, and a big Mexican *sombrero*. She also brought photographs that showed her voluntary activities in Borobudur with the volunteers. Even more, the volunteering organisation that she joined let her borrow some cultural displays for her to show the students. She presented a different topic for each country in each different teaching session. Therefore, the learning process in her class was exciting because of the various artefacts she showed to her students. By bringing the items, she brought a glimpse of the international experience she had had to her class and shared with her students what she did during the volunteering. She did this because she believed that foreign culture was not as foreign and distant as some of her students perceived it. She shared her website and encouraged her students to read what she wrote, then assigned them to create writings of their own. Her students were enthusiastic about this kind of learning.

She encouraged the students to believe that when they mastered English, they could reach further than just Indonesia and have a bigger opportunity for a better future by using the language. This manner of teaching helped her to gain students' confidence in her that she was a competent teacher and had used English in authentic contexts, even met foreigners and interacted with them. Her interaction with foreigners was something that bolstered her value as a teacher for her students.

5.4.5 Graduating from university

The flow of professional identity development for Naza did not stop after she graduated from university. The life-course agency implemented to frame her development captured moments when she made decision and choices that helped her shaped her professional

identity. As previously stated, the main reason she had entered university was to learn English. Nevertheless, besides the English skills, she had also learned how to be a teacher although she had little desire to become a teacher in a school context and chose to direct her career elsewhere. She stayed in her teaching job at the private tuition centre for a few months before she relocated to Semarang city, the capital of Central Java. She felt she needed a more significant challenge and thought that Tegal City did not provide what she wanted. As a university graduate, she was bound by family obligation to get a job and make her parents proud. To meet her parents' expectation, she moved out of her comfort zone in her hometown and relocated to a city about 170 km away. Although she did not become a teacher in a traditional sense who taught at a school, Naza showed agency in taking a stance to be a teacher in her own way.

In Semarang, she worked in an international organisation that gave training and workshops and channelled foreign volunteers to schools, orphanages, and to social organisations who worked with illiterate people to educate them. Naza's primary job was to teach bahasa Indonesia to the international volunteers as well as take part in their activities. Socially, this was a very prestigious position for a fresh graduate person to get. Working with foreigners meant that she was acknowledged as a skilled individual with international experience and this was the stance she chose after graduating. Furthermore, being a teacher in this context almost automatically lifted her social standing and she became well known in her hometown. Naza's trajectory and agency can be seen in Table 5-3.

She embraced a new identity as a teacher for foreign volunteers. It was not a usual teaching job in a school context, but rather in a high-end and specified teaching context. It met her aspirations towards more international citizenship, built on the skills that she had signed up for at university. In a way, it was an expansion of her identity as a teacher that she had built throughout her career. It offered her broader opportunity to expand her identity and respond to a unique challenge to deal with students from different countries and backgrounds. She had to adapt her way of thinking as she was entering a new space of being a teacher for foreigners.

Table 5-3: Naza's identity-agency and choices

Time-space/ context	Choices	Identity-agency										Important figures	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
Primary school	Experienced difficulties with learning English at school					☹							Teacher
Primary school	Created mental boundaries about learning English							☹					Teacher
Vocational high school	Recognised the importance of English for her future											☹	Environment, teacher
End of vocational high school	Sat in the front row, learned extensively, changed her attitude about English				☹								Family members
University	Enrolled university and majored in English education				☹								Parents, lecturer
University	Noticed what she could achieve by learning English									☹			Parents, lecturer
University	Got a job to teach young learners	☹	☹										Manager
University	Joined Sekolah TOEFL to learn more English	☹			☹								Manager
University	Joined international community			☹								☹	Foreigners
University – teaching practice	Grew her identity as a pre-service teacher			☹	☹							☹	Students
University – teaching practice	Used blogs to promote the use of English	☹	☹	☹									Students

Identity-agency legend

Expansive

1. Developing pedagogical convictions
2. Taking responsibility
3. Becoming confident
4. Taking a direction-pursuing

Reductive

5. Losing confidence
6. Taking direction – withdrawing
7. Creating boundaries

Attentive

8. Pondering
9. Anticipating
10. Monitoring environment

Nevertheless, her new teaching situation presented major new challenges for her because the process of becoming a teacher for foreigners was different from her previous teaching experiences. In a way, Naza was experiencing praxis shock (M. Clarke, 2008). The foreign volunteers did not speak bahasa Indonesia, and it was her job to teach them how to communicate with local communities in the local language. In the beginning, she felt that she was losing her confidence because she found it hard to do reverse language teaching. She regretted how she had taken bahasa Indonesia for granted. Now that she had to teach the language she found it frustrating, as she had to teach vocabulary and grammar, which were easy for her, but were challenging for the volunteers. She had to change the way she perceived it and viewed bahasa Indonesia as a foreign language which she had to learn and teach step by step. She was using the situation to improve herself as a teacher. Although she needed some time to adapt to the situation, she considered the encounter with foreign volunteers as empowering (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015), because she became motivated to make her teaching better.

She studied the materials before teaching them; she learned more about bahasa Indonesia to understand the theory of grammar and the proper use of the articles and preposition in the language that she had not learned metalinguistically. She actively educated herself to embrace her national language so that she could teach that to foreigners. As a result, not only her knowledge about bahasa Indonesia had improved, she also became a better teacher.

She used the teaching skills she learned during her university time and work experiences. She shifted her understanding of what it meant to be a teacher for different types of learners. As she worked with those volunteers, the transformation of her identity from being a learner, to being a teacher for foreigners, and became a part of international society had happened in a relatively short time (see Figure 5-10).

In her professional identity development, Naza transformed from experiencing difficulties in her learning during her earlier years of knowing English, to eventually becoming a confident user of English in local and international contexts. She did what she needed to do to meet her own goals of being a teacher for the volunteers and to shape her identity as an English user who was competent in teaching. She made choices about what she wanted to do to support her learning and was curious and eager to learn. During the trajectory, she showed interest in the environment and things that could help her improve her English. Eventually, she managed to achieve the dream of becoming a part of the future as an avid speaker of English that she was thinking of when she first enrolled university.

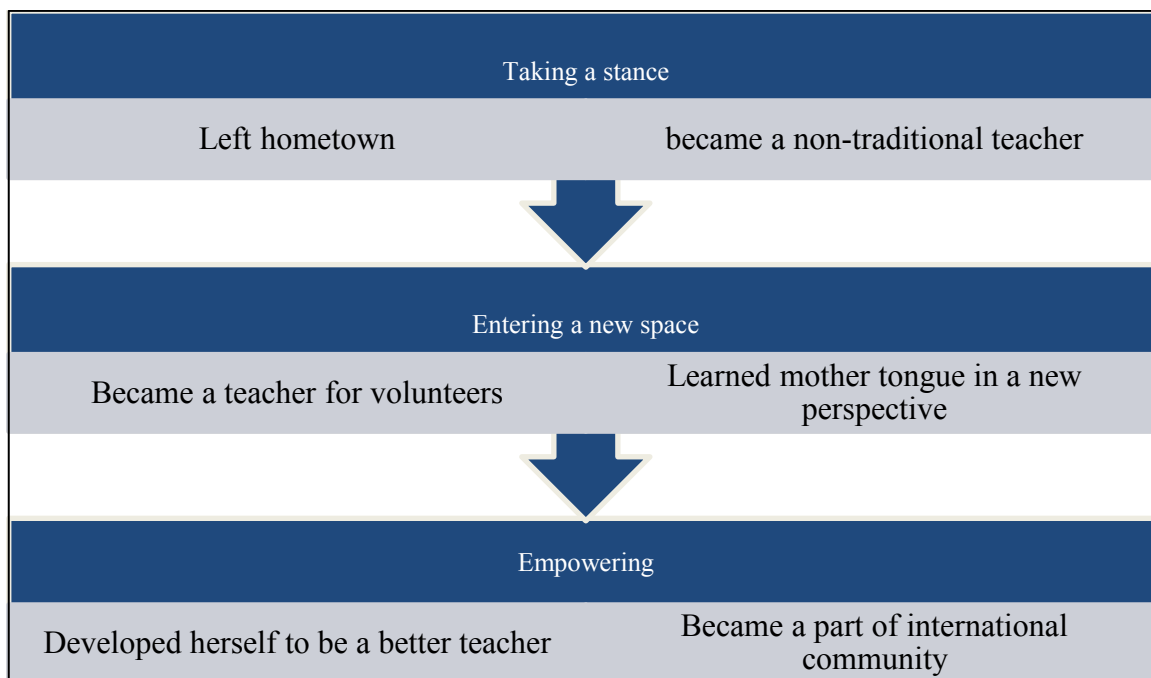


Figure 5-10: Naza's life-course agency after graduation

5.5 Chapter summary

The trajectories of these pre-service teachers were unpredictable even for themselves. At the beginning of their university education, they planned to become teachers in general sense, who teach at schools. Their experience and progress they made during university learning, the people they met who helped them expand their identity and skills had a critical contribution in their choices after they finished their education. It was beneficial that I kept in touch with them that I got the chance to follow up their updates and the choices they made after university. Their life-course agency showed how they did not really stay in their plans to become teachers. They chose different career paths that enabled them to use English as a useful tool to achieve their dream. The participants in this context displayed the diverse choices that they made with the support from people who were important in their lives. These trajectories of education and the aftermath of it were a beginning of a bigger journey for their future as none of these pre-service teachers followed their initial plans, and they were very interesting cases. Their experience reflected on the narratives that the teachers in high school and private tuition contexts had had in their youth which will be discussed in the following two chapters.

Chapter Six: Life-course agency of Ladang High School teachers

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the life-course agency of three high school English teachers in Ladang High School; Budi, Roni, and Filia. All were experienced teachers who had been teaching for more than 15 years. Their trajectory and life choices led them to become English teachers in a society where the engagement with English was complicated. All of them grew up in a context where the influence of religion, significant others, and social values were prominent in their lives. They had had ups and downs, making some choices and dropping others, but they ended up falling in love with being a part of the school where young minds were developing and they played important roles in the students' learning process. The teachers were all in their fifties and had gone through diverse of life experiences that shaped their identity as teachers such as living abroad, becoming an anomaly in the society, and travelling the world to share their talent.

The narrative begins from their earlier stages of life and moves forward to their current position as English teachers in the high school. Each narrative explores how they made some choices, rejected offers, left family members, and made other life-changing decisions that shaped them to become what they were. Their experiences and trajectories, their childhood stories and life journey were considered according to the life-course agency framework (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) that provides ways and analytical tools to uncover how the teachers exercise their agency and intention in making life choices that determined their life and identity as English teachers in Tegal city. The information about these teachers derived from the observations, interviews, the conversations conducted over break times at the school canteen or between classes. I also drew data from my researcher journal and the interactions and casual talks with the students where I gained additional insights into teachers.

6.2 Budi - The quiet man

Because I was really bored being a teacher here and talking about the same thing all the time. I did not know what the real goal of education was at that time.

The first time I met Budi was on the day I arrived in Tegal City. He was one of the first teachers I met at Ladang High School. He was a man in his mid-fifties with some white hair,

glasses, and a quiet air around him. He also had a sense of seriousness during the time we interacted. I was excited that he was willing to participate in my research, and his account of his experiences was so rich and interesting that it was easy to choose him as one of the case studies.

Budi was born and raised in Pemalang regency, a small area about 40 km to the east of Tegal City. He lived in a small village located on the Northern slope of Mount Slamet where the air was breezy, and there were beautiful mountain views. His parents were farmers like everyone else in the village. His father, however, was also a teacher in the primary school near his home. Budi spent his childhood in the region until he graduated from high school and continued his education in Semarang, the capital city of Central Java. He studied English literature at a university, where he also got training to become a teacher.

He spent the early years of his adult life in Pemalang for a while after graduating from university. Once he got a job, he moved to Tegal City and had worked as a teacher in the school since 1989. He taught Year 11 and 12 in Ladang High School. This section explores his life trajectory and the details of his life-course events and decisions that made him what he is now.

6.2.1 Unrequited love: Engineering

Budi went to primary and secondary schools in the village, while his high school was a little further down the city area. He recalled that he was a good student and always wanted to meet his parents' expectations in his education and in being a son in general. One of the things he did to make his parents happy was helping them with household chores.

I sometimes helped my parents in the rice field to shoo the birds that eat our paddy plants before I prepared to go to school.

Being the child of a farmer, he said, was one of the things that he loved about growing up in a village. He got the chance to explore rice fields and spent most of his childhood flying kites, catching insects, and playing in the river near his father's rice field. Budi remembered that it helped him to build his confidence. He admitted that he never found it difficult to help with the household tasks, as it was a common thing to do in his village. It gave him a sense of having the responsibility to complete a task that his parents assigned to him. He believed that his obedience to his parents was not something that they demanded of him, but arose because they raised him in a society where respect towards parents and elders were universal norms.

At school, he was a student with above-average intelligence, so most of the time he got excellent grades, particularly in English, physics, biology and other science subjects. He strove to meet his teachers' expectations and was proactive in his learning. He exercised his agency that in Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) is referred to as finding his own goals. He sought learning situations to satisfy his need for knowledge by thinking critically about the lessons he was taught. Therefore, he was always eager to know more and was not shy to ask questions as typical Indonesian students were. Budi recalled the moments when he was exerting his agency to meet his learning goals:

Budi : I was in IPA (Science) department when I was in senior high school, and I really liked physics. I was not really into English.

Interviewer : Did you like math?

Budi : I liked math, but because of the teacher that time it changed. I was asking everything from A, B, C about his explanation about mathematics, but then the teacher got very angry.

Interviewer : Why?

Budi : Teacher said, "Budi, you are so dumb you cannot do this simple calculation. Don't ask too many questions." I asked him because I wanted to know what the answer is, not because I wanted to test him.

Interviewer : Can you explain more about it?

Budi : I really wanted to know because if I know, then I could learn and I wanted to learn, but the teacher did not help. Probably the old-fashioned teachers are like that.

Budi remembered that after the encounter, he lost a bit of his interest in learning mathematics. He worried that his teacher would scold him if he asked more questions. At that time, he did not know that the experience would affect his future, but as he grew older, he realised that the encounter was one of the most influential things in his development as a teacher. In the interview, he told me that the classical teaching method he got at that time did not encourage students to ask questions. He recalled how his teacher always asked the students to be silent during the lesson and he and his friends were very rarely given a chance to ask questions. Silence was expected throughout primary school, secondary school, up to senior high school, so that when Budi raised questions to his teacher, it was not warmly accepted, and he got reprimanded. This event had a profound impact on Budi's consciousness making him promise himself that he would not do such things to someone else.

From the time he was very young, Budi remembered that he was always interested in robots and mechanical operations, and he loved observing how things worked. Because of this

passion, he was encouraged to make it a profession. When he graduated from high school, he made plans to make his dream come true by pursuing higher education in mechanical engineering. He exercised his proactive agency as categorised in Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) by enrolling in one of the best engineering universities in Indonesia, Bandung Institute of Technology.

I went to Bandung because I wanted to be an engineer, but my math scores did not support me to go to that school. I was interested in making model cars or filling other goals or something like that. Unfortunately, I had to change my mind.

The moment he received the announcement that he had not passed the selection marked a crucial turning point in Budi's life. The emotions he felt were mostly negative and glum because he was not accustomed to failure. Budi remembered how he was so down because he had to deal with the fact that his desire to be an engineer had to come to an end. Fortunately, his parents were supportive of his situation and told him that he could choose other majors if he wanted to. This support ensured Budi did not dwell too much on the failure and moved forward with his education despite the failure.

I tried the English department. I did not know why I chose this, but my math score probably, English in the certificate was the best, I chose the English department because perhaps I can learn it.

The acknowledgement that he was somewhat good at English gave him something of a respite from his disappointment. In Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate's (2015) terms, the attitude Budi displayed in changing his major and accepting that he was not a good match with engineering was an act of taking an agentic stance. Furthermore, his attitude also indicated that he exercised the empowering agency, because he did not fall apart although he failed to be accepted in his favourite major. Instead, he used the failure to empower himself and chose a second-best major in the English department in a teacher training university in Semarang.

6.2.2 The solace: English

The institute where Budi trained to be an English teacher is one of the best public universities in the province, and it was not easy to get accepted. The English education department that he chose taught him theories of teaching and helped him further learn English. He remembered that in university, the source of learning consisted of textbooks that were bought from

American and British publishers and, as a result, Budi remembered how he felt that he was disconnected from what he was learning.

After three years of learning, I got nothing. I thought I got nothing. We had to read something, not in the world. Not in my milieu. It was a little bit frustrating, so I stopped learning for a couple of months and then I tried to find out something from a different campus, but not formally with my friends.

The textbooks provided learning materials that were suited for the needs of learners in the US or England. Therefore, the content was based on the culture and habit of the place where the books were published. This included the names of characters, culture, language, daily life contexts, and the way people interacted. Budi felt that it was something out of context from his everyday life. He used the words "not in my milieu" because his daily life was not reflected in the books he was given to study. Everything was foreign to him even though he was learning the language. He questioned his beliefs about wanting to learn English and whether he had made the right decision choosing English because there were discrepancies between what he was expecting and what he experienced in his English learning.

Being an Indonesian and Javanese, he was raised to have social values, manners, and point of views like any other Javanese especially regarding manners and how he saw the relationship between young people and older people. The thing that irked him the most was probably that as Javanese, he considered it impolite to call someone without the honorific address of *Pak* (Mr) or *Bu* (Mrs). There are levels of politeness in the Javanese language to address people such as "kowe" for peers or younger people, "sampeyan", a more polite term for addressing peers, then *panjenengan* for those who are older or superior. All those words are translated simply as "you" in English. Budi found it hard to adjust to the teaching material that told him to address everyone as "you" in the English language, making everyone equals regardless of their age and position.

There were other ways, too, that Budi could not relate the content of the textbooks and material to his daily life; hence he found it was hard to learn. Particularly, he remembered how it was hard for him to differentiate a.m. and p.m. for time indication because Indonesia had the 24-hour system instead of the 12-hour one. He felt frustrated to the extent that he exercised retiring agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015). He stopped formal study for a couple of months and tried to seek more suitable learning. He did not fully retire, because he used the negativity of his emotion as a motivation to look for a better way of learning.

Departing from his disappointment at university, Budi chose to pursue different means to satisfy his needs to learn. This act belongs to the agency of taking a stance (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015), as he did not lose interest in learning English and still considered that it was vital to him.

He found a more exciting way by joining an English club, taking part in extracurricular activities where he met other English learners from other universities. He also gained more friends with the same interest. Budi found that this type of learning was more engaging as it was not very formal, yet he could still make progress, practise and improve his English skills. The topics of discussion were adjusted to the current issues happening in Indonesia, and he both felt more comfortable learning English with more familiar topics such as local culture and folktales and found the informality of learning more appealing. This learning supported his agency of finding his own goals (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015). He could still learn English and enjoyed it at the same time, although at some point he had to return to the formal format of learning back in the university because he needed to earn his degree. Regardless, this activity outside campus contributed to Budi's learning as he succeeded in meeting the demands of the university.

6.2.3 The young teacher

Budi went back to his hometown after he graduated from university. With a diploma in English teaching, he had achieved the cultural capital to find a job as a teacher. The opportunity presented itself when he met his former university teacher who told him about a job offer in another region:

My supervisor from university told me, "Budi, it is better for you to go to Palangkaraya because I know if you are there you can be rich. You will be something like the only person who can speak English, and with the setting of English in Palangkaraya, you can be successful."

This supervisor's expectation of Budi was something that he considered fulfilling. As a prominent figure in his education, the supervisor had some influence on Budi's decision-making. One of the reasons he was offered the job was because he spoke English very well. In the 1980's it was a privilege because not everyone could get the opportunity to learn it. Budi was one of the few lucky ones who got the chance to learn and master it. Palangkaraya is a city in East Borneo. The supervisor informed him that the job offered an excellent pay, a chance to explore his skills as an English teacher and the opportunity to know an area other

than his hometown, although that also meant he would be living separately from his family and friends. Budi felt conflicted and was in a threshold moment where he had to make a decision; therefore, he consulted his parents.

I talked to my parents, and they said “No, Budi. You stay here; we are already old; we are your parents, so you have to look after us“

The statement was compelling regarding the power play between his supervisor, a person who was important in his education and had taught him to be an experienced English user, and his parents, who contributed significantly to his studies and life. Budi was aware of his parents' role since they had a strong influence on his life choices although he considered himself an adult who could make his own decision. It was a state where his parents believed that it was their children's obligation to take care of them when they got old and weak. This was a case where Budi's parent had exercised their agency that Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) called expecting others to deliver. They expected Budi to obey their request and turn down the job offer. Their request made him think that as a son, he was obligated to obey them, so, although it was they who suggest the life-choice, it was Budi who exercised his agency to do what he was asked. (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) labelled this kind of choice in deciding to turn down the offer as meeting the expectation of others.

Choosing to stay in the city might have disappointed his supervisor, but for Budi, his obligation to his parents was more significant than that to the supervisor, although he was interested in the job. This stance led to something more problematic as this meant that he did not have a job after university. After several months, Budi learned that there was an opening for a government employee as an English teacher. He was interested in the job and was sure he was qualified. The location was not far away from his hometown and it offered stability and security. His parents permitted him, so Budi applied for it, and he passed the general requirements, selections and interviews, and finally got the job.

This was a transition where Budi moved from being a university graduate to someone with a job as an English teacher. There were shifts at this stage that Budi experienced. The first one was in social status. Being selected or accepted as a government employee meant that he would have financial stability, job security, pensions, and good social standing. The second shift in his life was more personal, as it involved changes of identity. He shifted from someone who was unemployed to a person who was plunging himself into the world of teaching. Although he stated that it was rather daunting, he felt that his new position

empowered him to do more in his job. This was a case where he was practising his agency of entering a new space (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015), where challenges lay ahead of him.

He was assigned to teach English in Ladang High School in 1986. He said he liked the job with his routine and daily teaching activities, steady income, the changes in the way people regarded him because now they looked up to him because of that social status. However, after several years Budi felt that the routine started to eat away at his active mind.

I tried to teach, try to understand what the system is and so on and so on because the curriculum a long time ago in IKIP did not support me how to look after the children.

He implemented the teaching skills and tried to understand the education system. He grappled with this situation because he thought that his university had not prepared him to work with young learners who became his students. Budi was experiencing “praxis shock”, (M. Clarke, 2008) which happened in the earlier stage of his teaching career. It occurred because his idealism in teaching did not meet classroom realities and Budi was disappointed he could not grasp the concept and system of education. He particularly expressed his dissatisfaction in the curriculum when he was a university student:

It was a kind of teacher training college right, but the curriculum did not support me to shape (myself to become) teachers.

It was disconcerting to discover the lack of teacher training skills that he should have had when he was in university. He was already a teacher and could not change the past. However, this situation did not discourage him from trying to be a good teacher. He used his inexperience as something empowering and he sought strength within himself to overcome his issues.

So I learned through experience, how to behave in front of the little kids, how to behave in front of the older one or rascal students, and naughty student something like that.

Budi took positive lessons from his daily interactions with his students and paid attention to his students’ behaviour. He used his students as a tool to improve his professionalism. He became adaptable to the situation he faced and after a while, he could get the hang of dealing with various types of students. These actions that Budi did to overcome

his challenges were an indication that he was developing maturity as a teacher. He exercised his empowering agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) to deal with the challenges

After several years doing the same thing every day, Budi found he was no longer learning anything new and felt that his job was boring and repetitive. He loved being a teacher when he was interacting with his students. Unfortunately, the mundane nature of the teaching materials that he had to deliver to students in every batch each year made him feel bored.

I was bored being a teacher here, and talking about the same thing all the time. I did not know what the real goal of education was at that time. That is why I decided to go.

Budi was exercising his agency to turn his negative emotions into something positive. He used his boredom to empower (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) himself to do a brave thing to escape from it. The opportunity to get away from his situation came from one of his friends, who informed him that there was a job vacancy to become a bahasa Indonesia teacher in Australia. Budi chose to set his new goals to become a teacher in Australia; he also saw this as an opportunity to develop himself. Therefore, not long after he got the information, he applied for the job, completed all the requirements, joined the test and training, and after meeting all the qualifications, he flew to Australia to teach bahasa Indonesia in Queensland.

6.2.4 Foreign lands, here I come

Budi left Indonesia for Queensland in 1992, just after he got married. His students were primary, secondary, and high school students who wanted to learn bahasa Indonesia. He lived in a flat, near the school area. Although it was hard for the first few months because he had left his parents, siblings, and particularly his new wife, Budi began to adjust to his new life. He absorbed the culture, learning English in an entirely different way.

The first thing is that I could really express what I was feeling in English because I was there and copying the Australian. It was easy and natural for me to express my feelings and thoughts. I could learn that kind of thing and I taught in that way, so I felt free not because I was learning English, but from the environment where I was naturally learning English.

As he entered the new stage of life, Budi exercised his agency more actively. Firstly, he was fascinated with everything he saw and experienced while living there. From the narrative, it was apparent that he was fascinated with the openness of Australians, and how that suited

his personality. He felt he could express his thoughts and feelings more freely. Budi also learned English in a more real context because he was immersed in an environment where he could practise his English. He found all these things he experienced very empowering for his learning and self-development.

In school, he worked with young learners. He was given freedom to design his teaching materials and the way he wanted to teach. He felt empowered and could produce quality teaching materials because of this freedom.

I enjoyed teaching there because the system is different and also because I can do whatever okay for the kids and me.

The stark difference between teaching in Indonesia and Australia was apparent in his narrative. Budi found more freedom and access to information to develop his teaching skills and to improve his knowledge about the purpose of education. He also learned that by working in Australia, he became aware of the importance of education.

Interviewer : What kind of school did you teach?

Budi : From primary up to high school.

Interviewer : How long did you do that?

Budi : I did that for three years

Interviewer : How did that experience change you?

Budi : Changed me? This is an excellent question. This made me know what education is, how important education is.

The excerpt represents his realisation and awareness of what education in Australia meant for him and how he felt empowered by the experience. With the experience he had as a teacher in Indonesia and his current position in Australia, he exercised his agency in questioning his former beliefs (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) regarding education and his more recently acquired understanding about the importance of education for himself as a teacher.

Particularly, he recalled that the differences were in the way the classroom was arranged, the curriculum, education system and how students interacted with teachers. These things were what he found fascinating and empowering at the same time. Budi reflected on this experience mentioning that his changing awareness about the importance of education was the most significant thing for him. Formerly, he did his job as a teacher because he was

required to do so. When he lived in Australia, however, he began to do his job with passion and he remembered how he loved it so much. The thing that interested him most was his students and the way they engaged with him in the classroom. He recalled that the students were active and not shy to ask questions, which made him feel that they needed him to teach them properly. Budi remembered that he did not feel like that when he taught his students in Indonesia. He felt appreciated and needed as a teacher, which eventually, came back to benefit him so that he could teach the students wholeheartedly and thereby, improve himself as a teacher.

Confidence in the school milieu seeped through into his personal life and led him to think that he wanted to share the experience of living abroad with his wife. Therefore, one semester after his arrival, he flew back to Indonesia and brought his wife to Australia. Things, however, did not go as planned and Budi experienced unexpected turns of events after his wife was with him.

The problem was just probably just because when I already brought my wife over there. My wife did not enjoy the shopping and she talked a little bit of English. I decided, oh no this is a problem for me. I could enjoy teaching, but my wife was a stranger there, no friends to talk with and so on.

Realising this moment was a pivotal point in Budi's trajectory. He was aware of the problem his wife had. She could not adapt to her environment and found it difficult to carry out day-to-day life because of her limited English skills. Budi remembered how it was hard for her to adapt to the climate and the language, and to accept the society and lifestyle in general. Furthermore, his wife found it discomfoting because she missed her parents and siblings. These difficulties caused an issue for Budi's work. Although she tried her best to carry on for two years, Budi felt that it was eating away at her. As one of the most influential people in his life, her opinions and feelings mattered to him. After seriously considering the situation in his work and family, Budi decided that it was best to go back to Indonesia. His three-year contract had ended, and he decided he did not wish to extend that. Those factors were the driving force that led him to decide to go back to Indonesia. He practised his retiring agency by quitting the job (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015).

6.2.5 Old cycle, new cycle

Back in Indonesia, Budi had to readjust to his environment. He explained how he experienced changes, an emotional journey, and the same old thing that had driven him to go abroad. The first issue that he faced was in his society. As someone who had travelled abroad and had a privilege to live in a different country, people recognised him and he became well known. Nonetheless, the society he lived in was the same, but because he was a changed man in terms of the way he regarded his society, he was struggling to adapt to the environment. He had to employ his agency in entering a new space (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) again, but it was a different situation compared to when he arrived in Australia. This issues he faced concerned with the people he knew, new friends he made after his return, and new family members born after that period. He was still familiar with his culture, but his view about the society was affected by his experience of living abroad. His neighbours regarded him as a man who knew a lot, and for Budi, it was appalling because he worried that he was not able to fulfil this perception.

After returning back here and getting the same problem, yes, I kind of wanted to go back ... But we're already settled, getting children, a lot of friends.

Professionally, he faced the same problem at work. He left Indonesia as a person who did not have international experiences but who was hoping to learn something in Australia. Living abroad changed him in both good and bad ways. It was good because he improved his English skills, and changed the way he perceived education and how it should be conducted and what he could contribute to make education more successful. It was bad because how he perceived his workplace had changed now that he had seen a different world of education. The changes in him made it hard for him to adapt to the school atmosphere using his new views.

6.2.6 School and students

Teaching in one of the most famous schools in Tegal City was an entitlement that came with big responsibilities. Budi settled back to his old job and adapted to his old environment but with a new way of perceiving it. The school was a dynamic environment, and he tried to keep up with the changes that happened in the years after his return. Ever since he got back, he used the knowledge he gained from Australia and implemented it in his classroom, especially

in the way he interacted with his students. The responses from his students were generally positive. They had an understanding of what kind of teacher Budi was.

Pak Budi orangnya serius, tapi saya seneng diajar bapaknya. Ngomongnya Inggris terus, kadang nggak ngerti, tapi seneng karena ada tempat buat belajar bahasa Inggris beneran. Kalau pengen ngobrol pakai bahasa Inggris tinggal datang aja ke Pak Budi. Pasti ditanggapin. Seru! (HS/ Ch/ St/ 12/ 01/ 2016)

[He is very serious, but I love that he is teaching us. He uses English all the time, and although sometimes I do not understand, I feel that I have a place to learn English. Whenever I want to practice English, I can just come to Mr Budi, and he always responds to us. It is cool!]

The students tried to follow his rules to use English always whenever they communicated with him. He talked slowly to them, to make sure that they understood what he was saying. Students sometimes were shy about starting a conversation, but he nudged them with small talk such as “*I like the pin you are wearing. Where did you get it from?*” when he saw a student wearing a Red Cross pin on his chest, or other topics he picked just to get them talking. Budi welcomed questions from the students and answered them until they were satisfied. He reflected on his experience when he was scolded for asking questions to his teacher. He did not want to expose his students to such an experience; therefore, he always helped them whenever they had questions. This was an act of protectiveness that Budi displayed to his students, an agency that emerged from his past learning experience. The way he interacted with the students indicated he wanted his students to feel safe enough to ask him questions.

Undoubtedly, there was resistance when dealing with students who did not want to communicate in English because they did not have the skills to do so. Budi faced the challenge patiently. He offered free English lessons at his residence to the students who resisted using English, so that they could practise in a casual environment where they were not under pressure to perform and get good scores. It was his way of encouraging them to communicate in English with him at home, to discuss whatever topics could interest them. He bridged the gap between his expectation of his students to communicate in English and their unwillingness and doubt about participating. This was an indication of the way Budi exercised an agency of expecting others to deliver (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015). He had an expectation that the students would be willing to be active in their learning to achieve the goals of using English for communication.

In the classroom, Budi tried to get his class to a stage where students could practise with each other as seen in Figure 6-1. He arranged conversations, poetry slams, or simple presentations on topics of nature, consumption habits, gas emission and so forth.



Figure 6-1: Speaking practice in Budi's class

He preferred to conduct his teaching outside the classroom to teach English in a more relaxed atmosphere for a change. He did this because he understood that English was a challenging subject for students, and he did not want to stress them by confining them inside the classroom. Furthermore, he explained that learning should be done by practising the language, interacting with the surrounding area, seeing the objects of their learning, and touching them. This was the belief that he developed from his experience of living abroad.

The response from his colleagues and the school officials, however, was a little bit unfavourable. His colleagues disagreed with his manner of teaching because they considered the way he taught his students was too playful and did not adhere to school rules, which required teaching and learning activities to be conducted inside the classroom, except for sport and other practical lessons. He was forced to follow the usual way of teaching inside the classroom, which he considered boring.

Budi gave up teaching the students outside the classroom, showing an agency of retiring because he did not want to disobey the rules and cause disruption in the learning process. However, despite the situation, he still found ways to make learning more enjoyable for the

students. Although all teachings were inside the classroom, he tried to ensure the lessons were not boring. He brought artefacts from his life in Australia such as flags, maps, bus timetables, and pictures to his classroom and used them for teaching. He let students bring items they considered interesting and they could share the story about their items with the class. Other than that, he let students sit wherever and however they liked; he even allowed them to walk around and talk to each other as long as they used English when doing so. The friends he made in Australia, with whom he remained in contact to the day I met him, sent him postcards, clothing, or other articles that he could use in his teaching. These artefacts that Budi brought and showed in his class kept the students interested and engaged to learn with him.

6.2.7 Curriculum and adaptation

While he was able to make some changes to traditional ways of teaching and the relationships with his students after his return from Australia in 1996, the biggest challenge he faced was when there were curriculum changes. The first curriculum change he experienced happened in 2004, followed by another one in 2006. Budi could adapt fairly well when necessary, but what affected him the most was the introduction of the C-2013 to the schools in Indonesia as explained in Chapter Two. It fundamentally changed the way teaching and learning were conducted. The C-2013 demanded more hours at school both for teachers and students. School started at 7 a.m. and finished at 4 p.m. For the teachers, not only did they have to work longer hours, but the evaluation procedures that the curriculum entailed also changed, from the usual numeric format to a descriptive one. This meant more work to complete students' reports in each school term. Apart from preparing the teaching material, evaluating the students, and managing the class, the teachers also had to attend meetings with the principals and parents of the students. Budi disclosed how he got overwhelmed in the first few months of this curriculum implementation because he had to adapt to so many changes.

As a teacher, Budi could not control the changes, but he could manage how he dealt with the introduction of the new curriculum.

Interviewer: How do you react to the curriculum changes? ... You mentioned earlier in your classroom when I was joining your class that you do not like the conventional teaching methods.

Budi : Not a problem for me. As I told you. We try to adapt. When the formality comes, we try to use the terms for that formality.

Interviewer : What does that mean for you?

Budi : More paperwork, more paperwork. Moreover, we have to do that paperwork in line with the teaching.

Interviewer : So far do you have any problems like, following the regulations and the paperwork and stuff like that?

Budi : If we are supposed to be honest, I think yes, but teachers are brilliant. They can all write those other things forms for formality and those other things for practicality in the classroom with the students.

Interviewer : Are you saying what you are doing in the classroom and what is reported is not the same?

Budi : It is not the same regarding the regulation. We are using the discovery learning, but when it is not applicable, we use the one that we used to use. As long as the students can cope with it. No matter if it is discovery learning or others.

The impact of curriculum changes for the students was the added hours for each subject, particularly the science-related subjects like math, physics, chemistry, and biology. They had to stay longer in school and could not have extracurricular activities in the afternoon because school finished at 4 p.m. Although they did not have to go to school on Saturday, they reported they were exhausted every day because they still had to do homework from their teachers. They also had to change the way they learned. The previous curriculum treated students as the receivers of lessons, while the new C-2013 accentuated student's active role in learning.

Budi tried to keep his mind open about a crucial change in the way English was taught at school. His flexibility in adapting to the changes was one of the things that helped him to cope with the stress at work. He displayed an attitude of getting ready to enter a new space (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) under the new curriculum. The adaptations he made included the changes of a teaching approach that the curriculum defined and how he bridged the differences as shown in Table 6-1.

He tried the scientific approach several times then evaluated the learning results. When he found out that the scientific approach did not work for his English teaching and students did not respond very well towards the method, he exercised his retiring agency. His flexibility helped him to teach the students properly and helped his students to achieve the learning purposes defined by the curriculum. Budi's manner of deciding which teaching method he chose indicated that he took a stance in doing his job.

Table 6-1: Differences in teaching approaches

Scientific approach (C-2013)	Discovery learning (School Based-Curriculum)
Requires the students to observe, question, experiment, present, conclude and create something out of the learning material (Reza, 2013).	Requires the students to inquire and solve problems that arose from their learning experience to find facts and new information (Utami, 2017).
Inductive reasoning	Deductive reasoning

Budi was an active agent regarding dealing with the changes. He said that as a teacher, he needed to be smart not only in understanding the teaching material, but also to deal with the challenges and difficulties that come with the changes in regulations and curriculum. He regarded the changes as a chance to improve himself and to develop himself further professionally. Budi's trajectories and agentic choices are summarised in Figure 6-2, where the choices he made was apparent.

Budi's case is an example where the display of identity is the most prominent. He might not share with his students why he set up the rule to always speak English with him or why he changed his teaching approaches. However, the way he always spoke in English showed his identity as an active user of English. The manner in which he changed his teaching approach showed that he was a caring teacher who put the interest of the students above regulation because he regarded them as one of the most important elements in the success of education. Throughout his career, Budi had experienced changes in identity and in the different manners in which he exercised his agency to shape the identity as a teacher.

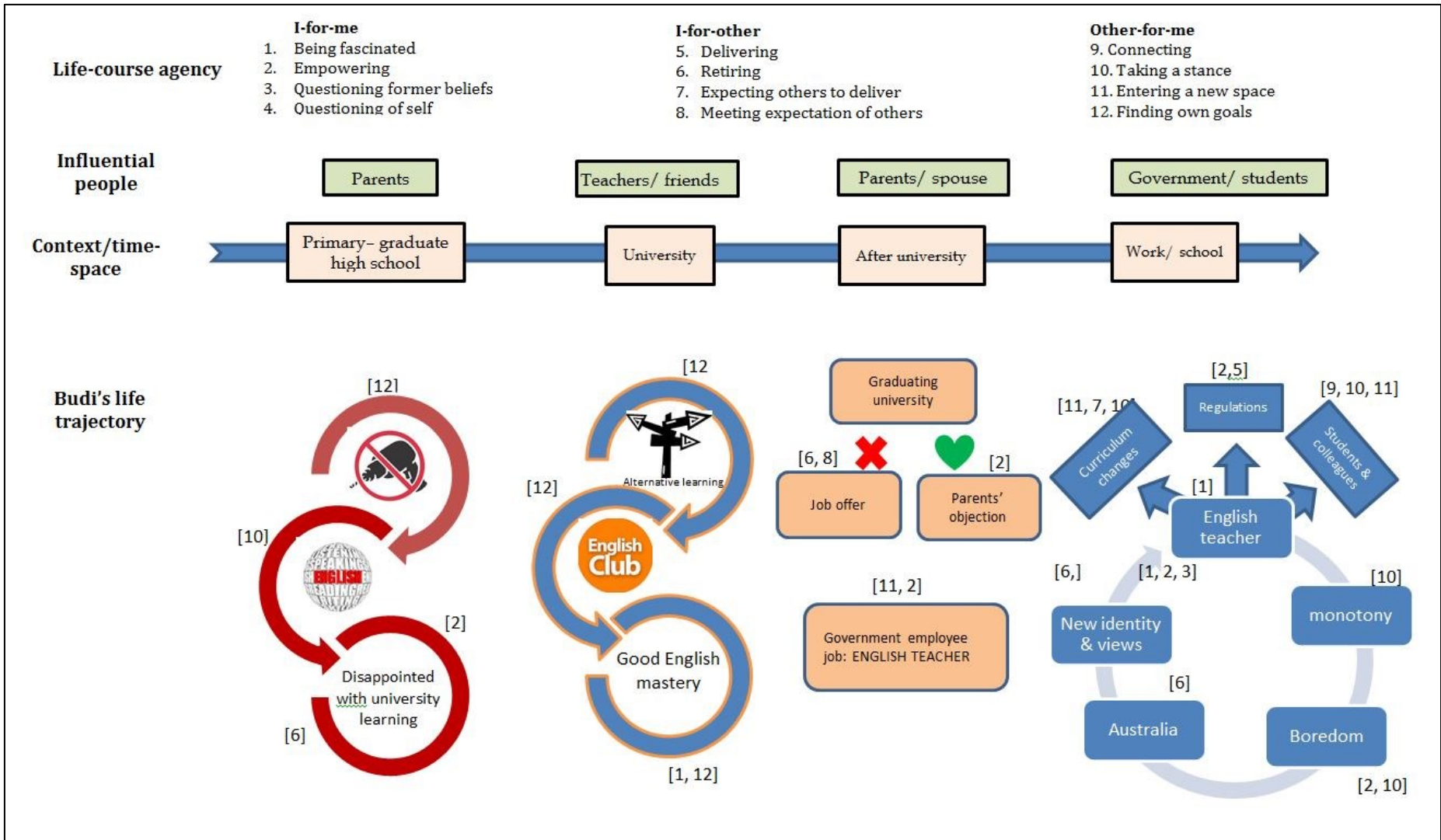


Figure 6-2: Budi's trajectory and life-course agency

6.3 Filia - Dad said that I should get the knowledge that people in my village didn't have, so it could be useful

Filia grew up in a small village called Bendangan in Tegal Regency and was the only female English teacher in Ladang High School who was involved in my research. She was 53 years old when I met her, a friendly and soft-spoken lady who wore hijab and dedicated her life to teaching. Filia had been teaching English in Ladang High School since 1993, mainly worked with students in Year 11 for classes majoring in Science. She described herself as a flexible teacher because she cared about her students more than just on a professional level. She taught them with affection, by knowing their names and understanding their background. I joined her classes several times and I enjoyed them, as I got to know how she interacted with her students and how they responded to her teaching. She was very gentle and motherly in the way she regarded them, which made them somewhat close to her. The atmosphere in her class was very calm and soothing. Mostly, students were quiet in their seats, intently listening to her explanations.

Apart from classroom participation, I engaged in social and casual conversation with her outside her class. Filia was an enthusiastic person who had broad knowledge about current issues in English education and was captivating in conversations. I found out a little bit of her personal life and her journey to become what she was now as we interacted further and I explored deeper into her trajectories. Through the interviews I had with her over the course of three months, I had the opportunity to learn about her youth and the time when she learned English for the first time and her journey to become an English teacher in the high school.

6.3.1 The village

Bendangan is a village on the western side of Mt. Slamet valley. The village is about 50 km to the south from the heart of Tegal City. Filia described her village as remote and isolated. During her childhood, public facilities in this village were limited and electricity was a scarce luxury. People's only external entertainment was from battery-run radios and television sets, which were owned only by the rich, which they enjoyed during special occasions by gathering at the house of the head of the village to watch TV shows. Houses were lit by kerosene lamps or pressurised paraffin lamps so that people could do their night activities and children could study. It was a farming village as the majority of men planted rice, soybeans, and onions when they were in season as the main source of income. Women stayed at home to take care of the family and did the household chores.

Most people in the village followed a way of life adhering to Islamic tenets such as doing the obligatory prayers five times a day, observing other religious practices, and maintaining peaceful behaviour. It was strongly encouraged that women who had come to puberty should wear outfits that covered their *aurat* (all body parts except face and palms of the hand), which included the use of hijabs, veils, long-sleeved shirts and long skirts. Furthermore, Filia explained that one of its most outstanding attributes was the numerous Islamic schools called *Pondok Pesantren* (see Chapter Two). It was common knowledge that in her village, graduate students of a *pondok pesantren* usually become a *Hafiz*, which means "guardian" or "memoriser" of Alquran. This term of respect is used to describe a Muslim who has completely memorised Alquran. Another profession that they could choose was to become an *ustadz* (see Chapter Two). The emphasis on Islamic education could be seen from a large number of such schools, and she remembered that the village only had one public primary school.

Education in my village was very low because for a girl who studied in primary school usually would be forced to marry ... at the age of 12 or 13, so it was still a custom at that time.

There was only one primary school because the demand for education was not high. If the boys wanted to continue their education, they did so by enrolling in a secondary school or high school that was located in a different district. The girls did not get a chance to be educated because they were forced to marry after they finished primary school. This custom, which occurred when Filia was a child, resulted in many uneducated young girls and women in the village.

6.3.2 Parents' power

Filia came from a big family with ten children. Filia's father was a teacher in one of the *pondok pesantren*, while her mother was a housewife. She was the third child and the oldest daughter in the family. Filia recalled her situation:

I was a girl, and we lived in a village. At that time there were no other girls to enter university ... After finishing madrasah, people or parents commonly sent their children to pondok pesantren ... my dad didn't ask me to go to pesantren. Instead, he asked me "Please, what would you like to study?"

If it had been other girls, probably their life would have gone differently, but Filia was raised by parents whom she described as “very democratic”. She was lucky because her father was one of the first people in the village who broke the tradition of marrying off young girls after primary school. He asked what his daughters wanted to study and sent all his children to secondary school instead. By sending his daughters to school, which was a very uncommon thing in that society, he became a topic of daily gossip because he got to keep six spinsters, as all his daughters remained unmarried until they graduated from university. Secondly, he never forced his daughters to wear hijab. Instead, he gave them the freedom to express themselves regarding clothing, although Filia recounted that later on, she and her sisters wore hijab, but because they wanted to, not because their parents made them.

As an *ustadz* in a society where Islamic principles were highly valued and considered as a way of life, Filia’s father’s act of allowing his daughters to be uncovered was considered a refusal to adhere to the religious rules and social tradition, which earned him public disapproval because of his position. Furthermore, her father chose not to send his children to learn Islam in a *pondok pesantren*. She elaborated that the reasons why her father did not send her to Islamic school were because this kind of school offered fewer options for professional development in the future.

My dad always motivated his children to study and to get the knowledge needed by the people around. He said that I should get the knowledge that people in my village didn't have so that it could be useful.

He wanted to give his children a broader scope of future options in their professions; hence, he allowed them to choose whatever major they wished to study. Her father’s thinking and stance against the social tradition helped Filia to get an education, a privilege that other girls of her age did not get. With her parents’ support and encouragement, she became the first girl in her village to go to a secondary school, high school, and eventually to earn a university degree as a *doctoranda*. Agreeing to her parents’ encouragement was Filia partaking in exercising her agency of feeling empowered, as she used her parents’ support to get the education that her friends in the village were only capable of dreaming about.

6.3.3 Chances at education

Being given a choice as a teenager was not a common thing in her society. Other children in her village often had to follow their parents’ desires when it came to their future lives,

education, or jobs; parents even chose the spouses for them. Filia's parents offered the chances she needed to grow up. Her parents' agency given to her and her siblings was the empowerment and encouragement she needed to define her future.

Filia chose to continue her education in a secondary school in a different district where she had to go by bicycle every day. However, her decision to follow her parents' suggestion and encouragement put her in a stressful situation. Firstly, being the only girl in the village who continued her education meant that she did not have friends of her own age to hang out with. She felt lonely because her schoolmates lived in different areas and her friends in the village had all gotten married. She did not have peers within her neighbouring area with whom she could do homework together, participate in extracurricular activities, or go to school and back home. Furthermore, almost every other parent in the village made snide comments or off-putting statements about her. They said that she was wasting her youth for an education when eventually she would end up like her friends: in the kitchen taking care of the family.

Although disheartened, Filia ignored all of the negative feedback. She believed that as long as her parents supported her, she felt empowered and believed that she would be all right. The parental support signified the kindness and caring about the choices that the children wanted to make rather than focusing on what the parents wanted for their future. From this point on, Filia chose to exercise her agency to meet her parents' expectation and went on with her education to a high school in Brebes, a city located in the western end of Central Java. This decision was one of her major breakthroughs in her learning trajectory as she was the first girl to ever leave the village to get an education. Filia did not stop there; after graduating from high school she enrolled at a university in Semarang. She continued to strive towards her own and her parents' aspirations for a continued education. As the first of the daughters to follow this path, she bore the brunt of the negative attitudes from the villagers. By the time the sisters followed, they did not encounter such unpleasant experiences as her society had got used to the fact that the girls in her family went to school instead of being married off.

All these incidents showed how Filia took the choice and opportunity that her parents offered her and became someone who was an anomaly in her society. The situation had not, though, remained static. The antagonism that her family faced by not requiring her to marry eventually gave way to other parents, too, as they followed her father's footsteps and sending their daughters to school.

6.3.4 English encounter

Living in that village offered challenges that sometimes were larger than her parents' support could overcome. Filia recalled how difficulties presented themselves in the ways of her learning. She had her strong sense of curiosity that marked her out in her remote village from an early age, particularly her interest in English, which was not taught at primary school, as the curriculum required it to be taught only in the higher levels of education. Her first interest in English was piqued from the songs she listened to from her brother's collections.

My brother always returned home on holidays bringing cassettes of English songs. At the time, although I was still at the primary level I liked to learn and listen to English songs especially.

Her older brother who studied in a high school in a different city used to go home every holiday. He loved listening to English songs and Filia was interested in them. The cassette pack contained a tape and the album cover where the lyrics of the songs were included. Her father bought her a battery-operated cassette player so she could enjoy the songs. It was her first encounter with English and it was fun. She invested her time trying to understand the meaning of the songs by looking up the word definitions in the dictionary that her brother bought for her. Her fascination with English led her to spend time listening to songs on loop and practising pronouncing the words by imitating the singers. Besides bringing the cassettes, her brother also taught her simple English tenses which made her understand the concept of time in the English language. These simple gestures meant a great deal to Filia. She got a chance to see the representation of English that came in from the outside world, and perhaps actually from English-speaking worlds, that brought her a pleasant experience of learning. Although Filia's interest in learning English at this stage was not for academic purposes, she indicated that she was exercising her agency of finding her own goals (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) in learning English, which was purely for fun. She did not have ideas about the future or what she wanted to become when she was dedicating her time to learning the vocabulary.

Filia got formal English lessons when she was in secondary school, by which time she recalled that she had already mastered some English vocabulary and grammar. Although her learning was initially for pleasure, she found that it was helpful because English was one of the compulsory subjects that required students to achieve a particular grade to pass and graduate from secondary school.

At the high school level, she did not learn English intensively, because she was majoring in science¹⁸. She chose to major in science because she liked math. Another reason was that her father suggested a career in the science field would be good for her; therefore he supported her when she chose that major. Taking a traditional perspective, he believed that a science major that taught scientific subjects could lead to a stable and prestigious career such as becoming an architect, doctor, or scientist.

6.3.5 University education and perception of English

Initially, I chose Mathematics and the second choice was English. Because my certificate of senior high school, my major was in science and my father directed me.

After graduating from senior high school, Filia continued pursuing education to university level. In enrolling at the university, students were given two choices of major to study. Filia chose Mathematics because it was in line with her major in high school level. Unfortunately, she did not pass the selection for the first major but she was accepted in her second major, English education. Although feeling disappointed for herself – and for her father who guided her – she adapted to the situation quite amicably. With the limited knowledge of English she had gained in her previous stage of learning, she struggled in her early years of studies. However, the challenges did not dim her desire to become a teacher. The long history of family members becoming teachers was ingrained in her mindset. Accepting that she had to do the English major marked a beginning of her journey in shaping her identity as a teacher.

My dad was a teacher, so I am a teacher descent. He was a patient and meticulous man. He was also very disciplined when he needed to reprimand someone, he only needed to look at them.

She stated that being the daughter and niece of teachers influenced her choice. The strong family figures in her life gave her a sense of connecting (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) with their views of education. She took the inspiration from the senior members of her family and

¹⁸ Three majors were available in high school in Indonesia in 1980's: science, social sciences, and language & arts majors. The science major focused more on math, science, biology and physics, which taught the analytical skills. Social sciences focused on subjects such as sociology and anthropology, geography, and economy to develop social skills and human interactions. The language and arts major taught the students about language and culture in Indonesia and how they evolved over time.

followed their advice. Her father was the role model that she looked up to during her university stage and throughout her teaching career. She tried to follow his exemplary way of teaching and to adapt it in her teaching.

Although initially English was not her choice, in university Filia learned the importance of English for her future. English teachers were barely present in her surrounding area. In her village being farmers and traders was common. Although those jobs were respectable, there were dire needs for other professionals such as doctors, engineers, lawyers and many more. The village was so remote that when a person got sick, they had to travel at least 50 kilometres to get the treatment they needed. It was hard to get public services such as legal aid or administrative assistance from the government because the office was located in a different district. There were not many people with a university education, and there were only a handful of teachers who worked in primary school in her village. Arabic teachers were in abundance because of the number of *pondok pesantren* in her neighbourhood. Nevertheless, teachers for other subjects such as mathematics, history, geography and the like were in a limited number.

She saw this as an opportunity to expand herself. Challenges, however, were always present for her:

When I finished studying from IKIP¹⁹ there were many schools in my village ... My village developed both for the community and education progressed well. People around Pondok pesantren had got a different point of views about education, especially English.

In her village and the surrounding areas, the number of schools increased because there were more students who needed schools as the culture of marrying off the young girls had decreased over the years. However, people still believed in and held on to the strong faith of Islam. English language and culture were considered foreign; therefore, the population was not very open towards the idea of learning English for the sake of education as they perceived that the values were not in line with those of Islam. Filia observed that their ignorance was caused by their minimal exposure to English language and culture. This was limited to the TV shows broadcast occasionally on the only national television channel in Indonesia. The shows portrayed a lifestyle that the villagers considered sophisticated but alien compared to their way of life, such as the display of English-speaking people drinking, partying and sometimes displaying crude behaviour.

¹⁹ IKIP stands for Institute Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan (Institute of Teaching and Education Science).

Filia understood that what was shown on television was different from her reality of English-speaking cultures that she was learning about in university. The people in her neighbourhood might have their confined perception of English language and culture, but she was the one who learned it, living the language because she had to use it at the campus, and she knew it was not a bad influence on her. Instead, she thought that learning English could offer her boundless opportunities, such as getting good jobs and bigger opportunities to educate the people in her society. In Semarang, she had girlfriends in university who also pursued education to be English teachers. If there was one thing that made her confident in her learning and shift of identity, it was she was not alone in her struggle. Her classmates came from various areas of Central Java, and considering the situation at that time, they faced almost similar challenges from their hometown. Filia showed how she took a stance for her beliefs and pursued her goals (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) to learn English although it meant that she had to deal with negative feedback from the society.

6.3.6 Becoming a teacher

Filia's professional endeavour began right after she graduated from university. She went back to her village. She was the first girl in her village who earned the title of *doctoranda*, which made her quite famous in her area because she received *the* degree and *in* English education no less.

Although I was a new teacher, because I was an English teacher, the perception from the society was improving. Some people asked me to teach them, and people around my house began to consider English as a positive thing.

Not only did people around her ask her to teach them English privately, but they also changed the way they viewed English. It was interesting to observe the way her society regarded English before and after she graduated from university. Their view of English was not very friendly for a long time and did not change when she became the pioneer of girls getting an education and entered university. However, when they witnessed that she turned out to be all right with her English skills, it seemed that were given a new way of perceiving English language and culture. It was the manner in which she carried herself, the way she remained faithful to the religion, and how she behaved and carried on with her dignified life that shaped the positive ways people regarded English language and culture. She became their representation, an acceptable symbol, an artefact of English language and culture that they

initially were wary of. Furthermore, as none of the people in her society had mastered the language she became an icon of the English language. People respected her because of the same thing that they initially despised her for.

In her career development, Filia got many part-time teaching job offers as there were many schools in dire need of good English teachers. She took some of the offers that she could manage and turned down the others. By having these various teaching jobs, she met her parents' expectations to learn useful knowledge and share that knowledge with the people around her. However, Filia felt that she needed to aim for a bigger ambition for herself, what Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) have called the agency of finding own goal. Although she was happy being a teacher in the village, it was not a permanent position. It was an old perception from the society that one would not be considered as an actual teacher until one became a government-employed teacher. Filia wanted to have permanence and be a government employee. The opportunity came when there was a job advertisement from the central government for English teacher positions. She applied for it and was among the very few people accepted for the job.

It was a different scene to reckon with, as being a government employee could mean that she had to relocate to a different region. Filia experienced a sense of loss because at this time-space she had to shape her own life and her parents were no longer giving her guidance because she was considered mature enough to make her own choices and pursue her career (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015). Eventually, with her parents' blessing, she moved to Tegal City where she was assigned to teach. She began teaching English at Ladang High School. In this city, she also settled down and had her own family with her husband and two children.

6.3.7 Teacher Self

In Tegal City, Filia started her professional journey in 1993. One of the perks of working with young learners, she recalled, was the freshness of ideas and innocence of her students when learning English. She always wanted to nurture these ideas and help her students to work on achieving what they wanted. Her awareness of her responsibility as a teacher was one of the important matters for her to set the goals of education. Equipped with the skills she learned in university and how she understood her society, she had a long-term vision for the education of her students.

As a teacher or parent, we have to prepare the children and students for their lives in the next 10 or 20 years. They will progress.

She was exercising her agency of monitoring her environment (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) to come to this conclusion that made her understand that the challenges her students would face in the future would be different from the ones they had at the moment. She encouraged the students that if they mastered English, they would have better access to education, knowledge, and a greater opportunity to learn or work abroad. She indicated that she was aware of her students' needs and to achieve that, parents need to be involved. Some parents were thoughtful and perceptive towards their children's needs. They provided learning facilities like a computer or laptop, electronic dictionaries, or allowing their children to engage in extracurricular activities that focused on improving their English skills. Other parents thought that the limited hours were not enough for their children to learn English sufficiently; therefore they sent them to private tuition to learn more.

There were other challenges that she considered important to address. The workload of the students was enough to make them stay until midnight to complete the assignments from their teachers, especially for the students in Science majors. In her interaction with her students, she considered herself as a "soft" teacher:

I am aware that I am not stern to my students, I care about them In the case when I gave them assignment When they did not do it – because they had to finish the homework from other teachers ... I did not want to burden them too much ... they already had so much to do

Filia stepped back when it came to the urgency of doing their assignments. She realised that English was not the main subject for the students who chose a Science major. Her action showed that she did not want to stress her students even more by adding more workload. In dealing with this situation, Filia focused more on her teaching in the classroom, giving them enough homework, but not too much to make them feel like it was a burden. She ensured that the desired learning outcome was achieved without excessive assignments for the students.

In a more general aspect of teaching, Filia shared her view about English in the eyes of Tegal people. There were many businessmen and foreign traders in the city that made her think that English would give access to young people to travel abroad or develop their business, not just for the local scope but also for the international market. Her understanding of how the English language had progressed and how people could use it for their advantages was reflected below:

Interviewer : In your opinion as an English teacher, how do you view English?

Filia : I'd say that English is a progressive language... it's dynamic...If you master English, you can go anywhere you want, and in terms of business, you can have a broad scope internationally. We can have whatever we want.

Her experience taught her that she got the benefit of mastering the language and she had better opportunities for her life from it. To keep up with the progress of the language, Filia understood that in teaching, she also had to progress to make sure her students get enough skills in English. An example of this view was how she used more internet to keep up with additional teaching material, tweaking from the curriculum that she had to follow. She used websites that had up to date learning resources so that her students could also be in touch with recent information.

6.3.8 Curriculum dynamic

Throughout the time she had worked as a teacher, she had experienced several curriculum changes as explained in Chapter Two. The changes in curriculum influenced the way Filia did her job.

That's the government's program. I think from my experience, the International-based school is designed to prepare quality students, precisely, correctly. But it works only if the system works because such a program requires support and fund from the government.

The previous curriculum demanded that students had speaking and communication skills. To support this program, Filia had invited foreign volunteers to participate in teaching activities. She had been in charge of how many volunteers could teach in the school, and what type of lesson they should deliver. It gave positive impact; the students were motivated because of the presence of the native speakers who represented the English world that the students were not familiar with, bringing them closer to English, rather than experiencing it as a foreign language.

Filia recounted that the benefit of this program came sometime later when she noticed that her students were enthusiastic to speak in English. The native speakers' role was not limited to encouraging students to learn English, but they could also show what a foreign culture looked like. This activity gave an insight into English-speaking cultures so that students

could be more open-minded to accept a foreign culture. In this program, Filia acted as the provider of the service, which provided her two benefits: she got to use her English to interact with the volunteers and improve her skills, and she managed to pique her students' interest to be involved in an English community in the school. For Filia, regulations such as the ones included in the former curriculum helped her carry out her duties as a teacher because they provided clear guidelines on the teaching methods she should be using and helped her to deliver the lesson. The involvement of students was apparent during each stage of learning, which encouraged independent learning and enforced curiosity to learn more. As she was entering a new space of teaching under the new curriculum, she had to adjust the manner in which she did her job.

6.3.9 New Curriculum

As the new curriculum was implemented, Filia expressed her opinion about the changes:

The curriculum changes might be hard for private school students in remote areas. But this school is settled and mature.

Filia described her school as mature because it was financially and structurally stable. As a state school, it had facilities such as laboratories, library, technological equipment and recent textbooks to support the learning process under any circumstances. The school was a popular school because of the good quality of teachers and graduates. Students from secondary schools had to compete to be enrolled because the benchmarks were quite high.

Filia believed that the school strength in accommodating the changes was one of the factors that contributed to the success of adapting to the new curriculum. In terms of student learning, Filia admitted that the influence of the changes was less favourable. The workload to finish learning materials within a certain time limit put a lot of strain on her students' learning. Years of teaching experience gave her the skill to identify when one teaching method was successfully used in her class or not. Within the time span, she noticed how the students she taught under the new curriculum were less vocal compared to her former students whom she taught using the former curriculum.

The students under the former curriculum spoke very well. They used to get daily writing and composing, and an additional five hours for speaking lessons and it was semi-obligatory. So, they became motivated because they saw their friends could do it and they thought they could do that, too. Now, only a few students can speak fluently while reading.

The current students did not possess the speaking skills and confidence that their antecedents had. The different approaches between the two curricula were making the learning less successful. Filia elaborated on the changes in the things that she could do within her authority. For example, she used the method of instruction that she had used under the old curriculum, but she used teaching material from the new curriculum. Her aim was to make her students learn. She found that combining the old teaching method and the new teaching material worked for her students. The actions that Filia had done indicated that she was exercising her agency of finding her own goals.

Administratively, under the new curriculum, her workload increased because now the scoring system required the teacher to make a descriptive report about students' achievement. The new system helped her see her students on a more personal level. She had to pay attention to the way students interacted in her class, how they pushed themselves to learn and to ask them questions if they faced difficulties. The report should not be generic as each student was unique. Therefore, she needed to pay close attention to how everything went on in her class. It was hard in the beginning because she had to teach many students in year 11. However, the small number of students in each class helped her to recognise them individually.

Filia was also affected by the change of working hours as Budi was. The extra hours were exhausting, but she did not complain. She met the expectation from both from the national and local government. She indeed had more working hours, but because the teaching hours for each English class within the new curriculum were reduced, she still had enough time to complete her duties. She chose not to consider the added workload and working hours a burden so that she could do the job accordingly. One of the things that she considered special in the manner she did her job was that she took all of her duties as a part of her religious practice. It was an obligation that she fulfilled because she chose to do it and because she was required to (Figure 6-3). Her mindset and the way she perceived her jobs and responsibilities as something that was not a burden enabled her to do her jobs light-heartedly. She exercised her agency of connecting with the new environment where she could adapt herself to new challenges and pushed herself to become a better teacher. She believed that the changes were

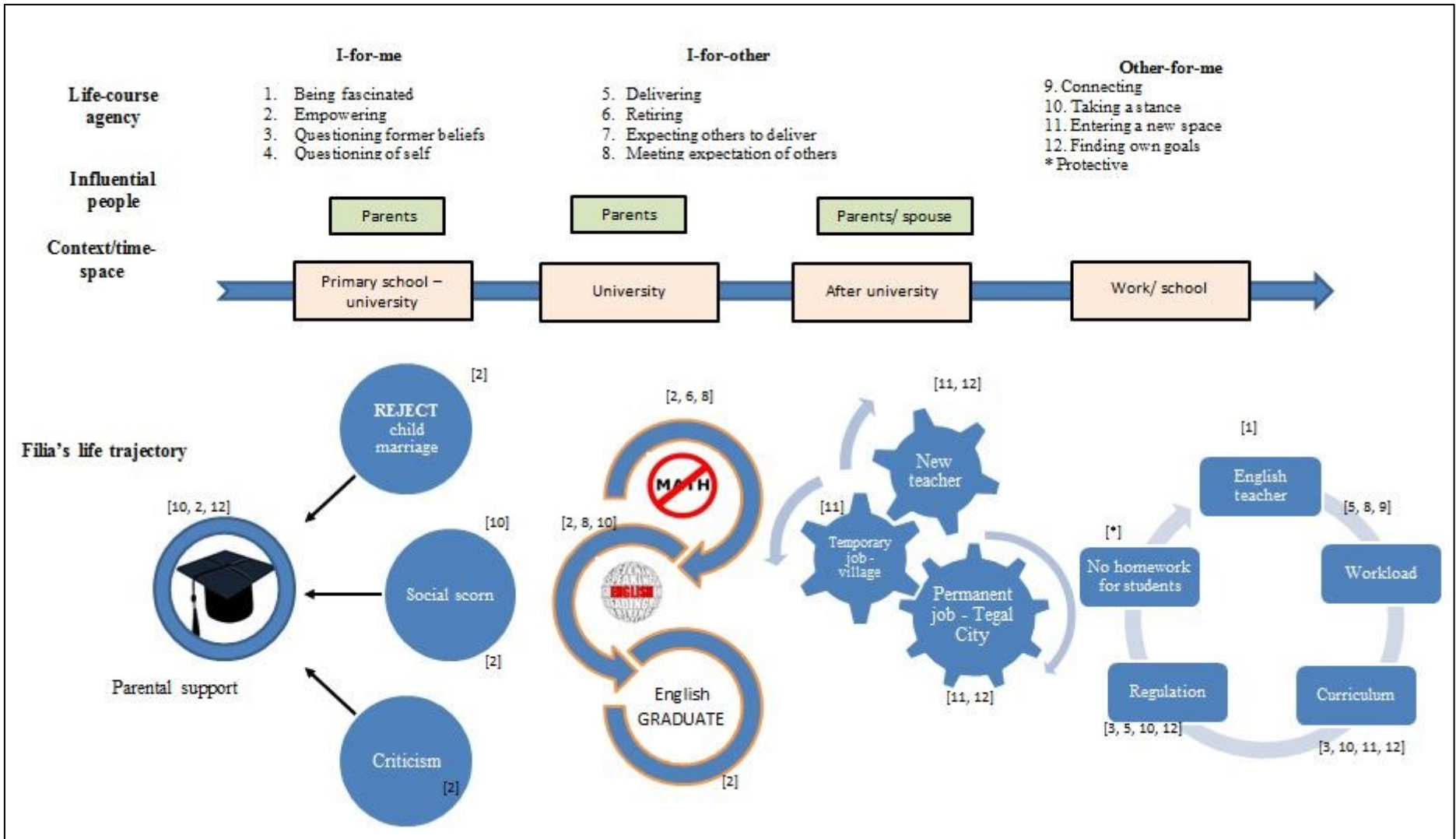


Figure 6-3: Filia's trajectory and life-course agency

good for her because they made her more critical about assessing her students' development. Filia learned more about her students' strengths and weaknesses and worked from there to help them improve themselves. By adjusting to the new regulation, she managed to use the changes as a tool to improve herself as a teacher.

6.4 Roni - I put more importance on my job as a teacher, although I perform as a puppeteer in the evening

Roni was the third English teacher in Ladang High School whom I interviewed. He was 52 years old when I met him, a man with a heavy voice and a tall figure to match. The first impression I had about Roni was how lively he was when he talked. His expression lit up when he talked about his students, his classes, and the one thing that he said he loved the most, *wayang*. He lived a double life as an English teacher in high school and as a renowned *dalang* or shadow puppet master who travelled the world to perform. Roni had been teaching English to the students in Year 12 sciences major for 15 years. Although being a teacher in a high school was not a profession that he desired when he was younger, he was a dedicated teacher and did his job very well. There were winding roads and tricky life events that made him what he was now. The life choices, decisions, people's influences, and the inevitable situation had led him to become a person who loved his job and the activities he did outside the school.

6.4.1 Young Roni

In a small village called Andongan in Tegal Regency, little Roni lived and played with his friends. He spent his time after school in the rice field that surrounded his village. In the evening, he stayed in the mosque near his parents' house to read and write the holy Alquran. Roni said he had four younger siblings and his parents worked as a teacher and a vegetable seller. His father was a famous *dalang* in the region during the 1970s and often took Roni to his night shows. He taught Roni the characters in *wayang*, the story of Ramayana and Mahabharata and taught him how to be a *dalang* for various kinds of puppets. Roni loved *wayang* and grew up close to them. His grandfather, who lived nearby, used to be a *dalang* too when he was younger. Becoming a *dalang* was a talent and interest that ran in the family, Roni said. One of his own sons won a *dalang* competition in Central Java and made him a proud father.

6.4.2 Learning curve

Roni went to a primary school near his house and began his English learning trajectory. It was taught as local content, and he got a brief lesson at school, once a week for half an hour. When he was in secondary school, he recalled that the teacher used bahasa Indonesia as the language of instruction to teach the students how to read and write in English. He was taught mainly to read texts and write by copying from the textbooks. He only learned English at school and never used the language to communicate with his friends nor teachers. He recalled how the lesson was sometimes not interesting because he thought his teacher was not very competent.

In primary school, the teacher has to teach all the subjects. A staff taught us English, and she was not very nice. All we did to prepare for school was how not to get hit in the head when she threw an eraser in our direction when she was upset with us. We learned how to avoid getting hit. Maybe that is why we never understood English.

One of the things that he remembered about his learning was the discomfort he felt every time he had to go to school because he knew what he was going to face. He was not excited to go to school because the teacher was not fun and he felt intimidated and could not learn properly. Moreover, there were no English teachers available, and the school assigned an unqualified staff member to teach the students. It was ironic because the moment Roni was introduced to English was also the moment when he lost interest and withdrew from his learning, showing an agency of retiring (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015), and he built a wall to resist learning English. He could not connect to the learning environment because the teacher did not provide a safe space for students to absorb the lesson. As a student, he could not take action about this, since being proactive in this kind of situation would not turn out well for him, because he was still a child and the teachers and the school might not have welcomed the suggestions. The situation continued until he finished primary school.

When Roni was at the secondary school he met another English teacher who gave him a different learning curve:

Mr Harto came but did not teach English, but he was good at English. He gave us a free lesson. It amazed me that I could answer his questions for example "what's the time?" I could not answer it before. We graduated from junior high school only with that scrap of English skills.

Initially, the first year in secondary school was not much different from the years he experienced at the primary level. English was a compulsory subject, and the school curriculum required every student to pass English as one of the requirements for graduation. Although Roni recalled that he was not a lazy student, his motivation to learn English was not high and he learned it only because he had to. He was not aware of the importance of English until he met Mr Harto, a teacher who taught a different subject but was generous enough to teach English to Roni and some of his friends.

Mr Harto volunteered his time at his home to give them free English lessons and taught them the basics of English and how to use it in daily conversation. Roni was happy that he could learn English from someone who knew how to teach it. He came every day to the teacher's home. Although the lesson was different from the curriculum and did not set a standard score for the evaluation, this was the thing that made Roni learn. He did not have to meet anybody's expectations about getting good scores. He learned the language because he wanted to, and that signified how he made efforts to improve himself in his learning. Roni was motivated not only because the lesson set him no demands to achieve good scores, but because he was having fun while learning the language. With his friends, he learned how to pronounce some basic words, tell the time, and learn numbers and conversation skills while playing.

His teacher, Mr Harto, was an important figure in his learning because he provided a safe space for Roni's development. He managed to involve the students in learning activities and got them to engage in English learning. It was a significant achievement for the teacher and improvement for the students. Not only did Mr Harto teach about vocabulary and tenses, but he also taught the students the importance of learning the language for their future. He taught them why it mattered to master the English language and what benefit they could get from being good at English. He instilled awareness in their minds of what they could be if they mastered English.

Roni recalled how enthusiastic he was about learning English with Mr Harto and he was fascinated with English. The results of the learning did not hurt either, as he managed to graduate with satisfactory scores. With that achievement, Roni got to meet his parents' expectations about his learning.

6.4.3 Fateful choice

Senior high school was one of the most critical stages for Roni, as it was the time when he made a decision that would lead him to choose what kind of skills and interest he was pursuing. He was already registered at a high school near his parents' home when he requested a change:

Three months after the school started, I asked my parents to transfer me to Solo. I felt bad staying at home with so many siblings. If I stayed in Solo by myself, I can be more independent. In Solo, I studied at Indonesia Karawitan School.

Living away from his parents was his own choice, as he thought it would make him more independent, focus on his studies, and learn to make his own decisions. He studied *karawitan*, which refers to the music produced from a set of *gamelan*²⁰. He chose *karawitan* because he loved to learn the songs and culture of Java. His father and grandfather had helped him to nurture this passion since he was a child by taking him to watch *wayang* performances. He wanted to learn all kinds of skills about Javanese arts including dancing, playing *gamelan*, singing, and writing poems. In the school, he also learned how to be a master of ceremonies in Javanese cultural ceremonies such as weddings and the celebration of birth. The school had a complete infrastructure to facilitate learning and was supportive of providing facilities to develop students' artistic talents.

Fortunately, he pursued an education that matched his interest. In this school, he remembered that his English was poor as his vocabulary was limited and he did not master English grammar. Until he was in year 11 of high school, he did not learn English properly until one day an English teacher came along:

I met an English teacher whom I thought was patient. He graduated from UGM (Universitas Gadjah Mada) and he made us, the fools, graduated high school. I even surprised myself when I got a perfect score although I knew nothing about English when I was in junior high school. This was very dramatic.

The patience of his teacher was what motivated him to learn English properly in spite of his low opinion of his and his fellow students' abilities. He was a prominent figure who changed the way Roni perceived English learning. Somehow, it became a starting point of how he grew his interest in learning English more fully. He did not learn only to gain good

²⁰ Indonesian traditional musical instruments and its cultural system and influences (Dewanto, 2014a).

scores but also for the sake of learning the language. He became so absorbed in his English learning that he wanted to achieve his goal to learn English in higher education after he graduated from high school. He recalled his initial plan was to enrol in the English department at a university. However, the high school policy regulated that the graduates should continue to higher education that was similar to that of the high school, mainly learning Javanese culture instead of learning English, a foreign culture.

I wanted to choose English, but from my Senior High School, I was not allowed to choose English. However, if I wanted to study Javanese language and culture, I would be accepted in the university without being tested. I finally chose Dance Arts for Diploma.

Although he would have chosen English if he could have, Roni felt that his passion for performing and arts trumped his initial interest to learn English. He thought that he was gifted at learning the arts and culture, and felt empowered that he could pursue a higher degree in this field. Eventually, he followed the school policy to enrol at the university and majored in Javanese arts and dances. This indicated that Roni temporarily gave up his desires to learn English but he enjoyed the lesson nevertheless.

It was not long before he eventually gave in to his heart's desire to learn English. In the second year when he was in the arts college, he enrolled in a distance learning program in English education at Ladang University. By enrolling in the English major, that meant he studied at two different universities learning two majors at the same time. This action indicated how hard he was working to learn both things he loved. When he made the decision, he stated that he wanted to invest in his future by learning English so that he could have better access to the world. This decision was not an easy one to make, as he needed to manage his time well so he could complete the assignments for both of his majors. He recalled how often he had to stay up late to perform *wayang* in the evening as an assignment for his dance and art major, followed by completing a paper for his English major early in the morning, which resulted in him staying awake the whole night.

Additionally, by choosing the English major and living in Solo, it was easier for him to practise his English when he performed *wayang* or other traditional dances. Usually, he met foreigners among his audience with whom he could talk about his show and answer their curiosity about Javanese culture. Furthermore, Solo was one of the major tourist cities in Central Java where tourists from many countries came to enjoy the local culture and relive the history of the Central Java kingdom. It gave him opportunities to interact with the foreigners.

By studying two majors, Roni was exercising his agency of finding his own goal to embrace the two things he loved dearly.

6.4.4 Intertwined career path

When he finished his university studies, he had two majors: dance and arts and English education. These were the tickets for him to get an excellent job in his hometown in Tegal City. After he returned to his city, he got a job as a government employee and was assigned to teach Dance and Arts subject in a high school in Tegal City.

In the beginning, I taught dance arts in this school because it was stated in my official letter. After that, in 2000 there was a regulation change, region autonomy and my first assignment letter was altered...I have a bachelor diploma in English teaching and began to teach English. Until now, I have been teaching English for year 12 students for 15 years.

His skills and knowledge of Javanese culture led him to apply for the position of dance and arts teacher in the school. He taught the subject for three years. It was not a primary subject in school, as dance and arts were electives, along with other subjects like French and handcrafts. Unfortunately, there were not many students who were interested enough or talented enough for the subject. Although it was a steady government job, the small number of hours he had to teach made him feel that he did not contribute enough. This was a time when Roni had to make another choice related to his career. Although he said that it was rather hard for him to drop teaching dance and arts, he felt that he needed to explore his ability and make use of his English skills. It was not a coincidence that the regulation changes (see Chapter Two) in regional autonomy benefited him very much. He could “retire” from the idea of teaching dance and arts professionally and apply for an English teacher position. He saw this as an empowering opportunity for him to make use of his English diploma and to pursue his passion for teaching English.

Meanwhile, although he no longer taught dance and arts subjects, he still nurtured his passion in that field by performing arts in his leisure time. He was involved in organisations of artists and performers in the region and was invited to perform on different occasions. Roni became a well-known performer, especially for *wayang*, where he played the role as the *dalang* or puppeteer and indicated that he was connecting two worlds that became his passion (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015).

This time of his life marked how he embraced both identities elegantly. Having the background of learning and studying Javanese arts and culture was a significant advantage for Roni. He could use both his English skills and his art skills to pursue his real passion and talent. His day job as an English teacher was a means for him to excel professionally, while on the other side of his life, Roni was a shadow puppet *dalang* (puppeteer). He was famous for using English when he was performing *wayang*, a scarce skill among *dalang* in Indonesia, and as a result, he was named “*Dalang bahasa Inggris*” or English-speaking *wayang* puppeteer. This is not a typical thing in Indonesian culture, as *wayang* are usually performed using the Javanese language.

The regent of Tegal asked me if I would be ready to be a delegate to ASEAN countries...I told him that my English was mediocre. He said my English was okay, as long as I could perform it.... I went to Thailand, Cambodia, Singapore, and all ASEAN countries...I got an invitation to perform...to give a speech about wayang.

He gained recognition from government agencies and was chosen to be a representative to present Javanese culture abroad. He was invited to perform in front of King Norodom Sihanouk in Thailand where he gained his first international recognition. After that performance, he was invited to countries such as USA, Canada, Cambodia, Brunei Darussalam, and all other ASEAN countries performing and presenting Javanese *wayang* using the English language.

He wrote the script in English, taking the major storylines from Mahabharata or Ramayana stories or local folk tales. He adjusted the story of Indonesian culture that involved the themes such as fasting month and the eternal battle of the good and the bad, Aidilfitri celebration, birth and death, even stories about Hindu gods that had a peace message for the audience. He also performed social themes that matched with Tegal culture.

He gained extensive experience going abroad and communicating with foreigners, which was very useful for his English teaching. However, juggling between teaching and becoming a puppeteer was not easy, because his job as a puppeteer was usually carried out at night. He had to stay awake from around 10 p.m. to early morning just before dawn, and he had to be ready to work at school at 7 a.m. Living a double life as a teacher and a renowned puppeteer was a choice that Roni made because he was embracing and living both of his identities. Although it meant that he had to balance them out in order to meet what other people expected of him from both, he was able to meet their expectations.

6.4.5 Puppeteer teacher

In school, Roni used his background in Javanese arts to help him teach English. He usually used *wayang* as teaching media to teach his students about the narrative genre, how to write a compelling storyline, and how to speak English confidently. He was building a connection between both of his worlds and identities in his classroom. When it was not the exam weeks, his classes mostly consisted of puppet-like performances where students used props and equipment to present their work in the English language. They brought small paper figures that they used as puppets to present their ideas according to themes or topic of their presentation as seen in Figure 6-4.

The use of puppets among students helped them to manage the flow of ideas and stories that they were presenting. He found that the use of teaching media like this empowered him to be a teacher because it provided him with a platform to be more expressive, and at the same time empowered his students to be more confident.



Figure 6-4: Puppets for presentation in Roni's class

By letting the students choose the topics for their presentation, they became more confident and had control over their ideas. In the class, Roni taught his students not only how to perform confidently in front of their peers but also the lessons about making decisions and how to be responsible for their choices. He taught the students how to find their goals in each of the lesson and students loved the way he taught English because it was unique as expressed by one of the students below (see Figure 6-5).

adalah salah satu pelajaran kesukaan saya. Belajar bahasa Inggris menurut saya sangat penting untuk dipelajari dan tentunya bisa diterapkan saat kita berlibur di luar negeri ataupun jika bertemu dengan orang asing. Kesenian yang ada didalamnya adalah bahasa Inggris memiliki cara belajar yang unik yaitu dengarkan musik, tentunya bahasa Inggris dapat dikolaborasi dengan seni, seperti wayang di kelas Pak [REDACTED]

[... is one of my favourite subjects. Learning English, in my opinion, is very important and it can be implemented when we are on holiday abroad or when we meet foreigners. The fun in learning is that there are unique ways to learn such as through tales, music, and English can also be collaborated with art, like wayang in Mr Roni's class.]

Figure 6-5: Student's opinion on Roni's class (HS/C1/Rn/A1)

He blended his skills in telling stories and performing *wayang* into the teaching of English. Roni indicated that this kind of teaching was an act of empowering the students to use what was available in their environment to learn the language. It encouraged creativity and fostered enthusiasm in learning. Roni believed that he provided a positive atmosphere which helped the students not only to learn English but also to learn about their local culture.

6.4.6 New rules

Teaching English in a society like Tegal was challenging, Roni said. He considered that the changes to the C-2013 caused a shift in the way students learned and acquired their English mastery.

I trained students to learn arts back in 1987; they still studied while practising. However, that kind of phenomenon I could not find now. Current students do the opposite. They try to escape their classes by saying that they have to rehearse while they do not rehearse. They also do not read books... This is a new trend which occurs in the last three years since the introduction of the new curriculum. I think that is how things changed.

Roni observed that the new curriculum influenced the shift in students' motivation. He connected the changes he noticed in his students with the changes of regulation. With the increased number of hours that students had to spend at school, they became less interested in school because of the burnout they experienced. Previously, when the school ended at 1.45 p.m., they could take extra lessons in private tuition centres after school. According to Roni,

the recent updates with more extended school hours made them unable to have extra lessons outside the school hours. For example, he elaborated on how current students were less motivated than the students in the past because of burnout. They made excuses not to do homework, and if they did it, they submitted it late. Due to the lack of motivation because of burn out, Roni had to find a way to keep the students interested in learning English with him, so he combined *wayang* with his teaching. He had used this for the students who had graduated before the implementation of the new curriculum. He stopped using it because of the excessive workload at the beginning of the new curriculum implementation. Recalling his past success encouraged Roni to reuse this teaching method and the students responded well to his teaching style, as it was one of the entertainments they could provide for themselves among all the workload from their teachers.

One more difference that Roni thought was crucial in both curricula was the way evaluation for students' performance was conducted. The school-based curriculum allowed the teacher to evaluate and score students using numbers as the parameter of passing or failing a test. On the contrary, the C-2013 required the teacher to give a detailed description of students' achievement in a narrative form. This meant more paperwork for the teacher and less time to pay attention to students learning as they were distracted by the amount of work they had to complete at the end of each semester.

6.4.7 Resistance

In every teaching and learning process, there would be challenges that both teacher and student encountered. This was so for Roni. Throughout the time that he had worked as a teacher, he encountered students who experienced difficulties in learning. One of the issues that he faced most frequently concerned with the religious background of his students. This issue arose from the nature of the people of Tegal City, who hold their faith close to their heart and used it as the guide for their lives. The belief and faith in the religion of the students were so strong that it seeped through their life at school.

Learning a language is also the same with learning the culture. But some students worry that they will become an apostate if they learn foreign culture...

Over time, he instilled an idea in his students' mind that English was a medium for them to achieve bigger things in life. Even for a teacher who worked to provide motivating lessons, Roni had to contend with issues from his students, which made his teaching difficult. He

admitted that changing the mindset was not an easy task because of the way he thought people in Tegal City perceived English. Because he had been living in the city for a very long time, he understood that their opinion about English was not very warm. To overcome this challenge, he always told his students to be more open-minded about the language and cultural differences and to have the willingness to learn English. He showed them that English was a useful medium to achieve more significant things than just a passing grade. Roni used his experience of going abroad and interacting with foreigners to motivate students to learn English to show them that they could also travel abroad, a thing that was desirable by many in Indonesia, and become an international citizen. He also showed that he had not become an apostate because he spoke English and had travelled to many countries. By doing this, he expected his students to see a bigger picture of being an English user, an agency that Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) described as having an expectation from others to follow what they wanted.

6.4.8 Double identity

Roni's role as both a puppeteer and a teacher had benefited him. English skills that he learned from university and then used for teaching gave him a good steady job:

I put more importance on my job as a teacher, although I perform as a puppeteer in the evening. However, if your question is about which one is more dominant as a teacher who is paid and has a responsibility to the state, until today, I have never missed a day to work although I performed until dawn the night before.

He realised that the official duty as a teacher took a more significant portion of his identity as he had an obligation to obey the rules and regulations from the government about the working hours and to do his main role as an English teacher. His identity as a teacher offered a secure job position and well-respected reputation in the society. He made efforts to be a good employee by adhering to the rules and never missed a day of work although he had to stay up the night before to do his side-job. On the other hand, his personal interest as a puppeteer had a significant contribution to his identity development as well. The talent in arts constructed a vital part of his identity. He had been in love with *wayang* almost all his life and had been a puppeteer for most of his adult life. He was well known in the area even before he used English in his performance. There were many puppeteers in Tegal City and many English teachers in the area as well. But there were not many people who could do both. He combined both his artistic and English skills to get more prominent recognition from the

public. Later on, the recognition drew them closer to him and gave him the opportunity to travel all around the globe. He got to meet important people from different countries and taught them the culture of Indonesia and *wayang*. Roni managed to blend both skills elegantly and he embraced his two identities without confusing one with the other.

Roni, on the other hand, presented the more cultural and creative aspect of his identity through the way he involved the use of *wayang* and other artefacts in his teaching. Despite his assertion that his identity as a teacher was more important to him for job security, he did not pretend that his artistic identity was not a crucial part of his life. The way Roni navigated his trajectory and life choices is presented in Figure 6-6.

6.5 Chapter summary

From the narratives of the teachers in LHS, it was apparent that they experienced changes and diverse experience to get to where they were now. They did not always get what they wanted and had to make a choice that they did not want to make, but they had to because the circumstances forced them to do so. They showed rich narratives when they made life-changing decisions and their choices of agency. Their decision making had led them to their current situation and profession. Their learning experiences made them wiser teachers who were affectionate to their students. Their versatile skills in adapting to changes helped them to be pliant and flexible to follow the constantly changing school environment.

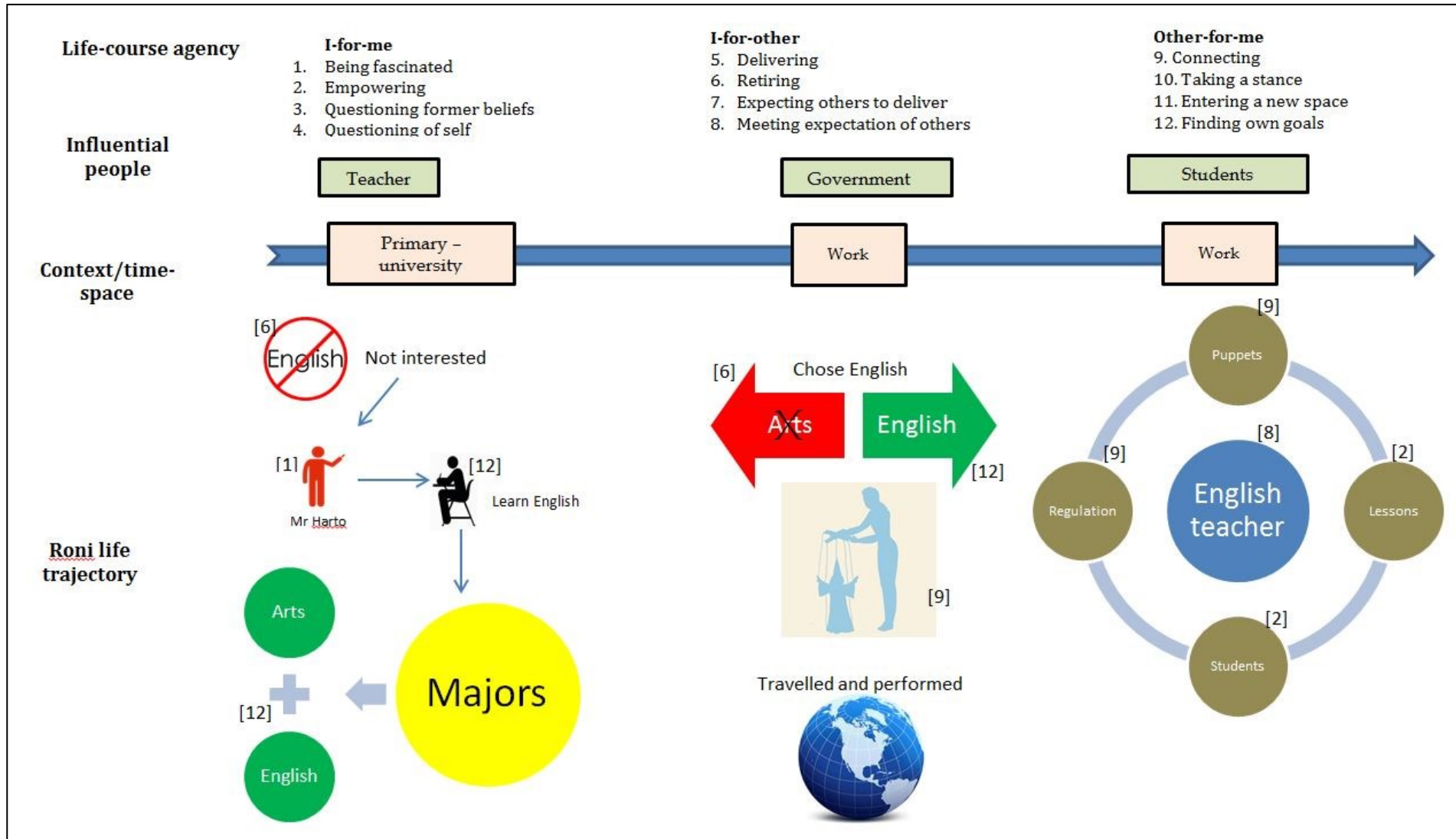


Figure 6-6: Roni's trajectory and life-course agency

Chapter Seven: Life-course agency of Ladang Private Tuition Centre teachers

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the life-course agency of the teachers in Ladang Private Tuition Centre. Leila, Ardi, and Anto shared their stories from their childhood, the trajectories of their learning and the twists and turns of life experiences that led them to be a part of the informal side of Indonesian education. Leila, the owner of the private tuition centre, shared her life and what it meant to have the centre. Ardi told stories about his dreams and the unrequited love of English that finally made him divert the course of his life. Anto explained why English was not his main interest, but it had become an important part of his life nowadays.

The focus of the analysis for the teachers in this context lies on their career trajectory, the contribution from people around them, their decision making and what encouraged them to become teachers in the LPTC. The focus on their daily teaching practice was an accessory in the discussion of their career trajectory and identity formation. The teachers focused on the elements that support their professional growth, such as their versatile skills to adapt to the ever-changing demands of their world. The ties that bind these teachers together were their aims to provide English education to diverse types of students with different backgrounds, education levels, and needs. They evolved their professional identities and exercised their agency in making choices and decisions to regulate their learning and professional development in an education setting, curriculum and a set of skills that made them unique teachers.

7.2 Leila: Animal scares me, why should I doctor them?

Leila was a woman of Indian descent from her father's side and an Indonesian mother. She was born in Bandung 43 years before I met her. She worked as an English teacher as well as the owner and manager of Ladang Private Tuition Centre, which was located in Tegal City. She was also a part-time lecturer at Ladang University where she taught three times a week. She spent her childhood and teenage years in different cities. From Bandung, her parents moved to Surabaya when she was four years old. In this city, she began and completed

primary school. The family moved to Pemalang when she was in the first year of secondary school, and they lived there for four years. When she was in her second year of senior high school, her family moved to Tegal City and settled there until the present.

My interaction with Leila was easy because we were classmates when we did our masters. However, although we were classmates, I did not know much about her personal or professional life, until I interviewed her. The familiarity between us had led to her openness and casual contact that made it easy for us to share information during the data collection stages. Leila was an interesting woman; she was cheerful and straightforward when answering my questions. Through her narrative, she explained how her life experiences helped her to exercise her life-course agency and the driving factors of her decision-making. She also explained the important figures in her life whose opinion mattered to her.

7.2.1 High school life

Leila was a diligent and smart student in high school, which resulted in her getting the first rank throughout her high school career. She excelled in almost all subjects and was given the title of Best Student. She was adept in English and had shown a keen interest in learning it. Even at a young age, she already had a strong will when it came to her English learning. She was passionate when explaining her learning strategies. There were two media people whom she admired who helped inspire her interest in English.

Anton Hillman and Nisrina Nur Ubay were my idols. I used to love watching their TV program. I really wanted to be like them. I liked Anton Hillman because he used American English, while Nisrina used British English. I imagined that time, when will I be able to speak like them? At least I had to go abroad.

Anton and Nisrina were TV anchors who worked for TVRI (*Televisi Republik Indonesia*), a government-operated television station. Until the late 1980s, TVRI was the only television station in Indonesia (Kitley, 2000; Sen & Hill, 2000). It ran a weekly program called *Bahasa Inggris untuk Anda* [English for You] every Thursday at 5.30 p.m. There were different topics for each week, such as:

1. 17.30 Bahasa Inggris Untuk Anda: "Bid For Power More Variations" (Nisrina H Nur Ubay)
2. 17.30 Bahasa Inggris Untuk Anda: "The Tenses (Bag. 1" (Anton Hilman)

3. 17.30 Bahasa Inggris Untuk Anda: "Bid for Power" (Nisrina H Nur Ubay)
4. 17.30 Bahasa Inggris Untuk Anda: "Your Letters"

The program was an interactive session on how to use grammar and create sentences. The audience could send the answers to the TV station via air mail and the winners were announced the following week. Leila was a devout audience member for this show; she participated whenever she could because she wanted to learn and won the prize from the hosts. The public figures had a significant influence on her learning because they made her want to be like them. By having them as idols, Leila modelled her English learning on them and tried to imitate their style. She found their program empowering for her learning (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015).

One of the reasons she wanted to learn English was because she wanted to be a doctor, and she wished to avoid difficulties in learning medical textbooks which were mainly in English. Leila had a dream to become a doctor because, at the time she was in high school, this was one of the most prestigious professions that one could have. The difficult requirements often deterred people from enrolling in this course of study. However, Leila was confident that she would be accepted because she always had good scores at school, and when she finished high school, she applied to medical school.

One of the most popular ways to enrol at a public university was through a selection process called SIPENMARU [*Seleksi Penerimaan Mahasiswa Baru*] or New Student Enrolment Selection. Each applicant could choose two majors as their primary option and a secondary option, which could be in the same university or a different one as long as the universities were in the list of public universities participating in the selection. She filled in the form to apply to one of the best medical schools in Indonesia in Universitas Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta. Leila took a stance of choosing this university because it was reputed to provide the best facilities, training, and excellent lecturers to learn and study in the medical field.

As her secondary choice, she selected the veterinary school in Universitas Jenderal Soedirman in Purwokerto, a city that was closer to her hometown. The consideration was because veterinary medicine was a branch of the medical field that she had chosen in the first place. When the announcement was released, Leila had to deal with a disappointing result, as she was not accepted in the medical school.

I wanted to be a doctor, and I was really frustrated when I couldn't make it. I was really ashamed of myself, I felt I disgraced my parents for being a failure, I was smart, but I couldn't be a doctor.

The failure marked a turning point in Leila's trajectory. She felt strongly disappointed because of her failure, which she expressed using powerful words to describe her feelings such as "frustrated", "ashamed of myself", "failure", and "disgraced." She had always considered herself a smart student, and intelligent students could go to medical school. This kind of belief was deeply rooted in her mindset. Therefore, it was not a surprise that the strength of disappointment was so apparent in her narrative. She got accepted into her secondary choice, the veterinary school.

I got accepted in Veterinary Medicine in Universitas Jenderal Soedirman (UNSOED), while I was actually afraid of animals. I hated that. I didn't feel it was right, and then I gave up.

However, because it was not her primary option, and because of her dislike of animals and her disappointment about her failure to secure a place in medical school, she did not proceed to the vet school. Her reason, besides her fear of animals, was because being a vet was not a very popular profession; because it was not as prestigious as being a human doctor. She also did not want to settle for a second best option, and altogether dropped the opportunity to join the vet school. She showed retiring agency as she was in a time-space when there was a disjuncture between her expectation and her reality, and she gave up medical school and made a different decision for her education.

7.2.2 Uncle Sam: The comforting consolation

Leila struggled with her lack of success in achieving her dreams to become a doctor. Right after the announcement, she did not immediately make any other decisions. She was in a time-space where she was confused and did not know what to decide. Fortunately, an opportunity presented itself when one of her relatives, who worked in the Indonesian Embassy for the United States, suggested that she study in the US. Leila thought about this and discussed with her parents who encouraged her to take the offer. Considering that her situation in Indonesia was not very encouraging to her, Leila felt that her parents' support empowered her to make such a big decision to go abroad to pursue her education. Agreeing

to follow her parent's encouragement was her way of submitting to her parents' agency to meet their expectation (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015). She flew to the US to study English culture and literature at Skyline College in San Francisco.

In Indonesia, particularly when Leila was a teenager, it was a double privilege for someone to be able to learn English and do it abroad. She was acutely aware of that, and she did her best to meet her parents' expectation to strive in her study. She said that her life in the US helped her shape her identity as an independent young woman. Other than the compulsory subjects at the college, she learned about the culture of different countries from her friends. Leila emphasised that her life there helped her to become an open-minded person as she grew older. Being abroad gave her an experience that people were different, and she was thankful that she had the opportunity to recognise the differences between her and her friends as a blessing. She lived in San Francisco for five years and went back to Indonesia with a bachelor degree in English literature.

Returning to Indonesia after graduation took her into a new time-space. She had grown to be a person whose thoughts, personality, and idealism were shaped differently from the norm of her hometown. She recalled her frustration of coming back home and having to adapt to the situation in Indonesia. Furthermore, she was pressured to find a job, be an adult, and to make sure that she did not waste the money spent on her education abroad. However, as she dealt with reverse culture shock and her family expectation upon her, she was flailing. With a degree from abroad, she was expected to get an excellent job. However, it was not as smooth as she wanted. She struggled to find a job that matched her passion and degree. Some people suggested that she work as an English teacher; however, it was not what she wanted:

I never wanted to be a teacher. When I returned from America, I wanted to be a tour guide, because I thought I could make a lot of money from it.

Leila considered becoming a tour guide because in Indonesian society foreigners had a special position, and those who could interact with them, particularly those who had Caucasian features, would be regarded as exceptional too. Furthermore, she thought that being a tour guide was considered a distinguished job because a tour guide travelled a lot and they had high-frequency contacts with foreigners. Anyone who interacted and spoke fluent English with them, who also made money from travelling, was considered to be at a higher

end of the society. Leila wanted to be in that position because she believed that she was qualified for that.

Unfortunately, her mother was against the idea. Although the job was thought to be desirable, the lack of stability in it made her parents worry. They expressed their concern and encouraged Leila to change her mind. She valued their opinion highly and she obeyed them and did not proceed with her plan, a further act of retiring agency. After giving up the idea, Leila travelled and stayed for a while in countries such as Australia to further her learning of English. She also went to Japan, Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong to try her luck to find a job after she finished her studies in Australia. Although she had tried her best, her sojourn to those places was not fruitful in terms of getting a job, and she had to go back to her mother's hometown in Tegal City.

7.2.3 Back to her roots

The fact that Leila was not successful in getting the desired job taught her a valuable lesson that empowered her to create her career path in 1989 after she settled back to her mother's home:

I was in a difficult position. I had the knowledge, but I didn't use it. Then I decided to open a private course at home, and it gained students. I thought because no matter how good it is to work for other people, it's always better to own your own business.

With the knowledge and skills she learned from the US, Leila had been adamant about her intention not to be a teacher. But she remembered the shameful feeling that came from her unsuccessful efforts to get a job. This point led to an agency of questioning her former beliefs (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) when she reconsidered her ideas about what kind of job was suitable for her and matched her desire and skills. She questioned her past self, as a person who got educated in a very developed country; she ended up jobless after graduation. She reflected on how she searched for her true identity and what kind of steps she needed to take to make herself someone she wanted to be.

She thought that it was better to use her English skills to create a job for herself than to work for others. Her acceptance and understanding of this reality was an initial step of accepting that maybe becoming a teacher was not a bad idea after all. Apparently, becoming a teacher was the thing she did well. Once she decided that she would use her skills to create

a job for herself, she exercised her agency of entering a new space, which means that she was proactive in responding to her environment: she observed that people were in need of English lessons.

She then opened private English lessons for school students. She also managed to satisfy her parents that eventually, she had a job that she could feel proud of. Leila took action to enter a new space, transitioning from being unemployed to becoming the owner of her own business. The empowering situation helped her to find her personal goals to make her private course more known by people around her neighbourhood and in a field where she could serve and help more people to learn English.

I started at my mum's house, but then I had to move out because I needed a bigger place. I rented a house near Ladang High School. It was a strategic place and more students came that I needed a bigger space to contain the students. Now we have three buildings for them and we're developing more. I work really hard.

From a small space in her parents' living room with only a couple of students in her private lesson, she expanded to her own premises. The reputation of her English skills, and the fact that she had studied abroad to learn English made her home tuition grow bigger and attract more students. Eventually, her parents' house was no longer able to hold all the students. She once again developed her own goals when she saw that the situation in her parents' house was no longer feasible for her work.

A few months after she started her tuition, Leila rented a building solely for the tuition centre. This marked the official introduction of "Ladang Private Tuition Centre" to Tegal City. The building was located across from Ladang High School site, a very strategic place to gain more students. At the start, she handled all the teaching jobs herself with the help of one administrative staff member to help her run the centre. Before long, her private tuition centre became more well-known and more students came to register, which put her in a situation where she needed more English teachers to teach the students. In response to the growing numbers of students, over the course of several years, she bought a building that was located a couple of houses away from her mother's home.

Acquiring the permanent building for her centre was one of the requirements to gain legal standing for her institution. So, not only did Leila expand the physical aspect of her private tuition centre, but she also extended the legal aspect. It was registered officially with the National Education and Culture Agency of Tegal City in 1993. With this legal status, she

had the right to provide English training and courses for government employees, hold national-standardised tests for English competency, and provide preparation and training for English language tests such as TOEFL, IELTS, GRE, or TOEIC. She hired more teachers and administrative staff, and because of the increasing number of students, she bought a second building across from the first one and a third one on the same street to accommodate them. She used the second building as a library and language testing centre, and the third one as the training centre.

7.2.4 Managing the tuition

The private tuition centre operated daily from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. Monday to Saturday. Periodically, the government supplied LPTC with curriculum for non-formal education along with the teaching materials, but they were not enough.

For the subjects in this tuition, I designed my own curriculum because the curriculum from central government is too easy for my students.

As a registered institution, it had the right to receive the government-supplied curriculum and teaching material for an informal education institution. However, due to the ever-growing and ever-changing needs of the students, which moved faster than the supply from the government (which she also considered too easy for her students) Leila had to adjust to meet their demands. The additional curriculum she designed filled the gaps that the government curriculum did not have. It was because the students had various learning needs.

In relation to her job, her students played a big part in her decision-making. She designed policy about teaching and interacting with the students. One of the rules she made was that the students had to speak English whenever they communicated with her. Although they might not directly want to be regulated to speak English with her every time, their purpose of joining the private tuition was to be able to communicate in English. She delivered what they wanted by making the regulation an obligation. Leila was an important figure for the LPTC because her choices influenced the lives of other people around her. She made her identity as the owner from scratch and by herself, although she indeed got help from people around her such as family members.

She expected her students to keep up with her programme. In return, her encouragement to speak in English improved their confidence. Even though they struggled to

make themselves understood, the requirement to try provided them with a real opportunity to push their mastery of the language. Leila enforced this regulation throughout her institution. Therefore, greetings, small talk, and conversation among students, staff, and teachers were carried out in English. She was regulating how people in her institution used English, and because of it, her institution became more recognisable. She created an environment where everyone was encouraged to speak English freely.

I tried to make differences to my students learning, no matter how small. I try to keep in touch with my students in English, I said wherever you go you meet me you have to speak English.

The difference she made was by inviting foreigners to come to the LPTC as guest teachers as seen in Figure 7-1. Some of the foreigners used to be her college friends from the US or people she had met when she was travelling to several countries, other were volunteers who were assigned to do a project in Tegal City by their organisations, and Leila “borrowed” them for a day or two to join her students. Students were ecstatic whenever a foreigner took over the class and had practice with them.



Figure 7-1: Guest foreign teachers at LPTC

There were several advantages that emerged from inviting foreigners. First, it was a good marketing strategy because when a foreigner visited the institution people knew it. It made LPTC recognised as the private tuition centre that had foreign teachers occasionally. In the new academic year, sometimes Leila took the foreigners to school, to introduce her institution and the benefit of joining it. The foreigners were the magnet and it worked well because, after the visit to the school, it was usually followed up by increasing number of students enrolling to LPTC. Secondly, the teachers and staff in LPTC got to interact with the foreigners too, giving them a chance to refresh and improve their skills in English. As for the LPTC itself, the presence of foreigners helped Leila to expand it further, and she was proud that she could provide such a service that other private tuition centres could not. She found her own goals to make LPTC a place for her students and foreigners to meet, giving the students an opportunity to be confident, to get a glimpse of a foreign culture, and find the motivation to master English language for their future. Her narratives showed that it was not an easy journey (Figure 7-2) to be where she was now, but she asserted that it was all worth it.

7.3 Ardi: Becoming a teacher is my long time desire

Ardi was one of the male teachers in Ladang Private Tuition Centre. He was 44 years old when I met him. He was a very confident man with a friendly and pleasant face. He was eager to participate in my interview, and he made my job very easy with his cooperative attitude. I had the chance to observe his class three times and paid attention to how he interacted with several students. I noticed that he was a very helpful teacher and I thought that his students were happy and enthusiastic to be his students.

Ardi started his career at Ladang Private Tuition Centre 15 years ago and had been an indispensable part of the centre since then. He taught various types of students, from the young ones aged 10 years old to adult students who were practising their speaking for job interviews. He spoke English all the time throughout all the sessions I attended.

You know, since 15 years ago I have to speak English from morning till evening sometimes. That is why my English is improved by itself.

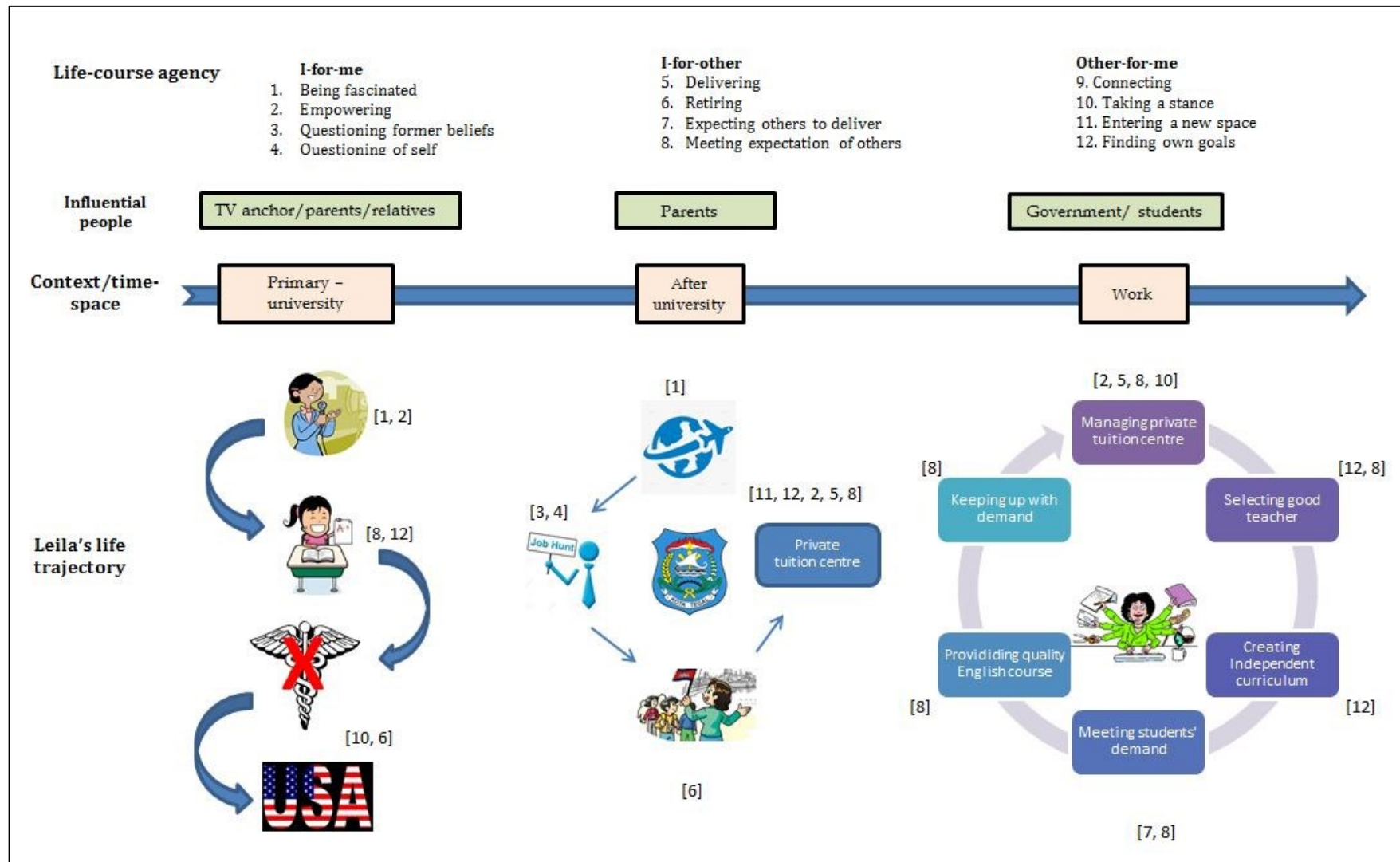


Figure 7-2: Leila's trajectory and life-course agency

The mandatory use of English in the private tuition centre encouraged him to react positively by abiding by it. It turned out to be good practice for him because it made him an active user of English, which resulted in his fluent speech. His vocabulary was extensive and he was confident in his stance, and it benefited his personal achievement at the same time, as ensuring he could deliver a satisfactory performance to the owner of the private tuition centre. During our short interactions throughout the research periods, Ardi shared his professional journey across different sojourns to becoming a teacher in the centre.

7.3.1 Education background

Little Ardi came from Brebes Regency, a small city to the west of Tegal City that was a part of the Banyumasan area. He went to a local primary and secondary school near his house. The first pleasant encounter with English happened when he was in secondary school and met Mr Bambang, the English teacher who taught him English for the first time and left a deep impression on his mind:

You know that it was in 1980s that most teachers focused on grammar. Mr Bambang wrote on the pattern of tenses one by one very clearly. Of course, I thought it was very easy for the student to understand it.

The teaching of grammar during the 1980s was in line with the curriculum at that time which encouraged a focus on reading and writing skills, with less focus on speaking and listening skills. The grammar-translation method was the most commonly used where teachers drilled students with grammar lessons. Mr Bambang was a prominent figure who made a significant impact on Ardi's first English learning experience. With his teaching, he helped Ardi to deliver what his parents expected him to achieve: good grades.

Although the resources that were used in the school were minimal: blackboard, chalk, and textbooks; it did not hinder the learning process. He recalled how he had to memorise all the 16 tenses, the patterns, and how to use them in written sentences. It was a rigorous task to memorise the tenses, but they did not apply in daily conversations. However, for Ardi, it was not a tedious job because he could understand it from the way his teacher simplified the complexity of grammar. His teaching style left a deep impression in Ardi's mind because it helped him to understand the lesson easily. The students in Mr Bambang's class had the same lesson, but each student experienced it differently. For Ardi it was easy, but none of his

friends thought the same way. They considered that English was one of the more difficult subjects for them, but he did not have problems getting good scores, and his teachers recognised him for that.

From that point in his life, his interest in English grew stronger so that he graduated from high school with a very satisfying score for English. The good passing grade made him confident about applying to the English major at one of the state universities in West Java:

I applied in a university I tried UMPTN²¹ and applied to UNPAD²² and chose English department. Then I apply to UNSOED²³ choosing Public Administration major, but I was not accepted in UNPAD, but I got accepted in UNSOED. That is why I chose the university where I was accepted.

Ardi wanted to enrol in the English major at the first university he applied to in Bandung, but he did not pass the selection. However, he was accepted to the second major he chose in a different university in Central Java called UNSOED. He said, although it was a different major, during the years in university, he enjoyed his learning nonetheless. The Social Politics department majoring in Public Administration was quite popular at the time he was a university student. That was one of the reasons Ardi felt that it was worth his time. Despite not being accepted in the English major, Anto managed to reroute his interest and accepted that he had to learn a different major. However, although he was learning political sciences, it still did not dim his interest in English. To satisfy his curiosity in the language he involved himself in students' extracurricular activities, thus indicating an act of agency where he was proactive in his study as he entered a new space of learning and met new people:

In UNSOED, there was something like extracurricular activities called SEF (student English Forum). It was a progressive program for students who were interested in English for all departments. What made me surprised was ... the students who speak English fluently were not from the English department but from economy ... but from ... farming and others. That is why I was interested in the extracurricular.

²¹ UMPTN: Ujian Masuk Perguruan Tinggi Negeri or State University Selection Test

²² UNPAD: Universitas Padjajaran – A state university located in Bandung – West Java Indonesia

²³ UNSOED: Universitas Jenderal Soedirman – A state university located in Purwokerto Regency, one of the regencies in Banyumasan Region

In SEF he met fellow students from all majors who shared interested in practising and learning English outside the hours they had to study. This SEF organisation required mandatory attendance once a week. This forum allowed students to take part as long as they were committed to using English as the language of communication within the community all the time. This organisation encouraged the participants to speak out and leap over their mental barrier, the fear of making mistakes in their speech, to go ahead with their practice and be confident in what they needed to say.

He thought that this organisation was progressive because it did not follow the regular rules of learning English and grammar lessons were given sparsely as they went on with the conversation. The focus of this forum was to bolster the confidence of the members so that they could speak in public without worrying that they might make grammatical mistakes or errors. They did a presentation, shared stories, did quizzes, and the most confident participant of the day got a prize. Among the individuals who ran the organisation, the person in charge of the club was the most influential in Ardi's learning curve:

The first time I joined the lesson it was delivered fully in English, I remembered Gunawan who was very good. This is why other students are motivated to be able to speak English fluently.

The man called Gunawan organised most of the activities for the members, such as meetings, the places to visit, games to play, and what kind of topic they discussed in the weekly meetings. Gunawan was a year senior to him, and from the interaction with him, he felt motivated to learn because Ardi thought that if the senior could speak that well although he was not from the English major, then he could do it, too. The good side of joining this organisation, he said, was to meet a role model who influenced the way he perceived English and how to pursue the skills. Ardi was proactive in trying to achieve his goal by being an active member of this forum: he helped the leader to prepare the material for meetings, became a host for SEF events, and volunteered when it had outbound activities that involved local people. The involvement built his confidence because to do his tasks, he had to speak English always. The frequent meetings contributed to his improved vocabulary and communication skills. By the time he had nearly finished university, he had a pupil whom he taught privately at the pupil's home. It was the first experience for Ardi to have a student who wanted to learn English from him.

7.3.2 Career beginnings

Ardi graduated from university in 1993. He entered a new space of being an adult with responsibilities and the need for self-actualisation. Ardi departed from university to work in a private college in Brebes city teaching a computer subject. Although it was not his major and it was not English either, he did the job because he needed it. Nevertheless, this was a temporary position because his passion was not in that field and he wanted a better profession. He was accepted to a different job that matched his major in Public Administration, but since the location was far away from his home, he quit the job after a year.

The ups and downs of his career led to Ardi doing various teaching jobs privately to the students near his house. He provided various lessons because some of his students wanted him to teach them computer skills, others needed English lessons with him. Ardi did the job as long as there was a demand and was not very picky. He was aware that his career was not yet settled, but he needed to get by, so he grabbed whatever job was available at that time. Deep down, he expressed that he wanted to achieve his own goal to have a stable job, especially because now he had a family that he had to support. He aimed to have a career as a teacher, as he expressed below:

Becoming a teacher is my long time desire because my father was a teacher, my sister is a teacher. Most of my uncles are teachers, so maybe this is my passion.

His family members were teachers, and he had been dreaming of being a teacher for a long time. Ardi thought that teaching was an important job and he remembered how he valued his father for being an excellent example to him. The presence of this vital role model in his life helped to shape his identity as a teacher, although the uncertainty in his career was quite dominant and Ardi was somewhat discouraged since he had not found an actual teaching job. He felt like he was failing to meet the expectation of his parents and spouse until, finally, he got the offer to join the Ladang Private Tuition Centre in Tegal City.

Ardi joined the centre in mid-2000 when he was 29 years old. He did not know if this was going to be his job for a long time, but when he first joined he was excited to teach English, something that he liked and was actually what he always wanted to do. During the first few months, he was assigned to teach English to young learners. Although he did not have an academic qualification for teaching English, he was confident in his skills that he

gained from experience in university and the various teaching jobs after he graduated. He also felt confident because his students were beginners, and he could handle young learners with his English skills. Therefore, he believed that he could deliver his job well. The owner of the private tuition centre, Leila, handled more mature students who had more complicated requests and demands for their English learning. He developed his identity as a teacher as well as a learner. He recalled that because he realised he was not qualified, he considered himself as a life-long learner of English.

Although I got a little English lesson at my university, I don't think it influenced my learning. A teacher is called a good teacher if they have a very broad knowledge ... because I have different kinds of students, sometimes they asked different types of questions, of course, to anticipate the questions I have to read more books, more information, read newspaper, watch the news and so on so I can answer any questions by my students. I want to be a good teacher, not only good at teaching but also good at my knowledge.

He admitted that at the beginning of his career, he was a little overwhelmed by the diversity of student types that enrolled in the private tuition centre. He was faced with critical students with different kinds of curiosity. Every time a student asked him a question, he took the time to research the matter before he could answer the question. He believed that his definition of being a good teacher comprised the ability to absorb information that was not only about the subject of teaching and to digest it for good use, such as answering students' queries. He learned diverse things from television and reading the newspapers. He did this because he wanted to be a knowledgeable teacher who was not only good at what he was doing but also knew about general issues in society. He felt that the activities he did empower him to become a better teacher, and the students who came to him asking questions encouraged him to learn more so that he could answer them. Because of the students, Ardi felt that at the same time he was a teacher, he was a learner too.

7.3.3 Working with students

Over the years, Ardi dealt with various types of students with different age ranges and background. The private tuition centre required the teachers, too, to speak English all the time on site. He followed this rule assiduously with his students, and informed them about it early on in their sessions:

Yes, usually on the first day of their learning they felt shocked because at school they never speak like that ... when they got here I drilled them and taught them English and never spoke bahasa Indonesia unless I have to.

The students' surprise about the rules was understandable considering the situation at their school that did not require them to use English for communication. Therefore, they lacked conversation skills. He recalled that they did not expect him to use English all the time because they lacked English vocabulary and they did not have the confidence to speak up. Initially, Ardi felt that it was tough to make them speak English. The shyness and awkwardness among the students were apparent in each conversation effort. From this understanding of the upcoming challenges, he tried to set goals for his students and adjust to what they needed. His method involved learning with attainable targets. He scaffolded their learning by building the foundation from simple vocabulary and structure and divided the lesson into chunks. He mapped out the plan to set up achievements such as: training the students to say "hello" and "goodbye" in the first week, improving the confidence of the students to initiate conversation in the following week and encouraging students to express their opinion in the eighth week of the course. Over the weeks I was there, I observed the way Ardi implemented this approach to the students. I noticed that for a few students this approach was suitable because Ardi told me they were quite advanced in their English mastery. They showed understanding and mastery of the phrases that were taught in one block of learning and were able to move on to the next. However, in more cases, several students needed two weeks or more to learn one block of learning, and Ardi was patient enough for that. To overcome the differences, I saw him adding some phrases for the students who were faster in understanding the material so they could stay at one stage. As for the ones with difficulties, he repeated the procedure and required them to have more practice at home so that they could keep up with their friends who were faster in their understanding of the materials.

A different challenge for Ardi was the nature of diversity of the students and their purposes in joining the private tuition. The presence of a tailored curriculum in the private tuition centre helped him to deal with the diversity. As a teacher, he did not take part in the construction of the curriculum, but he and other teachers contributed in the development process by providing information about topic, interest, and skills that student wanted to attain. From there, the private tuition centre owner (Leila) designed the curriculum. Because it was

curated and composed based on the experiences of the teachers and demands from the students, the developed curriculum was designed to match the needs of those students.

The diversity of reasons for students to join the private tuition centre remained the same throughout the years. Usually, before registering, students informed the administrative staff about their purpose in joining the institution. The staff then told Leila about their needs and she decided which teacher should be responsible for their learning.

Because they are aware, they came here to learn English; they came here because they wanted it ... So, it depends on the students and what they need. Every student has a different background and aims.

It was a good thing that students knew what they wanted to learn, so it was easier for the institution and the teacher to provide the service to achieve their purposes. The curriculum was used as a guide to deliver what the students wanted to achieve. This way, the student felt that their need was catered to in the best way possible based on what they need. It was supported by the learning facilities in the centre that assisted them to acquire the skills that would help them succeed in their endeavours. As a teacher, Ardi was quite flexible in adapting to the needs of the students. He showed that he was exercising the reactive agency of meeting the expectation of his students (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2015) to teach them accordingly. He understood that the students knew what they wanted to achieve by joining the private tuition. He said he helped them by showing them how to do that.

However, this kind of environment made the teachers work extra hard to meet those needs and became the reason why Ardi needed to keep learning. As a teacher, learning could be a daunting task because some people might think that they knew it all. In Ardi's case, all the learning for teaching purposes gave him the chance to develop himself, expand his knowledge, build skills, the benefit from which eventually all went back to him because he knew more. He was proactive in finding his goals of becoming a better teacher. Moreover, all the things he learned would go again to his future students making the learning cycle bigger and better for him, his students, and the development of the private tuition centre.

7.3.4 What it means to be a teacher at the Ladang Private Tuition Centre

Ardi had taught in different places and encountered different types of students before he worked at the private tuition centre. He considered that the students in the centre were special because they gave him teaching experience that enriched him as a teacher. The main

characteristic of the students that made them different from the ones he had taught before was their aim to learn and the way he handled them. For example, in his teaching experience in the college where he taught computer subjects, students had to follow the curriculum that the college designed for them and achieve a certain score to pass the subject. He did not have the freedom to modify the teaching materials and goals because they were set and regulated. When he taught private students, he did not have a curriculum to guide him and gave what his students wanted to learn. There was no measurement tool to assess their learning, and there were no achievement scores.

In the private tuition centre, there was a combination of the regulation and freedom of teaching. The diversity of students from various majors and different individual goals required him to be flexible and adaptable. He had thought that when he joined the tuition centre, his degree would not be usable because teaching English was not related to Public Administration. However, he was not entirely correct about this one:

I think I feel very lucky to be a teacher here, because it's absolutely different types of students, from banker, doctor, nurses, and politician. Because my real major is about politics and it influenced my ability in social politics.

Dealing with high-profile professionals who were experts in their field as his students was a challenge that Ardi did not foresee in the earlier stage of his career. However, his background study in political science made him feel empowered to give more to his students to contribute to his success in teaching. In a way, his past education helped him to do his job well when he had to deal with students who had a political background or were interested in politics. He admitted that he learned from his students about recent issues and used their knowledge to gauge and share information for his benefit. It could be interpreted that these high-profile students were more challenging regarding their knowledge in their field, but Ardi was the English teacher, so he used their expertise to leverage their learning, and he gave back to the students as he was receiving knowledge.

Ardi had a perspective on the society in Tegal City, its potential and the impact of that on the centre. The city's strategic location brought benefit to the institution because they dealt with businessmen as students. Being aware of the society made Ardi a perceptive teacher who noticed social attitudes towards the English language:

Interviewer: Seeing that you have students from various background and they all came here to learn English; it seems that you have to have some kind

*of cultural knowledge of the language that you are teaching, right?
So, how do you see the English language ... in ... Tegal?*

Ardi : People in Tegal are brave enough to speak English because you know that most of them want to be businessmen, trader, something like that. If they don't think that English is important to them ... how to make a lot of money and how to do business like that?

Interviewer : If only that they knew that English will open a bigger market for their business, do you think they will learn English?

Ardi : Of course. They began to be interested in English especially for the young. Because I know they are a very important person, the members of representatives, doctors, they want to learn English and I want to support them. What I mean was the young are very interested to learn English, better than the old people.

Over the years, Ardi observed that most of his students were people aged 50 years and under. He remembered that only a few of them were older than 60 years old. The most prominent cohort at the private tuition centre was school students who joined to support their learning at school. The second biggest group was young adults who were university students or employees who sought to learn to support their career or to achieve certain scores for a standardised test. Another prominent group consisted of professionals and representatives who thought that mastering English would help them with their career advancement. Some of them were involved in a business that required English for communication with their clients, documents in English, or interactions with foreigners. This was the reasons why young adults joined the private tuition. Ardi placed himself as the one who supplied what they needed, as a practice partner, as the guide, teacher and facilitator of their learning. He contributed to their learning by exercising his reactivity agency by being delivering what they needed from him.

Meanwhile, he thought the older generation seemed to lose their will to learn English because they had established their careers and did not see the need to learn more. Even though they had business in trading, they tended to encourage their children to learn the language for them. The parents of such children believed that by sending them to the private tuition centre, they would have a better future for their business if the children could master English. Ardi emphasised that the young learners in the centre were enthusiastic in their learning because they were aware that they could get access to a better future and more choices in their education and career. As the teacher, he found his own goals through other people's dreams by giving them the lessons and training to help them achieve their purposes. Ardi's trajectory is depicted in Figure 7-3.

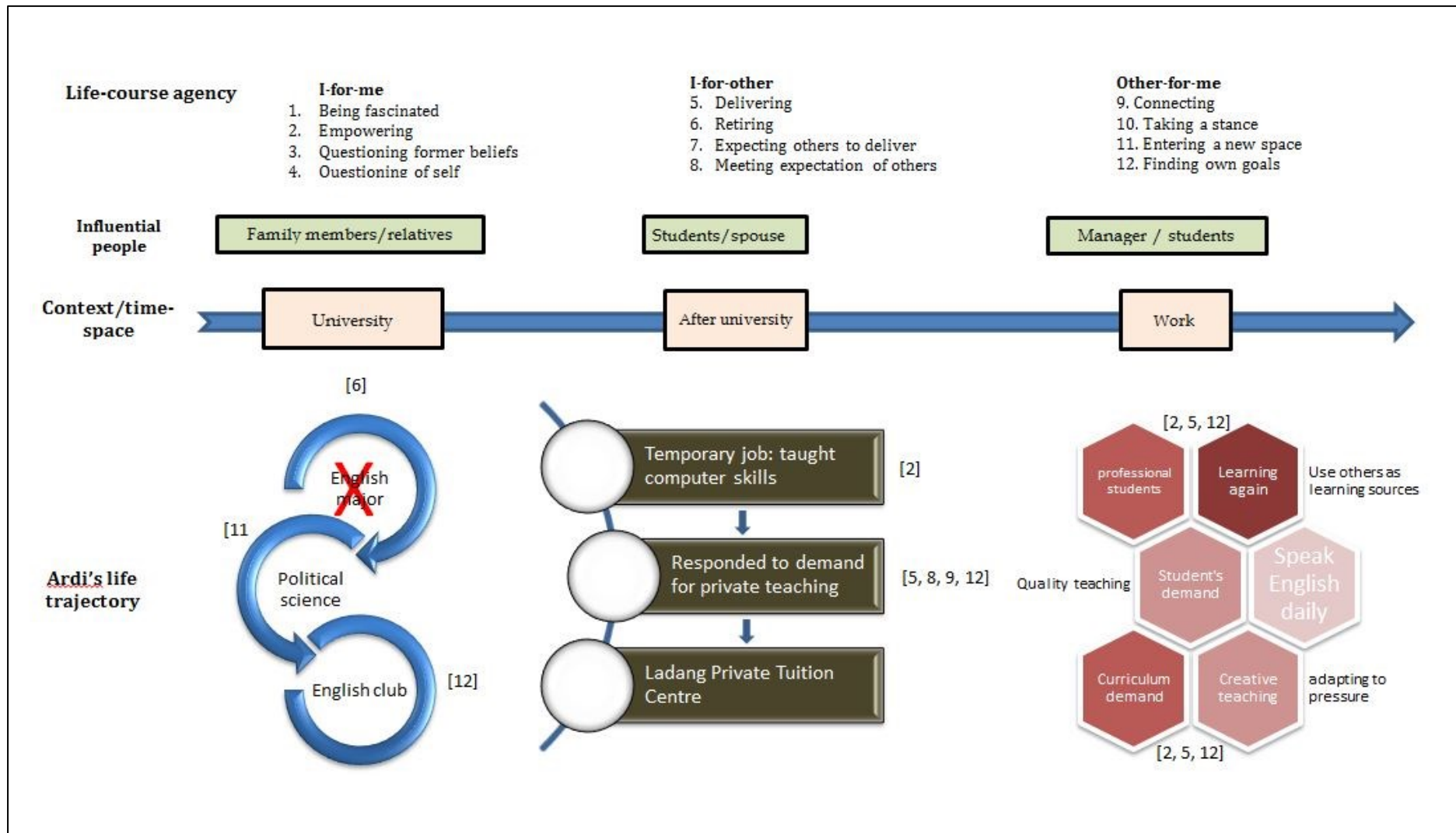


Figure 7-3: Ardi's trajectory and life-course agency

Ardi's perception of English underwent evolution over the course of his life. In the beginning, his fascination with the language was because he found it easy to learn and the enjoyable learning experience made him want to learn more. Although he was side-tracked when he was in university, it did not stop him from pursuing English because he knew he could get something useful out of it. Becoming an English teacher in the private tuition centre was a profession he considered suitable for him. He had the freedom to manage his time of teaching; he could adjust his teaching to match what his students needed and use the curriculum to guide him in achieving the purpose of learning that the students desired. Being a teacher in the private tuition centre made Ardi believe that flexibility was something that a teacher had to achieve to provide the appropriate learning for the students.

7.4 Anto: "Nobody in the family speaks English. I think you should be the first." said my mum.

It was a hot day in Tegal City when I arrived at the Ladang Private Tuition Centre on Friday afternoon in the middle of December 2015. I had made an appointment with Leila to meet and conduct observations in her institution. The initial plan was for me just to observe her teaching her students. When I arrived for the first time at the establishment, she informed me that there were five teachers, two females and three males and that she intended to introduce me to all of them. That day, three classes were running including hers. When all the classes had finished, Leila showed me the next-door class where a young man was teaching four students. I was surprised because he looked very young as if he was just a new university student. Leila introduced us, and from that, I knew that his name was Anto. Leila informed him that I was the person she had mentioned who would come to research the institution. Anto was expecting to see me too, apparently. In that first meeting, I initially did not plan to say anything about the research, as I wanted to get to know the surroundings and the people who worked there. However, as the conversation went on, he asked me about my research which made me tell him about it and everything that entailed my presence in the centre and why I hoped for his involvement but I also informed him that it was not a problem if he was not interested. Fortunately, Anto was enthusiastic to learn about my research and he voluntarily agreed to become a participant. We agreed to arrange meetings, interviews, and observation for his classes to take place three weeks later.

7.4.1 English the nemesis

Anto was 23 years old when I met him. He was a young man with a firm build and a high-pitched voice. He looked very enthusiastic when I told him about my research. He said he would assist me with whatever I needed related to my study and was happy to participate. In our several meetings, we talked about his education, his teaching experiences, and what he planned before joining LPTC.

Anto graduated from university in 2013. As a teacher training university graduate, he was equipped with skills to teach, which led him to work as a casual English teacher in a primary school near his house. He spent about a year teaching at primary school when he felt that he needed to take on a more significant challenge. So, he quit his job at the primary school and joined the Ladang Private Tuition Centre.

Anto's education began in a primary school located near his house, in the outskirts area of Tegal City. If the city centre was vibrant with busy traffic and people's activities in a region with approximately 240,000 residents, the secluded suburban part of the city was quiet with the soft hum of nature and the sound of sea waves and seagulls. The primary school where Anto studied was not big; it was a public school built to accommodate the children within the area. The school was not very well-equipped like the ones in the city centre. There were only a few items: chairs, tables, and a teacher's desk, a whiteboard in front of the class and a few board markers and erasers. On the wall, there were pictures of the president, the vice president, and Garuda, the state symbol, as decoration. The class was dull white because it had been a long time since a new layer of paint was applied to the walls. The school was not equipped with fun pictures, computers and LCD, audio devices or proper textbooks.

Anto's first encounter with English was when he was in the fifth year of primary school, although he did not remember much about this stage of his life. However, he recalled that learning English in primary education was not fun for him because he thought it was too hard to learn a language when he did not know how to say it. English in his primary school was still very basic, such as introducing words of objects that they saw in their everyday lives, such as the name of fruits, animals, household items, and learning how to read the time and dates. Even with these simple topics, Anto felt it was too heavy to absorb. His English learning experience in secondary school was also difficult regarding mastery and understanding of the materials presented in the class, and he came to a conclusion:

Actually, I did not really like English.

Because of this attitude, he built a kind of wall to resist learning the language. He described how he displayed an attitude of indifference. Not only did he not pay attention to his lessons, but he also refused to get involved in the learning process. Anto stated how he loved to sit in the back row where he was far away from his teacher's scrutiny so that he did not have to pay attention. He spent his time during the lesson either sleeping or playing with his friends who also did not have an idea what English was. English was challenging for him, and he had no motivation to learn it, and his behaviour in the class reflected that. He did not even want to try learning it, because he had already blocked his mind from going further into the idea of learning. This behaviour indicated that he was retiring from his obligation to learn.

The indifference and lack of enthusiasm resulted in poor English achievement as he never answered the questions either from his teacher or on his worksheet. His disregard and oblivion towards English in secondary school lasted for about two years until he met an English teacher when he was in Year 9, who changed the way he perceived English:

I liked how our teacher taught us when I was in secondary school, and I asked her how to be good at English material, and she gave me a method that learning had to be fun.

The teacher was helping Anto to deal with difficulties in learning by recognising his challenges and offering him a fun learning method that he could try. She suggested that she use what was available in his surrounding to help him improve his learning. Furthermore, the teacher advised him to be more engaged in classroom activities, so he could absorb what she was teaching. Anto said that he still did not find English appealing, but he became willing to learn the language.

Then that time I started to listen to music, watch movies, something like that and I began to love English in secondary school.

His attitude was improving in terms of learning English. He began to open his mind to like a subject that he had perceived as difficult. The learning method she gave him was doable and fun for him, which eventually evoked a bit of his interest to learn English by adding several activities to achieve his learning goals. Anto responded to his teacher's suggestion, and it was an excellent display of agency in finding his goals to make progress in his English

learning. He began to learn the language actively by any means available to him such as listening to English songs or reading English texts that she found in his textbooks. The interest did not go far, unfortunately, not in the sense that Anto exerted everything to learn the language. He did it to get better scores than before. Learning English on his own volition showed how he created his personal goals and exercised his reactive agency as a response to the ways his teacher encouraged him to learn. When he managed to graduate from secondary school with acceptable English scores, he was happy that he had met his expectation to get a better score on that subject.

7.4.2 English in Vocational school

Anto's learning trajectory continued to high school. He enrolled in a vocational high school where he chose mechanical engineering as his major. In this school, he was trained to become a mechanic. Anto decided to pick this major because he was always curious about how machines worked. The school provided the training and learning facilities to help him understand the mechanism of different machines and Anto enjoyed the time learning such things. It was a good sign of learning habits in general, but these habits did not transfer to English learning.

When he was in the first semester of high school, he showed a rebellious streak, in particular at the beginning of every week. In Indonesian school culture, every Monday there was a flag-raising ceremony at 7 a.m. All students and teachers were obliged to attend this flag ceremony to nourish a sense of nationalism and pride at being Indonesian. It was conducted to nurture respect for the national heroes and appreciate their service to the nation. This ceremony usually lasted an hour before the first lesson of the day. However, at his school, lax adherence to the rules was somewhat tolerated which enabled Anto to skip this requirement.

My school was not a really good school. It is a very rural school. The important thing is that your attitude is not really bad. If it is just not coming to class, it was not a problem. If you do not come, but if you are a kind of good student, smart student, that is okay.

Anto did not like coming to school on Monday because he disliked the Monday flag ceremony. He skipped Monday morning routine and the first two lessons after the ceremony. He came to school after the first break at 9.45 a.m. In his class, the first lesson on Monday

was English, and there were two sessions per week. By not coming to Monday classes, Anto skipped half of the class time he should be attending English classes each week.

This kind of behaviour was not uncommon among students in his school, and because the school was in a rural location, there was little supervision from the local school authorities, and teachers tended to give some leeway to the students who were considered smart. Anto's dismissive attitude towards the school regulation showed how he resisted obeying the rules that did not appeal to him. In spite of his assumption that there would be no adverse consequences, at the end of the first semester, his English teacher seriously reprimanded him. The teacher informed him that he could fail school if he kept doing what he was doing until the end of school year. His assumption that he could act with impunity was dismissed when the teacher warned him that regardless of his feelings and opinion, as a student he was required to follow school regulations. Anto was forced to obey the rules and being a student he did not have any choice but to do it.

It was a contrast with the agency of resisting that he did when he disagreed with the school regulations. Under the right circumstance, Anto could act on an agency of delivering, an act of giving what he was expected of him. He showed improved behaviour by attending the Monday morning classes although he still did not participate in the flag ceremony. He was made aware that his behaviour would come with negative consequences that could be detrimental if he carried on doing so. Predictably, the prolonged absence from English classes resulted in poor learning results when he discovered that his English scores flunked and he failed to meet his teacher's expectation regarding English achievement.

Although in the previous stage of learning in secondary school he had shown a slight improvement, learning English in a vocational school offered him a different challenge because it was field-specific and the vocabulary was distinct from what he already knew. The fact that he also had little knowledge of general English vocabulary did not help his learning process. The words and lessons he learned in his secondary school were insufficient to support his learning in the vocational school English lessons.

Notwithstanding the poor achievement in his English lessons, Anto was a talented student in mechanics and electronics. In his school, students who were in year 12 were required to do an internship in companies in Tegal City to put their learned theories into practice. Anto was assigned to do the program in the workshop for Toshiba, a well-known Japanese car manufacturer. During the three-month program, he showed that he was a driven and hardworking intern by doing the jobs assigned to him with superb outcomes. He actively

exercised his agency to meet the expectation of his bosses, as well as finding his goals in becoming an engineer by performing to the best of his abilities. The leaders of the company were so impressed with his skills and work that they gave him an excellent recommendation, and he passed the program with flying colours.

7.4.3 Mum made me do it

Anto mapped his plans to reach his goals based on his interest and the assessment results he got from the internship program. When he graduated from the vocational school, he intended to pursue higher education to become an engineer. There were two choices that he could make when he filled the enrolment form to university. As it was ubiquitous in Indonesia that children consult their parents when they make a crucial decision about education, Anto took the form home and talked to his mother about the options. He stated his wishes to be an engineer and he said that he had chosen the engineering department as his first major in Ladang University. His mother, however, thought that he should choose English as the first major instead:

I already checked engineering for my first choice, but my mother told me to choose English department as the first major and engineering the second.

When Anto agreed to comply with his mother's request to change the first major into English, it could be interpreted that he considered that he gave up his own dream to be an engineer. He, however, was still harbouring a hope that his mother would allow him to pursue what he wanted if he did not get accepted as an English major student. Although reluctant, his agreement to change choice indicated that he was exercising his agency to meet his mother's expectation of him. His second choice was engineering which his mother expected him to use as a backup plan if he did not get accepted in his first choice. Although Anto did not plan to be an English teacher as his heart was not in it, he wanted to obey her to make his mother happy.

Mother wanted me to be a teacher, I did not like to be a teacher; I wanted to be an engineer...She said that English is not just to be a teacher, but different jobs too. So, I obeyed her...moreover, in my family, nobody speaks English. She told me to be a teacher and speak English and that "Nobody in the family speaks English. I think you should be the first."

The reason that his mother encouraged him to choose the English major was that she believed it would open a bigger opportunity for him if he mastered English. So, when the result of the application was announced, he found out that he had been accepted into both departments. However, pushing forward with her beliefs about the value of English for his future, his mother strongly encouraged him to take the first major. The final decision to major in English meant that he agreed to give up his dreams to be an engineer and he showed an attitude of retiring or stopping pursuing his dreams. Although in the beginning, it was his mother's persuasion that made him decide on English as his major, Anto took part in the decision-making by agreeing to it, as a sign of obedience and devotion to his parent's wishes. At this point in his life, it was appropriate to curtail his personal agency and submit to others' guidance for what his mother believed was his own good.

It was a rocky journey for Anto to meet her expectation that he should be the first person in the family who spoke English. The fact that Anto did not like English was known to almost everyone in his milieu, including his mother. He still did not see the compelling factor of learning the language although he agreed to choose the major.

The first time I joined the English department, I was bored. It happened for three semesters. It was really hard for me to go on and stay in the English department.

It was a gruelling beginning for Anto as he struggled to learn English. He showed his retiring agency in that he remained impassive throughout the first three semesters of his study. The learning demands that the English department imposed on all students became too hard for Anto to keep up with as he thought they were too high for his ability. He did not do what it took to get involved in classroom activities, which led him to feel bored because he thought he did not have anything to do. Furthermore, to further sabotage his learning, he did things such as coming to the class late, submitting the assignment past the due date, and even skipping classes. Lack of motivation and people near him not understanding his struggle made him feel helpless. The lecturers often expected that students had mastered at least Basic English skills before they entered university. It was an idea taken for granted since they had chosen the English department. Hence, they must have liked English before and at least had the skills to learn further. However, this was not the case for Anto, since his previous English learning was not sufficient.

The fourth semester was a better stage of learning as Anto found a motivation to stay. The role of a significant other in his life made him feel enthusiastic about performing better. He had a girlfriend who encouraged him to stay in the English department and said that he had to perform better than her. With the help of this person, he became motivated to learn the language. He also began to be involved in classroom activities and even participated in extracurricular programs where he met foreign volunteers. The presence of the volunteers evoked a sort of curiosity in Anto's world of learning. He described the interaction with one of the volunteers as life-altering:

I learned from her how she pronounced some words, and she told me the ways to be a brave and confident person.

It was this semester that could be marked as a milestone because it changed the way Anto viewed English and how he did his learning. The interaction with an English-speaking person attracted him to the possibility that he might be a part of international society if he learned English more seriously. From the time he met this German volunteer, he was driven to improve his learning. He had a new goal, and he did what he needed to achieve what he wanted. When he was not in class, he created a list of words that he considered challenging to pronounce. Using that list, he practised his pronunciation using English audio he took from the internet as his model, recorded what he said, and repeated the words many times before he was satisfied. He practised speaking with his girlfriend and classmates on every possible occasion. He learned grammar by working on simple tests for high school students and asked his seniors to check his work. He became a very active learner in the last four semesters of his university stage, and he changed the way he perceived the language. He was aware that English was an international language, and he needed to ace in that to achieve what he was pursuing. Learning English was no longer a thing to make his mother happy, but rather to fulfil his own needs to master the language.

The first benefit of learning English he tasted was when he did his teaching practice in high school in his final year of university studies. Anto said that during the teaching practice he felt that his confidence in using English improved significantly compared to before he had met the foreigners and did all his individual learning process. Although he admitted that he was nervous at the beginning of his teaching practice, he could overcome his nerves and did the program successfully and got an A for that.

After graduating from university, he was unsure about what kind of job he wanted. Anto always believed that he did not want to be a teacher. However, the decision he made to become one came when his uncle suggested it to him.

I don't want to be a teacher; my uncle told me that, "You have a background to become a teacher so you have to teach. ... You should be a teacher because you have the knowledge about it." I said, "All right I will be a teacher but maybe not in a formal school."

Reflecting back to the time when he agreed to learn English for his mum, Anto remembered that she wanted him to be a teacher. However, even after learning it for four years, he still did not want that although he was successful in his teaching practice, which indicated that he *could* be a good teacher if he wanted to. The little nudge from his uncle was what he needed to go forward with his teaching career. Once again, Anto agreed to submit to the suggestion from other people in his life, indicating that he exercised his agency of meeting the expectation of others. He stated that he did not want to be a teacher in a formal school, nevertheless Anto applied for teaching jobs because he was equipped for being a teacher. He ended up getting a job in a primary school, which for him was the first job to deal with young learners in year three to five. Although it was contrary to what he wanted, Anto went through with his first job and did it fairly well.

7.4.4 Primary school teacher

The years during the university stage were a challenge Anto managed to overcome. Finishing college was by no means the end of his life-course decisions because it marked his professional identity development as a teacher who graduated from university. When he got his primary school job, he described this experience as "unexpectedly enjoyable", because it was a different experience from his teaching practice in the high school. He marked this time as a blooming stage of his professional identity. He found that teaching the young learners provided challenges on its own because he said he had to be very patient dealing with them. Besides that, he tried to find a firm footing on how to act as a teacher in front of happy, playful young learners:

My students never had an English lesson before. My job was to introduce them to it using a simple way.

He struggled with his transformation process from being a university graduate to becoming a teacher. One of the things he did was accepting that he was now a teacher and he had become the source of knowledge and information for his students. It was a maturing process when he stood in front of the class, and the students were looking at him and whispered their amazement when the principal introduced him as their English teacher. He was proud and scared at the same time as he was entering a new environment that was unfamiliar to him. He was proud that he had got a job not long after graduating from university, fulfilling what his mother wished him to be: the first person to speak English in the family and following in family footsteps towards the teaching profession. He felt scared because he was afraid he would fail in his first job and disappoint himself and his mother, and more importantly, his students.

Anto discovered sometime later that learning English in rural areas could be overwhelming for both learners and teachers. He had to work hard to make English familiar to his students due to the lack of learning facilities. To overcome this issue, he exerted all he had to provide appropriate teaching resources. He brought funny videos to his class, which he played on his laptop because the school did not have the equipment to support his teaching. Sometimes he brought lollies and cakes to the class and gave them to his students when they were successful in completing the tasks of the day. He encouraged them to use English through songs and the videos he played in the class. He recalled that the students' responses were positive, as they did not see English as a threat or a complicated subject. His position as a newly graduated teacher made him vulnerable because of his inexperience in dealing with young learners. His teaching experience was limited to his university field practice program. He considered that teaching primary school students was more laborious because they were lacking in communication skills and tended to spend time playing. To address this issue, he found a bridge that could help him communicate with his students.

Short stories are good. They made my students sit and learn something from what I read to them.

At least once a week, he held a reading session where he read short stories for them and gave them his interpretation of the story in bahasa Indonesia so that they could enjoy them. Students were allowed to make a suggestion on what kind of stories they wanted him to read.

This interaction was a constructive way to let the students know that English could be fun, too. Anto exercised his proactive agency to connect with his students and make the learning more interesting. He overcame the challenges by finding ways to deal with young learners and adjusted his teaching method to meet the expectation of the school where he worked. He recalled that maybe what he did was not big, and it did not teach his students much English. However, he wanted to introduce English as a subject that was not scary or difficult. He connected with his past learning experience where he remembered that English had been hard and foreign. He did not want his students to experience such learning. His students were happy with the additions he made in the class. Anto continued for a year before he eventually quit the job because he thought he needed to set a more significant challenge for his professional development. He left the school and met Leila, the private tuition centre owner, who was also his former lecturer in Ladang University where he studied English. Anto applied for a teaching job at the centre and was accepted.

7.4.5 Private tuition teacher

Anto was a new addition to the centre when I met him. Being the youngest teacher and the most recent graduate, Anto was still developing his identity as a teacher. At the time of the interview, he had been teaching for almost eight months. Being accepted to work at the private tuition centre was a meaningful point on his career trajectory. The first significance was he fulfilled his wish to work in the informal side of education in Indonesia. The second meaning for Anto was he met his mother's expectation of him to become the first English speaking person in the family to become a teacher.

Anto adapted to his new working environment under the guidance of Leila. He was aware that during the first few months working in the institution, he encountered diverse types of students who had different needs concerning language learning. Anto dealt with the learners with enthusiasm and curiosity because it was all new to him as well as for his students. The shift from teaching children to teaching adults provided him with a different challenge, and he dealt with them differently depending on what kind of demand they required from him. He was adaptable and quite flexible to meet the demands of his students and from the owner of the private tuition centre. Leila told him that the focus of teaching was to make sure the students got what they aimed for under the curriculum of the institution, which was adapted to meet the needs of the students. Anto did his best to deliver the request

and was very open to accepting feedback. He exercised his agency in connecting with his new environment.

He recognised there were several types of students: from a high school graduate who wanted to master the speaking skills to pass the IELTS test to engineers who worked in a factory and wanted to advance their careers. He also taught people who wanted to work on cruise ships and in foreign companies and a secretary who tried to improve her vocabulary and pronunciation. Sometimes he had to accommodate different skill levels during one session. He conducted an oral assessment of his students to discover what they wanted in their learning, what they were pursuing and their target in joining the LPTC. With learners who were more vocal about their needs for learning, Anto used a more direct approach to meet the needs. Asking the questions was an act of meeting the expectation of others because if he knew what his students needed, he could offer them the appropriate learning method and teaching media to help them get what they wanted. Getting to know the student in the first interaction provided him with a stage of learning to improve his teaching skills because the meeting would give him time to prepare before he taught them in the classroom. He noted that this initial two-way interaction was the foundation of the learning journey. Throughout the learning sessions, he reviewed the learning to evaluate what they had done. Knowing the learning issues would make it easier for him to offer remedies and provide appropriate learning media, methods, and he had a repertoire of different ways to meet their needs:

I usually use pictures, realia, video or games for teaching.

Anto's statement above came from his reflection on his previous learning stages where he was taught using conventional methods where the teacher was the centre of the class and very little interaction occurred between teacher and students. He considered that kind of learning situation was unfavourable for learning English in modern times. As the students in private tuition needed to be active participants in their learning, Anto took a proactive approach to teach his students by bringing interesting teaching media into his class that would make them more expressive in their practices.

The additional media was not required by the private tuition centre, but teachers were given freedom about how to teach the students. Anto took the liberty to express his version of an ideal learning method, which came from his understanding of what his students needed: to get fun out of English learning and to be active. From the observation of his class, I noticed

how students randomly shouted answers or comments. I observed that they could immediately say what they wanted to say without having to raise their hands and wait to be invited. Students answered here and there at random to respond to him. With around 35-40 students in a class, it became noisy and lively because they just blurted out answers and sentences without Anto giving them permission to do so. Students looked enthusiastic when he showed them an apple and used the apple as a tool for teaching. He asked them to describe the fruit, make a prediction about the size and price when it was sold in the shop. Later on, he gave the apple to one of the students as a present because she could answer his question correctly. From here, I concluded that he got positive feedback from the students as they considered that seeing the real things to describe was easier rather than just seeing pictures. The freedom to implement a teaching style that he deemed appropriate was supported by the curriculum design of the private tuition centre. He compared his teaching experience when he was working at the primary school:

In the school curriculum, I have to follow their rules. You have to teach this material this material and this material, they have their rules. But here, the rule depends on me. The goal is to make him able to speak English. It's about listening, speaking English.

The stark difference between teaching in a primary school and a private tuition school lay in how he was placed in the classroom. In primary school, his role as an English teacher with a large number of students put him in a position as a classroom manager and controller, as he was the only adult in the classroom. Regarding teaching material, he had to follow the curriculum that the school regulated and he had to finish teaching the students within a specified time span. English learning aimed to introduce English to young learners; however, there were scores that students had to achieve to indicate learning. Although he was given freedom to choose the teaching media and tools, the school did not give him enough freedom to modify the lessons, nonetheless, he developed his own approaches, and the use of story for reading lessons was one example of this.

In private tuition, he dealt with adult learners who understood what they wanted and knew the reasons why they had enrolled the private tuition. It made his job easier because he only needed to tailor the material based on his students' need. He dealt with a smaller number of students, which in turn made it easier to manage the class and how he and the students had to interact during the session. He also had more freedom in choosing teaching material and

adjusting the learning to accommodate his students' aims. He found it more fascinating to work with adult learners because the challenge was more significant. He needed to learn before teaching them, which meant teaching adult learners, made him a better learner himself. He considered that his learning stage did not stop just because he was a teacher now. Instead, by teaching students from various fields, he got a chance to learn new and exciting vocabulary from them. He had to read the texts and find out the meaning of words before teaching them, which meant that he was a better teacher than before. He felt that his knowledge improved as he taught more students, which strengthened his identity as a teacher.

Anto's way of perceiving English was an evolution that deserved to be taken into account for his life-course agency and identity formation. His opinion on English started off unfriendly and indifferent because he considered it as a tough subject. His learning experience in secondary school only improved his view a little because he was a student who did not have the slightest interest in English and considered the subject a hassle. It was not made easier when he chose to study at a vocational school which taught him English that was not used in daily life. University stage was probably a little bit better for him although initially he only chose it because his mother made him do it. Staying in the English department was a choice he made with the encouragement from his girlfriend who supported his learning by becoming a partner he could practise English with. He never wanted to become an English teacher, but because he was an obedient son, he learned to love what was chosen for him by his mother. He exercised his agency to love English, to learn the language, to practice how to be an English teacher and how to embrace the identity as a learner, a user, and eventually as a teacher of English language. It took him a long time to accept that he was meant to be a teacher. He was quite adamant about not wanting to work in a formal school, which he achieved when he joined the Ladang Private Tuition Centre. This career trajectory (see Figure 7-4) at the moment might be a beginning for what was laid in front of him because he was still young and he might change his mind about what kind of future he wanted for himself.

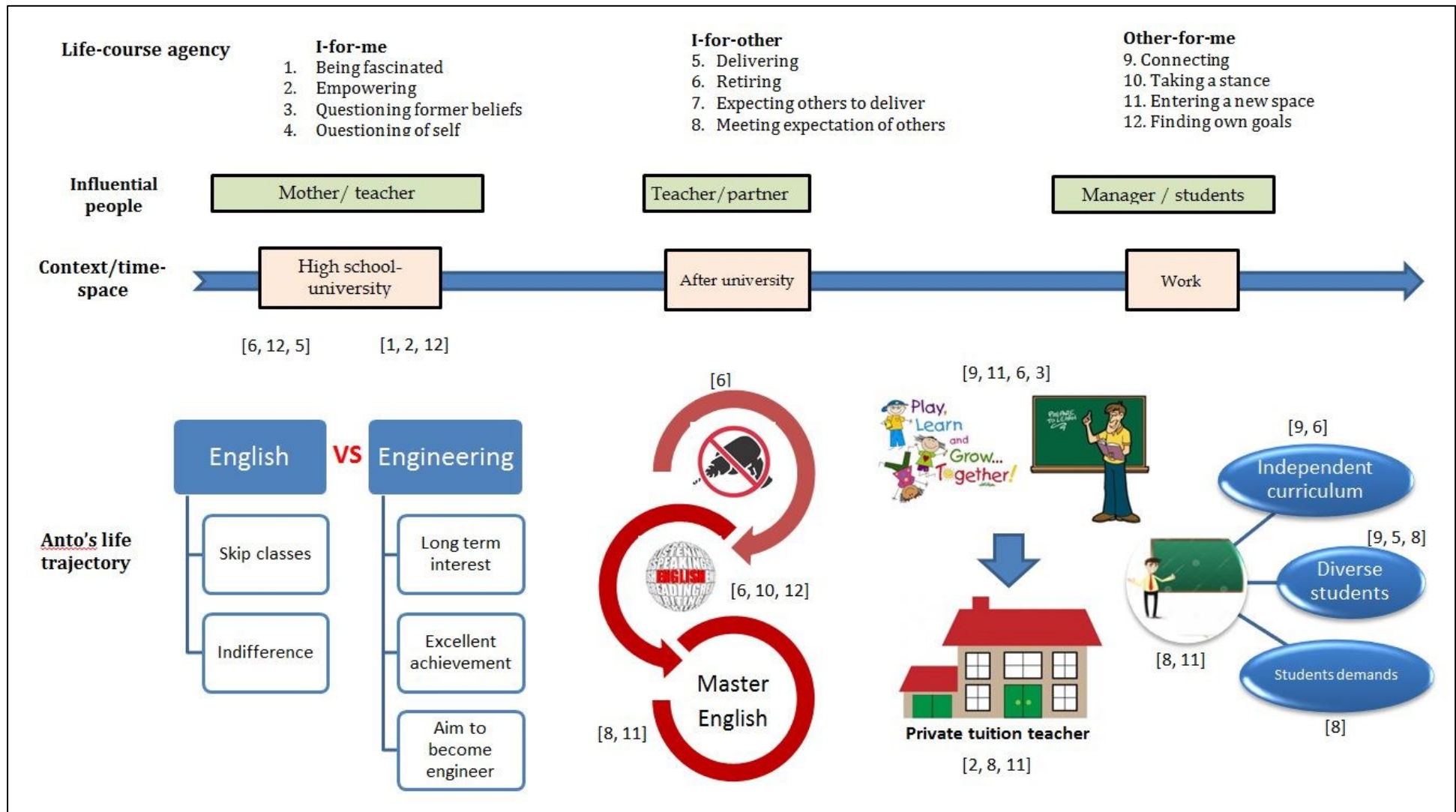


Figure 7-4 : Anto's trajectory and life-course agency

7.5 Chapter summary

Each of the teachers in LPTC had undergone challenges and changes in their lives that directed them to their profession at the institution. Their journey reflected how they struggled, learned, and made choices amidst encouragement, hindrances, failures, and missed opportunities. They showed that sometimes they did not get what they wanted and they could be forced to choose something they did not want. Eventually, their narratives and trajectories are examples of how they exercise life-course agency to shape their identity as English teachers in the informal side of education in Tegal City.

Chapter Eight: Discussion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has recounted the life experience of six teachers and three pre-service teachers of English in Tegal City. It has focused on what comes out from their experience as English learners, English teachers, and English users. What emerged was that the trajectories of none of the participants were smooth or straightforward. They did not make an early decision to become a teacher and then enrol in courses of teacher preparation and graduate into the expected career. Instead, their trajectories were characterised by thwarted dreams, barriers, parents' ambitions, and a desire to make and re-make their own career path. Even after beginning teaching, new situations and changes in the teaching environment forced new changes on them. This, of course, meant that at various points they were faced with the need to make significant decisions about their careers and how they would conduct them, and the prominence of this need for life-changing decisions in the account is what led me to consider agency as an important aspect of the analysis.

This chapter presents an explanation of the relationship between identity and agency among participants across different research contexts and the themes which emerged from the evidence. It discusses the links that connect all participants and how they took advantage of their environment, negotiated with people around them, and made choices to expand and develop their professional identity often in unexpected ways. This chapter also discusses more on the findings to make the discovery more vivid, which involved the elaboration of why choices were made and in what context they did it. This chapter also provides the answers to the research questions presented in Chapter One:

1. How does identity-agency support the pre-service teachers in Tegal city to develop professional identity?
2. What experiences contribute to the identity formation of the English teachers in Tegal City within their life-course agency?

The chapter also elaborates on the ways participants expressed themselves and points out the events in their lives that helped them shape their identity. It explores the relationship between

social features, education background, family influences, upbringing and beliefs that contribute to the ongoing identity formation of the participants.

8.2 Future teachers in the making, tensions, and alternative routes

All the things that the pre-service teachers had experienced during the teaching practice stage opened both possibilities, challenges, and some limitations in terms of future opportunities. However, their stories did not end when they finished the teaching practice because they had to graduate and move on with their lives. The narratives from the participants showed that they were continuously evolving to develop themselves to adapt to their environment and to seek out new opportunities. Their activities after graduation indicated the evolution of their identity building, drawing on earlier experiences, which is in line with the idea from Giddens (1991) who believed that biographical narratives are continuously revised but maintain an underlying coherence.

During their pre-service phase, the participants were moving between choices as they threaded their future to be teachers, and the journey was neither linear nor uncomplicated. The majority of these teachers did not begin with a desire to be English teachers, and they had to undergo stress, disappointment, family pressure, agitation from the society and their own reactions to their situation on the way to that end. All participants came to this point of life through a series of significant life turns. All the others made a detour to an English major initially as a consolation from other unattainable ambitions. However, over time, they embraced their English education and settled with the job, became government employees or teachers at the private tuition centre and did what they loved for the society.

The pre-service teachers in LU had to experience a stage where their professional identities were limited and their efforts had not given them the desired results in the form of a dreamed-of job. They did not have any professional identity yet, except as a jobless person. Naza wore this identity as an unemployed person for the shortest period, because as soon as she graduated she moved to Semarang and worked for an international voluntary organisation. Adi and Isti had to wait for a while until they got a job that moved them on from their jobless status. Their acts in shaping their identity connected their past, present, and future at a time they were still constructing their identity (Heikonen et al., 2017). Their experiences shaped their perception of the world and how they should react towards failure, success and achievement that marked the stages of their lives after university.

There were tensions that the participants felt throughout their career development. The shift of identity did not move as smoothly as expected. The teachers in LHS, LPTC, and the pre-service teachers experienced a sense of dislocation when they were plunged into the teaching practice. In doing their job, LHS teachers underwent constant changes that required them to be flexible and resilient when reacting to changes. They had to be supple and adaptable as they faced curricular and teaching changes. The LHS teachers in their initial career did not feel they had sufficient skills to deal with their students because of the though the university education that was supposed to train them did not prepare them to deal with classroom reality. Although in the case of LHS teachers, the sense of dislocation had happened a long time ago, their experiences happened again to the pre-service teachers participants in this study. This indicates that the problem is long lasting and has yet to be addressed by the authorities. From this study, it was discovered that training and preparation were necessary to prepare the pre-service teachers and even teachers whose career had established to deal with their environment. The challenges could be new for the pre-service teachers because they never had experiences to teach before their teaching practice. However, established and experienced teachers also had the sense of dislocation during their career trajectory every time they had to deal with new things such as new regulation or new curriculum. This type of challenge needs to be acknowledged and addressed so that a reasonable solution can be offered to help both teachers and pre-service teachers.

In the context of LPTC teachers, they also experienced the sense of dislocation when the government changed the education regulations. They got the second-hand effects that could be unpleasant because they had to adjust the way they teach their students. LPTC teachers might be the ones who had the least impact from the regulation changes, but they felt it nevertheless. They had to adapt to the demands of diverse students with various purposes of joining the LPTC. The desire to meet and satisfy the needs of the people to whom they were reporting or whom they served ensured that they always tried to improve their quality as teachers. To achieve their purposes, they had to exercise their agency at the right time while developing their identity.

The lack of training and organisation for the teachers in the informal side of education in Indonesia made their issues and challenges to deal with changes professionally unsolvable. They had to be creative in finding ways to overcome challenges, or by adapting the ways teachers in formal education deal with changes. Unfortunately, this adopting ways to solve problems could not help them because they operate differently. Furthermore, finding their solution was unmeasurable and cannot be implemented in a broader scope, which would be impractical.

Indonesia had numerous informal education institutions and training for the informal teachers is necessary.

8.3 Agency of participants

It is essential to understand the role of agency in decision-making in order to understand the connection between participants' identity development and how it related to their social contexts. As established in Chapter Three, agency is the driving force for someone to make a choice within their social environment (Duranti, 2004; Hitlin & Elder, 2007), and the agency of these participants showed patterns and similarities across contexts. It is interesting to note that from the evidence, their choices of agency were shown as dependent on various factors, and they did not make a decision simply from personal choice. There were influences from their environment, people, and possibilities for their future. The findings suggest that they tended towards the idea of agency from Biesta and Tedder (2007), who argued that agency is shaped through the relationship and activities that participants take part in, and agency is not about standing alone and cannot be executed alone.

Most of the factors that influence the making of identity and the execution of agency among the participants was due to the nature of Indonesian society, which still held other people's opinion as important, especially if the people were close family members. Every decision involved discussions with parents, spouse, or significant others, and if this was not done, the person who made the decision would be considered as disrespectful and ignorant of other people's concern. Neglecting the suggestions from older family members would be deemed rude. This part presents the choices of agency among participants categorised according to the framework from the work of Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015, 2016).

8.4 Identity-agency in the pre-service teachers

The identity-agency (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016) is a framework that encapsulates the ways pre-service teachers enacted their habitual actions in a social context, enabling them to make choices to form their identity has evident explanatory power for the participants of this study. The framework's three categories: *expansive*, *reductive*, and *attentive*, helped me to observe the direction of professional identity development of the participants. The shift of identities throughout the journey of this interesting group was visible, and it was happening in real time. I had the chance to glimpse their development or at least the parts that they were willing to share, from the time of our first encounter at the end of 2015.

Growing up in a society that valued righteousness, piety, and living their life by following the social and religious guidance, these young people were brave, and, at the same time, thoughtful when making choices that defined their future. They were in many ways conscious that they were making decisions and life choices in the public eye. Their careful way of threading the agency choices as they made the effort to create a professional identity became the highlight of their narratives. The following part elaborates how pre-service teachers navigated through their identity development.

The evidence from participants' narratives showed that a major influence on their behaviour was *reductive agency* (Ruohotie-Lyhty & Moate, 2016), where they pulled back from an unfavourable learning situation as a result of losing confidence during the activities. It was a dominant form of agency, especially when the pre-service teachers themselves were at school. Naza, Adi, and Isti showed different shades of the reductive agency. The most dominant type of agency in this category was withdrawing. These withdrawing actions might have a connection with their background characteristics. Their identity as Javanese – although not all Javanese are like them - probably contribute to why these participants have the tendency to avoid confrontation and conflict. So, when they disagreed, felt scared, or where English classes did not meet their needs, they tended to keep it to themselves instead of sharing it with the teacher/parent/other adults which led them to reduce their investment in studying English.

They were under 18 years old and not sure what they wanted yet, and they did not have enough skills or knowledge to make decisions and choices. They were void of the power to make critical decisions which contributed to this common theme of *reductive agency*. For them, it was easier to make a decision to withdraw from their learning than to make a more proactive decision to confront the situation. There were circumstances at school that did not provide a space for their curiosity to develop and grow, such as unsupportive teachers and lack of exposure to the actual use of English. They learned the language to pass a test so that they could proceed to a higher level of education but it held no personal meaning for them. Those situations, combined with their upbringing where they were not used to asking questions, had led these participants to lose their learning confidence. Adi's narrative showed that he displayed indifference in learning, while Isti was side-lined in the class, and the limited learning facilities in Naza's school had reduced her motivation.

They had another phase that showed their *reductive agency* when they started their teaching practice. They had to deal with students and at the same time execute the teaching theories and for Isti and Adi, this experience was initially overwhelming because they did not yet

know how to mitigate the challenges. It is important to note that this agency was dominant in their narratives only for a period of time. When they were older and grew more confident with their learning, their agency developed more into the *expansive agency*.

Expansive agency, which directed their development towards positive action, was generally found during their time as university students, during their teaching practice, and after graduation. From their uncertainty and the general theme of the reductive agency when they were younger, and during the earlier semesters in their university studies, they rebounded and then started to move forward. Several factors influenced the transition from reductive to expansive agency indicating their growing confidence: 1) their involvement with people who supported their learning, 2) the choices they made to improve their skills, and 3) their understanding of the wider purposes of teaching. They pursued learning by joining additional English courses, they entered a society where they could practice English and flourish and worked hard to improve themselves to achieve satisfactory learning results. Adi recognised that he needed English more than just as a foreign language but to access international cooperation. Naza engaged herself with people who fostered her learning and encouraged her to use English in a real international context with foreigners, and Isti in many ways found her own ways of learning English although she lived in a contested environment that discouraged her from learning it.

Attentive agency, where they reflected on their experience and paid attention to their environment, enabled them to contemplate which actions were appropriate for identity-making. This type of agency was found least in the pre-service teachers' narratives. It was not as visible as the other two categories because it was so subtle and they did not explicitly state it in their narratives. However, from the nuance and overall stories that they shared, it can be extracted that they exercised this agency. They chose those teaching styles, strategies, and approaches which were suitable for their students. Furthermore, they observed what their students needed and delivered that to them. An example of this was Naza's awareness of her students' thirst for foreign culture and she brought artefacts to meet the demand.

Graduating from university was a crucial stage in the pre-service teachers' development. It was a stage where they had to define their future and choose what kind of person they wished to be. As elaborated in the earlier chapter, their lives after graduation were observed from a life-course agency perspective. It gave rich insights into their trajectories as they were no longer confined to the university context. Furthermore, the reason to apply this life-course agency

approach was this agency captured the moments, choices and decisions, and the ways in which the pre-service teachers developed themselves.

8.5 The life-course agency of pre-service teachers and teachers

Biesta and Tedder (2007) view life-course agency as the ability of individuals to strive and obtain control over something and direct their life by considering the opportunities, the obstacles, and situation of their environment that enable them to make the choices (Elder et al., 2003). The life-course agency of the participants was visible in the choices they made that formed their trajectories.

For the university graduates – they were referred to as pre-service teachers previously - the *I-for-me agency* was dominant. I-for-me represents the agency when individuals contemplate their inner self, with all its messiness, fluidity, uncertainty they experience, and how they engage with the world, in order to consider what they can do about it so that they arrive at a more stable notion of themselves, and how to move from self-contemplation to action. The participants here questioned themselves and reviewed their plans and expectations. They were uncertain about what they wanted to do for a job, but none of them became teachers; at least not in a traditional sense of a teacher. Adi and Isti definitely went far away from the education field and chose business instead. Although they still used English in their profession, they had taken actions to ensure that the contexts that they were in were more congenial to them, had more promise for their futures than their intended teaching profession. Naza was the faithful one to stay in the education field although it was not through the expected government system for a teaching career.

Another type of agency that was visible in their life after graduation was *other-for-me agency*, defined by Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015) comprising the manner the participants perceive those around them in terms of what they are prepared to share or contribute to them. This agency helped the university graduates to take the benefit of having people around them to elevate their social standing, such as their involvement with foreigners, how they used their skills to communicate with them and to get a job; it helped them to achieve their goals. Meanwhile, the salient experiences reported in the interviews of the teacher participants were slightly different from the experiences of the university graduates (pre-service teachers) because they had settled with their struggle to find a job.

The *other-for-me agency* in teacher participants involved their use of English to pursue a stable career, job security, good social status, and to travel the world and work abroad. This

agency helped the teacher participants to take a make a choice that was beneficial for them amidst the challenging environment, thwarted dreams and altered major in their education when they were on their journey to establish their career. In a professional aspect of their lives, the evidence showed that amidst the hassle of the curriculum changes by the government, these teachers had used the difficulties to achieve the purpose of education by adapting the way they taught. The benefit of doing this act for them was in the satisfaction when they met the teaching demands and obligatory administrative works. They did not deviate from the rules, but they were creative to make sure that students still learned from them against all odds.

In private tuition, the teachers also exercised this agency of taking a stance when it came to meeting the demands of the students. They navigated around the curriculum supplied by the government by adding appropriate teaching materials, indicating that they had their own goals. At the same time, they fulfilled what the students expected of them. Budi, Roni, and Leila decided to become English teachers and contributed to their society. They were proactive in *pursuing* their chosen major, and they were good at what they did. This agency signified how they did not just follow other people or government's request blindly, but they actively sought, continued to learn and made efforts to ensure their choices had good results and were worth their efforts and had a good impact on their students' learning.

From the evidence throughout the narrative, the teachers had the most dominant *I-for-other* agency, which comprises the way other people use and influence individuals' existence through their expectations of the individuals. As social beings living in a close-knit society, all participants were influenced by people (M. Clarke, 2008), the environment, society, beliefs and choices they made. It was not an easy task for a person to make a decision. In the case of these research participants, they had to carefully consider their options before deciding to do something such as getting married, choosing a major in university, or deciding what type of work was suitable for them. The roles of other people were different and unique in each participant's life. Family members, spouses, parents, teachers each had contributed to their decision making by giving advice about what to do and how to make decisions, strongly requesting a participant to follow their suggestion, or using their position of power to manipulate, encourage, and support the participants in making choices that determine their future.

In this category, all participants had choices that indicated they made efforts to *meet the expectation of others*. This agency was dominant because the social and cultural environment where participants lived often demanded them to succumb to other people's wishes out of their

obligation, affection, or respect towards these important people (see part 8.8.1 Encourager or discourager in this chapter).

A case where agency was under the influence of others was Budi when he was offered a job by his former supervisor. He decided to settle the differences by staying with his parents in his hometown. His answerability to his parents was more significant than to his former teacher, and thus became the reason why Budi chose to stay. It signified that Budi understood both the interpersonal relationship and his relationship with his society at that time. Another example of Budi meeting the expectation of others was when he made another critical decision to go back to Indonesia because his wife was not happy being in a foreign country. Anto's case was similar to Budi's experience where he agreed to choose an English major because his mother asked him to do it. Anto met his mother's expectation to become the first person to speak English in the family. The university graduates also had this major theme of agency because they aimed to meet the expectation of others, such as parents, senior members of their family, and the people around them. It was particularly the expectation about them getting a job that was salient and doing their job as best as they could.

8.6 Protectiveness

Protectiveness is not a category that was identified in both of the frameworks by Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015, 2016), as the evidence from this study revealed that this form of agency emerged from the narratives of the participants. I label this as "protectiveness" to indicate the actions that stemmed from their own negative memories of past learning and experience, and their determination not to subject their own students to similar unpleasant emotions, leading them to adopt acts of caring, concern, and compassion for the well-being of the students, it also led to teachers' acknowledgement of the students' learning needs. There were different types of protectiveness that the teachers and pre-service teachers displayed towards the students.

Adi's narrative in Chapter 5.2.3 displayed an act of protectiveness towards his students because in the past he was a student who misbehaved. He worked on being a better teacher, an anti-model of the kind of teacher whom he rebelled against and did not like when he was a student. The protectiveness was acted out by his attempt to present himself as a teacher who was a helpful, kind, and resourceful teacher because he did not want his students to have a terrible teacher. His learning stage of becoming a better pre-service teacher happened in a very short span of time, merely within the eight weeks of doing the teaching practice. He found it hard that he had to deal with condescending attitude from his students before he was able to recognise his

challenge and his needs to be the teacher who knew what he was doing. It was a reasonably fast adaptation and problem recognition, problem-solving and shaping of himself as a better teacher. The reasons why Isti behaved in a friendly and lenient manner towards her students were because she did not want to evoke negative feelings when they were learning with her (see Chapter 5.3.4). She did not want to expose her students to the kind of bad learning experience she had had with her teachers.

In the high school context, Budi did not take it personally that he had to follow the regulation and curriculum changes. He did what he thought was the best for his students' interest and success in learning. He also tried to make the learning process as fun as possible without abandoning the purpose of the learning process. He showed that he was protective towards his students by providing a space where they could be curious and learn with him because he did not want his students to have an experience of being scolded for asking questions like what he had in the past (see Chapter 6.2.6 for details). Roni portrayed himself as a teacher who was engaging, and his class was always fun and casual. He did it because he was aware that English was stressful enough for the students. He did not want to add more difficulties for them, thus he showed his caring attitude (see Chapter 6.4.6).

8.7 Identity of participants

From the framework that had been established in Chapter Three, there are four types of identity that Gee (2000) proposed: 1) the nature perspective (N-Identities) or the identity of a person defined by what s/he is born with (e.g. eye colour), 2) the Institutional perspective (I-identities) or the official recognition granted by an institution to allow an individual perform professional duties like doctors, lawyers, teachers, 3) Affinity perspective (A-identities) or the identity where individuals associate themselves with organisations or groups, and 4) Discursive perspective (D-identities) as the ways a person crafted a persona so that other people perceived him/her in a certain way, such as a person who is known as the funny guy, the reliable girl, and so forth. The nature perspective identity was not discussed because how and what they were born with was not the focus of this study. The parts below are the identity perspectives that emerged from the participants.

8.7.1 The discursive identity of pre-service teachers

All the pre-service teachers bore their discursive perspective (D-identities) that emerged from what they said about themselves, how their students perceived their actions as pre-service

teachers, and how they acted on that. They stated that they were “guru PPL” or pre-service teachers, and that identity lasted only as long as they were doing the teaching practice. This period was challenging in some aspects because these pre-service teachers suddenly had to re-think so much about teaching, how to match the theories with practices, how to craft their identities in ways which met their desire to be good and approachable teachers, while enabling them to engender a degree of authority which was needed in the classroom. This was an intense period of negotiating the discursive identity, which put them in the state of praxis shock (see part 8.10 Praxis shock), that both Isti and Adi had to work hard to establish this balance. Naza’s experience was not as challenging as the other two participants because she had experiences with foreigners, and somehow, her students recognised her as a teacher who had international contact. It boosted her confidence because she was seen as a competent teacher by using English in real life. Naza built a relationship with the students based on a mutual interest in a foreign culture: she was the one supplying the knowledge, and the students were the ones craving for it.

The efforts of the pre-service teachers could be problematic, because of the reciprocal nature of identity. The students’ responses to their self-presentation might require them to rethink the initial intended D-identity such as in Isti’s experience. Adi however, considered that how he was accepted by the students allowed him to strengthen the identity he created and he developed his confidence from that response. The identity of pre-service teachers shifted again as they explored their possibility as a job seeker. They contemplated if working as a teacher in schools was the right job for them. When they decided that they wanted to pursue different career options, they took necessary actions to adjust it. Adi expanded his English skills so he could be ready for a broader, more complicated social context, Isti strengthens her independence by relocating to a different city to define her own career, and Naza learned bahasa Indonesia so that she could provide what her students needed from her. As Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) suggested, the identity construction of a teacher is helped by the social context within which they are working. In the case of a high school teacher, Budi used his environment to construct his discursive identity and define how to act as a teacher. He carried his identity as an English speaker to his school life and students should speak with him in English so that his students recognised him as such.

Filia developed this D-identity through her actions, self-presentation and interactions with the students, which resulted in an image as a kind-hearted teacher. Roni was an example of a complex D-identity. He was negotiating two professional identities, both of which pivoted on his expertise as an English speaker. At school he built his identity as a teacher who taught English

using *wayang* as a medium, giving the students a unique learning experience. The creation of an identity as a fun, unique teacher was more comfortable for him because he had the cultural capital to do it. Although the curriculum changes somewhat challenged his identity as a teacher, it became important for him to preserve his teacher identity by adhering to new government intentions. As a *dalang*, he was experienced in performing, and he used that experience to his advantage because he was good at English. The way he presented himself as being a good English speaker and a *dalang* gave him the D-identity as an English-speaking *dalang*. For Roni, both identities were important as they fulfil his needs of self-actualisation in both fields that he loved.

8.7.2 Affinity-perspective of identity

All participants shared this affinity perspective of identity or A-identities (Gee, 2000), but in a different sense. For the LHS teachers, for example, all of them were the members of the biggest teacher organization in Indonesia called *Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia* (PGRI) or Indonesian Teacher Union. In this affinity group, teachers all over Indonesia followed the same rules of the organisation, such as the uniform that they had to wear, training, and they had to pay some membership fees. The second affinity perspective of identity deals with their beliefs as all teachers in LHS was Muslims, thus they followed the same religious tenets. In relation of teaching, their beliefs and the affinity perspective of identity had made them believe that their job was a part of the religious observance, thus making them teachers who follow the rules because they would consider themselves bad teachers who did not follow their religion if they did their jobs poorly. Furthermore, the LHS teachers worked in the same environment under the same institution where they had to join training together, participate in similar activities such as meetings and other scheduled school activities, and interact socially, such as by visiting sick members of the group, attending weddings, paying condolences to the bereft members of the group and so forth.

The LPTC teachers also had a shared A-identity because they, too, worked for the same institution. The pre-service teachers, however, had a slightly different version of this A-identity. They did their teaching practices in different schools, which was the reason they did not share A-identities with each other. In a different aspect of A-identity, these participants shared same religious values, thus they were bound by the same tenets and regulation which influenced in the way they made life decisions, career options, and the way they interacted with others.

8.7.3 Institutional type identity

If there is one identity that is easily recognisable in a society, it is the job that a person has. One could be known as “Budi the teacher”, “Leila the vet” and so on. The job came with the institution where they worked, and it always entailed the way people recognised them. The institutional perspective of identity or I-identity (Gee, 2000) was one identity type that the teachers had. Two institutions gave them this identity: LHS and LPTC. Budi, Filia, and Roni got their I-identity after they were accepted as English teachers in LHS.

The government assigned this institution to be a place for these teachers to carry out the assignment as English teachers, thus officially granting them that status. This institutional perspective of identity became a crucial part of their lives because they carried this identity until the day they retired. People recognised them by this identity including when they interacted with people around them. Being government employees was important for the LHS teachers because it gave them a significant social position and a sense of security as was explained in Chapter Two.

Leila and her colleagues had their own institutional type of identity shared with fellow private tuition teachers. They had the private tuition teacher identity as the I-Identity. It was a different type of institutional of identity compared to the teachers in high school. The private tuition teachers were private employees who worked under regulations set by Leila as the owner. However, there were similarities in the way the identity was perceived. The teachers in LPTC had to undergo a selection process, training, and competency assessment procedures. They wore uniforms on certain days that indicated a sense of belonging and unity in that institution. It also showed they were proud of being a part of the institution as LPTC was considered one of the best English course providers, and these teachers took pride in being a part of it.

8.8 The importance of others in participants’ lives

Some influences shaped the identity and agency choices of the participants. The parts below were emergent factors surfacing from their narratives.

8.8.1 Encourager or discourager

There were people in the lives of the participants who hold a significant position. Among those proved to be significant were family members, teachers, or other significant people, which became one of the most outstanding features in the findings. The narratives indicated that family members were important to all of them. They had this value of following family tradition as a

way to shape identity, like Isti, Budi, Ardi, and Filia who grew up in a family of teachers. Filia followed the career path that his father had by becoming a teacher, and Roni nurtured the love of *wayang* that ran in the family and he preserved that tradition as well by becoming a famous *dalang* too, like his father and grandfather.

Their family also influenced the way they perceived education and why it mattered to be educated amidst the kinds of challenges such as the opposition to girls receiving an education that Filia experienced. Another proof that family played a critical role in the identity-making was how siblings encouraged other siblings to achieve bigger things through the introduction of English as in Filia's interest in music through her brother, and Adi's experiences of learning English with his brother. In contrast, there were important figures who affected the participants in an adverse manner. There were people in Isti and Filia's hometowns who had discouraged them from learning English on the base of religion. In a way, Budi's parents also played a role when they discouraged him from making an important decision about the job offer in Palangkaraya. They used their "old parent card" to make him succumb and follow their wishes. Budi's wife was the most influential figure in his decision to go back to Indonesia after staying in Australia for three years. His wife's unhappiness was an essential influence that made him decide it was enough staying abroad. Anto was thrown into the world of English learning despite his unwillingness, but he had to deal with his mother's request and his involuntary participation resulted in poor achievement and lack of motivation at least for a few semesters, although he bounced back from that, eventually.

It was unexpected but teachers and parents were adversary figures in Isti, Budi, Anto, and Roni's experiences. Their teachers left a permanent mark that made them create an image of what an ideal teacher should be, which the opposite of these former teachers was. This creation of identity led them to become protective teachers as indicated in part 8.6.

8.8.2 The initiator of English use

The encounter with English did not come easily for these participants: there were people, items, experiences, or other things that attracted, pushed them away, or pulled them into English.

Adi's experience with English was unpleasant until his brother offered himself as a familiar figure to eliminate his uneasiness in using English. The familiarity with his brother helped Adi to be more confident, and he was able to develop himself. It was a unique relationship that Adi had with his younger brother. Usually, in Javanese society, the responsibility to motivate, set examples or be the role model for all younger siblings fell on the

shoulders of the older child. Adi's relationship was a reverse of this common type of sibling relationship. Regardless, Adi did take his younger brother seriously and used him as a model, motivational figure, and a partner to improve his learning because he wanted to become as accomplished as his brother in using English particularly for daily communication.

Supportive sibling relationships also occurred in Filia's first encounter with English where her brother introduced her to English and piqued her interest to learn it more through songs and lyrics. Unlike Adi and Filia's cases where the relationship with the English initiator was close and personal, other participants met inspiration through means that were not part of their normal world, like Leila and the TV anchors, and Naza with the inanimate objects she found around her. It was interesting how something as mundane as pamphlets, brochures, and a public figure whom they never met could trigger a desire to learn the English language.

8.8.3 Foreigners

In addition to local people who brought the participants to English learning, some figures represented an international glimpse of English in Indonesia. The presence of foreigners contributed significantly to English learning in some instances. The contact Adi had in high school was a tool he used to prove that he *could* use English to communicate with foreigners, but that was all it was. Further contacts with foreigners when he was in university had a different meaning for Adi because, at this stage, he had mastered more English. Definitely, it boosted his confidence to have interactions with them, although the meaning of it was not more than just to practice his English. He did not think that it helped him to become a good teacher because the volunteers did not teach him how to conduct teaching activities. Similarly, Isti's contact with foreigners served as an enhancement of status, although they were not native speakers of English. Naza probably was more sophisticated in using foreigners to leverage her social standing and help her to establish a new identity as a part of international society. She worked, interacted, had meetings and became their teacher and had a career that involved them.

In a prolonged exposure to foreigners, Budi, Roni, and Leila's experiences had significant influence in that shaped their thinking. They were more open and accepting towards difference and had more understanding about the meaning of education. Through these contacts, they fostered a love of their own culture and put their national identity as paramount in their identity development.

8.8.4 English clubs and societies

When a participant was not happy in their learning, they mitigated the lack of English training in their campus by joining organisations, clubs, and other informal meetings where they met people who had the same interest to learn English as their own. From this interaction, Budi and Ardi covered up the lack of speaking practice at the campus by having conversations with fellow club members. Ardi even found a role model that he looked up to because even though this man was not from the English department, he could speak excellent English, and that convinced Ardi that he, too, could achieve such skills although he did not major in English. Adi's involvement with an English club on the radio also encouraged him to be more confident in interacting with other people outside his comfort zone and to win prizes. The announcer became a person who provided a space for him to practice his English, which helped him improve the skills. Isti's brief interactions with English club at campus taught her how to organise a group meeting, prepare discussion material and overall become more open and sociable while using English as the medium of communication among them.

8.9 Perception of English among participants

Being a teacher of English requires pedagogical skills but at its centre is knowledge of the language, and like other aspects of the trajectory, their relationship with English had many twists and turns. It was interesting to observe how participants use English for different reasons and purposes.

Budi did not consider English as an option when he graduated from high school because his mind was set on engineering. When his dream was thwarted, he chose English because it was the subject that he was best at. Thus at this time, English became his consolation for his failure to major in engineering and potentially a way of enhancing his likelihood of success as he continued his studies. It was actually not a bad choice because from English he got access to bigger possibilities for his future. When he was already a teacher and got bored with the routine, Budi used his English skills as a tool to move out from what he experienced as the confining boredom of Indonesia by moving to Australia. He also benefited from using the language when he used the language to learn the culture of living there, which allowed him to comprehend the education system, and become aware of what kind of a teacher he should be when he got back to Indonesia by using the knowledge and professional development he gleaned from the international setting experience.

English played a critical role in the lives of the teachers. Not only English provided security by the means of their job as a teacher, but it also gave opportunities that took them to a wider world,

making them exposed to the international community which supported their job. Roni particularly became aware that his English skills were a powerful device to introduce Indonesian culture to the world. He used English as a vehicle to achieve the purpose because he was one of the very few English-speaking *dalang* in the Indonesian cultural field. For Naza, English had drawn her into the international community where her contribution as a teacher was needed to assimilate the Indonesian culture for the foreigners, which meant she got a prestigious social position.

In a different theme, Leila, in combination with her business skills, had used English as the source of income by opening a private tuition centre. Her international connections through English were one of the things that she took pride because she could use it to leverage her business. Furthermore, her ingenuity in creating a job gave her a good social status because she could provide a living for the teachers and staff in private tuition. The importance of English for Adi was similar to Leila. He used it as a tool to provide jobs for others and expand his business, to achieve a bigger market and international interaction, which would lead to a more significant income range, and financial stability. The role of English in Anto's life was a variation that of his two colleagues. For Anto, English was a thing to make his mother happy because he fulfilled her dreams that there was someone in the family who spoke English and could be an English teacher.

Isti saw English as a door to access career and education, opportunities to achieve bigger things for her. For other participants, English had led them to international travel, but for Isti, it helped her to enhance her position and move away from her hometown and relocate somewhere else in Indonesia. It had led her to independence and the ability to shape her own identity without her family's influences. Although unfortunately, her family had seen it as a threat, a bad influence for her, a gate to apostasy, and a less preferred study choice, she was able to change their perception of English by showing them that she did not become the person they were worried about. Furthermore, she also made English more acceptable for her society by teaching it to the *santri*, which in itself was a success.

8.10 Praxis shock

These teacher participants did not become good teachers as soon as they started teaching. Although most participants signed up to be teachers and were prepared to do the teaching practice, still there was an element of surprise in the actual teaching at the schools. They experienced the feeling of uncertainty and situations where their expectation was not met in the reality of their classroom, a situation called praxis shock in the work of Friedman (2004), Kelchtermans and Ballet (2002) and Ruohotie-Lyhty (2013).

During the first few weeks, Adi showed insecurities, uncertainty, and a feeling of not being accepted by his students. He grappled with the idea that he was in charge of a class full of teenagers who did not consider him their teacher. He had to find a way to get their attention, and he paid attention to the circumstances. He acknowledged the issues in his teaching, and from there, he formulated the steps needed to overcome the problem, and by the end of the teaching practice period, he became a more confident teacher than when he started.

Isti's experience was a little bit more extreme in dealing with praxis shock. Her young age made it difficult to establish authority, and she struggled to make her students learn. Although she was aware of her duties as a teacher and realised what kind of relationship she needed to construct with her students (Haniford, 2010), she still had her expectation that the students would love that she was friendly and an easily approachable teacher. It was not smooth sailing for her, as some students considered her a friend instead of their teacher, consequently, causing them not to learn from her thus resulting in unachieved teaching and learning expectations. She only managed to handle the class when the teaching practice program was almost ended.

Budi and Anto had had this stressful situation as well. In Budi's and Anto's recounts, when they taught students for the first time, they realised that there was a gap between teaching theories and the classroom realities. They found out that teaching was a complex task that required skills acquired by practising in a real classroom. Although both had experienced education most of their lives as a student, as the roles were reversed and they were in the position of a teacher, they found it hard to adjust. The unexpected classroom situation made somehow forced them to exercise their life-course agency so that they could adapt to the changes and achieve the desired teaching classroom encounters with the students. Those who had praxis shock eventually overcame their situation, as they developed their teaching skills and personal qualities as a teacher.

8.11 An influential factor in identity making: Religion

The people who were involved in this study believed that agency should be exercised with consideration for the views of significant others. This meant it was necessary to obtain permission or to remove restrictions to make sure that the decision was in line with their beliefs and values, and to obey the teaching of their religion, rules, social regulations and values. The evidence of teachers in Tegal City also conforms to the definition of agency from Ahearn (2001, p. 112), who believed in the sociocultural features of decision-making and consideration to make choices. It is important in Indonesia to obey social values to avoid being misjudged and

misconstrued as a person, because, no matter how powerful a person is, s/he needs social context to exert their agency, which suggests that agency is interdependent.

The significant influence of religion is present in the form of the education history of the participants. Seven out of nine participants were educated in *madrasah* for their primary, secondary, and high school education. Two of the female participants grew up near *pondok pesantren* context, and other participants were raised in a very religious society where they followed the tenets of the religion faithfully. The similarities of education background and places where they grew up indicated that the influence of their beliefs was embedded in their identity-making. Their parents believed that Islamic education was the best for their children. Thus they sent the children to be educated in *madrasah* schools.

Uniquely in the cases of participants, the unfriendly responses on the ground of religion towards individuals who wanted to learn English applied only to the female participants. Isti's and Filia's cases were probably the strongest regarding Islamic background and its influence on their identity formation. They both grew up near traditional *pondok pesantren* environment where the traditional values of culture, customs and how people interact were upheld, and foreign culture was not allowed to penetrate the daily life near and inside the *pondok pesantren*. Being girls made them prone to public scrutiny if they were not wearing hijab or any form of head covering. It was considered a social norm and the tenets of religion that women should cover up their body from head to toe.

Before the participants started to learn English, their society had a negative interpretation of the language and suspicion towards it. Therefore, when they decided to learn, they received a backlash and unpleasant feedback. However, the presence of Isti and Filia in their milieu after they finished their education helped them to change their perspective. To strengthen the notion that they did not change the way they carried themselves in a dignified manner, following the tenets of their religion by wearing a veil to show their identity as a Muslim and maintaining proper behaviour in their daily life (Baerveldt, 2015; Lewis & Fabos, 2005). Evidence that their attempts to show that English was not a threat to their religious identities were successful, was when Isti's grandfather – the owner of the *pondok pesantren* - asked her to teach the young *santri* how to read and write Arabic using English as the language of instruction. It indicates that he had begun to be more open towards accepting the language into the *pondok pesantren* culture. Although she said that the use of English was limited to instruction only, it was significant progress considering how they used to be so adamant about forbidding her to learn the language.

Although in the end, Isti did not become an English teacher, she had an influential role in changing the perception of English in the *pondok pesantren* environment in her village.

Filia's case was almost similar. She got her Islamic education in one of the closest *pondok pesantren* to her parent's house, thus she was a part of the culture. After she finished her university studies and worked as a non-government teacher, she slowly approached the elders in her neighbourhood, trying to introduce English to them. She was accepted because she showed that she was not influenced by a version of the "English culture" that the people near her used to be so wary about. All female participants in this study wore hijab because they want to express themselves, and to show others their identity as Muslim women who were avid users of English. This behaviour is in line with the findings and examples in the work of Baerveldt (2015) that shows the way cultural aspect of identity played a role in shaping the way individuals wanted to be perceived by others. They indicated that although they learned English, they maintained proper behaviour and they embraced their Muslim identity at the same time, which they symbolised by wearing hijab in their daily lives.

Long after she became a government employee in Tegal City, Filia had a chance to return to her village to establish cooperation with one of the *pondok pesantren* to hold an English speech competition and introduce it as an annual program. In this activity, she usually invited a volunteer whom she appointed as one of the jurors. The acceptance from the people in *pondok pesantren* was very welcoming. The transformation of opinion from hostility to hospitality showed that representation mattered. Filia was the representation of how English was not a bad influence and the villagers saw it through Filia, a friendlier face that they could accept and welcome to introduce English to the society.

Naza and Leila also had a kind of discouragement when they chose to learn English, although in their cases, the hostility was not as intense. Leila's case was more prominent than Naza's because she went to the US to study, thus making her perceived as a person who was truly liberated and influenced by the American culture. It took her a while to be accepted as an ordinary member of her own society on her return because of her English skills and American education background. When she opened her private tuition centre, slowly people could see her as she was beyond her education background. They were more appreciative towards her because of what she did for the society. She presented herself in society as a good teacher, an excellent manager, and as an expert in English, thus creating a discursive perspective of identity as such. She carried herself as a respectable member of the society, and she later wore the hijab. She was

admired that she could combine both worlds quite amicably, which indicated that she did not forget her roots as an Indonesian Tegalese Muslim woman who was good at English.

Naza's involvement and activities with foreigners in Indonesia got different responses from people around her. On one hand, they admired her for having the ability to communicate and doing voluntary activities with foreigners, and becoming a part of international society. On the other hand, some of her friends criticised her for hanging out "too much" with the volunteers. This kind of criticism was not easy to ignore and could persist as long as Naza was still doing it with her volunteer students. They thought it was inappropriate for a girl who wore a veil to spend time with foreigners, especially those of the opposite sex as they were not her "*mahram*" or family.

None of the male participants experienced this social scorn, as they could choose to study whatever they could, and they did not get negative comments about learning English. They could do what they wanted to do to determine their career. Adi conducted business with foreigners, and nobody batted an eyelid about that. He got praised instead because he made a breakthrough in doing his business by taking the risk of expanding the market internationally. Budi went abroad and lived for three years in Australia, Roni travelled to numerous countries, and when they went back to their society, they were honoured as people who had seen different parts of the world without prejudice and questions of their morals or religious faith. They were even considered as significant members of the society because of their international contacts and experiences.

Regardless of different responses towards the male and female participants when it came to learning the English language, both Al-Seghayer (2013) and Alrashidi and Phan (2015) express the ideas in their works about the teaching of English language in the Arabic culture. They argue that there are worries that people who learn English will get affected because language and culture are interconnected. But Al-Seghayer (2013) believed that teaching English cultural values to learners would enhance their awareness of the English culture and learners could adjust their behaviour when needed. This perspective is what the participants in this research did when they were confronted with the doubts from their environment about their choices to learn English.

8.12 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided answers to the research questions by drawing on the findings and discussing them with reference to the relevant literature and analytical frameworks. Participants displayed various ranges of agency that allowed them to move and made choices amidst the

social constraints, family values, and beliefs. The context provided a relatively supportive environment for the agentive choices of the participants and enabled them to exercise agency to meet their obligation as teachers, as providers of language training, and as parts of the family. Each of them displayed amicable skills to make choices even when the situation was unfavourable to them. Their identities as teachers, pre-service teachers and later on as independent individuals were formed and shaped opportunity based on their conscious choices.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

Two questions were posed at the beginning of this study. This chapter starts with reflecting back those questions together with a brief concluding review as to the main contribution of this inquiry in those two domains. The chapter concludes with implications that emerge regarding the theoretical framework, methodological and practical implications of the study.

Research question 1

How does identity-agency support pre-service teachers in Tegal City to develop their professional identity?

9.1 Withdraw, expand, contemplate

Identity-agency of pre-service teachers framed the way they navigated their challenges and made choices that enabled them to shape their identities and pursue different career options with their English skills. The development of their identity indicated a largely retracting direction when they were younger but more expanding as they became more confident and were required to meet the challenges of career choice.

They observed their environment and people in their lives as the leverage to support their identity formation; in shaping their trajectories they took the advantages of help, encouragement, or diversion from their initial aims to choose a career, get an education, and made decisions that had long-lasting effects in their lives. Most of the time, the pre-service teachers felt positive about their development throughout the time of teaching practice. They had good interaction with their school as the social context where they developed their identity. The interactions with their *guru pamong* or mentor teachers, for example, helped them direct the development of their identity. Their mentor teachers showed them how to construct good lesson plans, use teaching media, and how to assess the students; at times, by way of contrast, they provided models of teacher behaviour to avoid. Their classroom interactions with the students were the force that made them grow as teachers. As an example, they discovered that the use of artefacts from foreign countries was interesting for the students only after they did their teaching practice in the classroom. The *guru pamong* did not tell them this information particularly, but they paid

attention to what their students needed, and they were creative in choosing teaching media that attracted the students.

They became a part of a group where they conducted similar activities (although in different schools for practice teaching), experienced the same assessment process from their *guru pamong* and their lecturers from the university, felt the same uncertainty about navigating their identity at the beginning of teaching practice, and underwent failures and success in their endeavours through the interactions with the students. They learned that they needed to be confident when they appeared in front of the class, and they had to prepare beforehand to get a sense of readiness. This use of their environment and social contact was helpful for these pre-service teachers to prepare themselves in the world of teaching.

Underneath the presentation of themselves as pre-service teachers at the school where they did their practice, they had people who played critical roles in helping them navigate through their lives. Close family members, teachers, and foreigners had contributed to the pre-service teachers' identity formation. Another influential factor was religion and how they considered making decisions based on whether or not it aligned with the value of their faith. I was aware of the elements that could influence identity formation and agentive choices among the participants such as environment, social interactions, and how they made choices in their trajectories. What I did not expect was the strength of influence from other people and their faith. I was expecting something more technical like private English courses or the diligence of the participants when they were learning English in their younger years. I was even more taken aback when I found out about their trajectories after graduating from university because they were so different from their plans when they enrolled at the university. When they entered the teacher training university, they were already aware that they would train to become teachers, and that was why they invested their time and effort and made use of their environment to support their learning. However, although they had made sense of their surroundings and what would come from their choices, they indicated that the relationship between their learning self and their new self after finishing the program was different. It might be unexpected that they did not become teachers, but what they had after graduation was their achievement, the results of their hard work and ingenuity to shape their future identities.

Research question 2

What experiences contribute to the identity formation of English teachers in Tegal City within their life-course agency?
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This study has revealed a number of important experiences that contributed to the formation of identity among the participants. Dealing with failure in an amicable way in their youth indicated that the teachers were mature enough to accept that not everything went the way they wanted it. They were taught that if they did not get something they wanted, it was destined that it was not meant to be for them. They did not dwell upon the negativity and chose to move forward and took another major and took the necessary actions to meet their desired achievement. Their awkward interactions with the students in the early stage of their career helped them to learn from their mistakes and work to benefit from their environment to improve their quality as teachers.

As evidence showed, as with the pre-service teachers, these teacher participants had influences that helped shape their identity, as shown in Figure 9-1. It meant that their decision-making processes were not separate and independent actions, a finding which was in line with the ideas from Biesta and Tedder (2007).

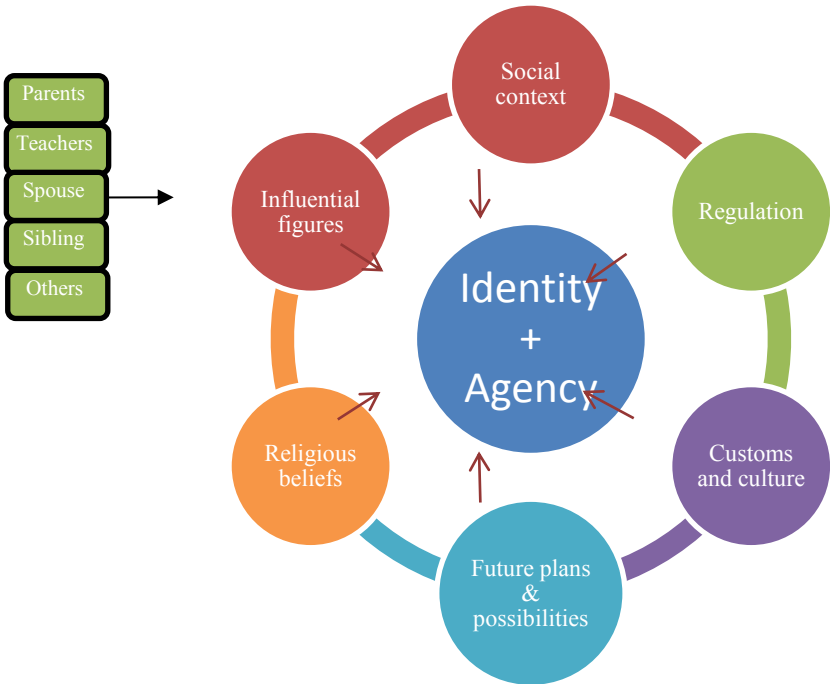


Figure 9-1: Contributing factors to agentic choices and identity constructions

9.2 For you, for me, for others

Their life-course agency after graduating university indicated a direction of proactive actions to improve their life quality as English users. From the motivation to get a good and steady job, they left the comfort of their parents’ homes and had adventures of their own in foreign cities

meeting new people, and exploring uncharted territories of their personal identity development where everything was still uncertain. They were still young and had a lot of things going on in their lives that changed their thinking and their trajectories from what they had expected at the time of graduation. There is no guarantee that their current trajectory will continue unaltered, though, because of the fluidity nature of identity.

It is interesting to observe how what can be described as an unsettled identity had also been somewhat apparent in the trajectory of the teacher participants at the beginning of their careers. They had to change plans, they diverted from their initial aims to study, and they were coerced to choose a major because their parents wanted them to do it, indicating that even at the beginning of their career, they had identity work to do.

The teachers indicated that they positioned themselves differently towards the same issues they faced such as curriculum changes and the extended school hours. All of them forged their own ways to meet the demands of the regulations but also did their best to make the students learn with their own learning pace; at the same time, they provided supportive learning environment so that the students could thrive. They were aware that they were the source of learning for the students, and they understood that there might be a limitation to what they gave to the students; later the teachers were prompted to mitigate that gap by finding entertainment during learning, or encouraging the use of English all the time, and lifting the obligation to do post-school activities. These were the ways they constructed their identity, and the students recognised them as teachers who were fun, who was kind, or who were motivational for their learning.

There were a few differences in the findings of this study from the way Ruohotie-Lyhty and Moate (2015, 2016) created the framework. The context of this study was mainly in the society of Tegal City. Its features and uniqueness contributed to the participants' identity formation. Although it has been established that Tegal people are seen as having the characteristics of being open and honest, they are also Javanese people, where it is considered impolite to refuse suggestions from other people, especially in the family. This social feature made the influence of others critical in their identity-making. The factor of beliefs became another vital influence because they believed in their religion and used it as the primary guidance to make choices. Every choice they made had to be done with the consideration of whether the choice would adhere to their religious values.

9.3 The implications for research methodology

The choice of an interpretivist paradigm helped me to understand a bigger picture of how people in Tegal City use their agency to achieve their purpose and take advantage of their surroundings to shape their identity. It also enabled me to see the participants as a separate unit with their own way of understanding the contexts they inhabited and the decisions they made to give value and validity to each of them. The framework that I used provided the space for analysis, and it was proved to be suitable for this work on identity.

Throughout the data collection period, maintaining professionalism was important. However, keeping the relationship warm enough not to be considered aloof or unapproachable was a good communication strategy in Javanese society where people appreciate social relationship beyond formalities. I was aware it would be deemed rude just to use someone for information without treating them with respect and appreciation.

The case studies benefited this research because I could dig deeper into each participant's narratives through the interactions during data collection. The case study also made it possible to analyse each case carefully and comprehensively using multiple data sources. The use of various data collection techniques complementing one another provided rich data that guaranteed the validity and reliability of data analysis. The semi-structured interview approach helped the interview process to stay on track to gain necessary data, but maintain the informality of the conversation, which resulted in more honest, real data, which nevertheless meeting the purpose of data collection.

Besides the use of multiple techniques, the fact that I returned to Indonesia to gather further information also supported the completeness and richness of data. This second visit was to confirm and crosscheck the information already given and to fill in further to address the gaps that had become apparent. The secondary data collection ensured a deeper understanding of data and what could be drawn from them.

I kept a record and journals during the research period as it helped me to reflect on the experience and emotions, and it provided information that was not available from the interview or observation. The way I employed photos and documents provided me with a valuable source of data because they represent more significant content with fewer words. Living in the research site also added another benefit because it gave me valuable experience that otherwise would have been missed if I were just a visitor. It was beneficial to spend night times strolling around the city to observe how people interacted with one another and get the first-hand experience of living in the research context.

Maintaining contact with the participants after I finished my first and second data collection stages enabled me to update and note changes in their trajectories, as can be seen from the accounts of the pre-service teachers. I did not, however, consider them merely as research participants. I felt pleased when the participants reached out to me, too, asking how I was, showing that they also considered me as not just a researcher who passed by their lives. This continuous engagement with the participants until now made me see how identity evolves over the months and onto the future. This was an affordance of developments on the internet, and in particular, social media. The rich case study approach in this research made it possible for the researcher to explore deeply the learning trajectories of the participants.

9.4 The implications for the theoretical framework

The identity-agency and life-course agency frameworks enabled me to identify and understand the trajectory of the participants. There are few points that here can be considered as a contribution to theory. The case of past learning experiences of the teachers led them to recognise the need to avoid repeating negative behaviour to their students. The purpose of this action was because they did not want to expose their students to such an experience. It was an outward direction of agency, because it was more giving than receiving. These teachers processed the negativity, absorbed the experience for themselves, and produced positivity for the sake of their students' success in learning. Research on private tuition in the Indonesian context and its role in formal education would be a great contribution considering that it is difficult to find a topic in that field. Another thing that can be added to the theory was the influence of the belief system on agentive choices. It was a spiritual aspect of decision-making to ensure that their choices in career, education, and life contexts were in line with the values they believe. This was a unique feature of the participants that can be added to the theory because the existing theory mainly focused on the academic, social, and environmental influences in decision-making.

9.5 The implications for policy changes

After considering all the factors that influence the identity formation of teachers, there are several ideas that can be proposed to make the process of adapting to changes easier for the teachers. As has been explained, the situation in Indonesian education is highly dynamic in terms of social engagement, influences, regulations, and how to implement rules from the government down to the general society. For the teachers, the ongoing changes in curriculum and regulation

had posed challenges in the way they navigate through their career and identity development. One of the first steps is to formulate a curriculum that can be used for a longer term. The frequent changes have unfavourable impacts on the outcomes of the students, stressful for the teachers, and cost a large amount of money to implement with each new curriculum. If the curriculum change is absolutely necessary, then there has to be a needs-analysis that involves the stakeholders of education, because they are the parties that will be most affected if changes occur. By seeking what the people need, the curriculum formula can be suitable for the needs in the society, and not focusing on the political discrepancies. The next thing to consider is a trial of the curriculum if a new one is urgently needed, and introducing the new curriculum at least a year prior to the actual implementation. Stakeholders' feedback is also crucial and listening to what they think about the curriculum. Revision about an imposed curriculum might be inevitable, but considering that teachers are the ones who will use the curriculum it would be advisable to consider their feedback.

9.6 The implications for the results for teacher education

Reviewing the results of this inquiry, there are a number of points to be addressed related to the teacher education in Indonesia. In general, the participants acknowledged that English teacher education in Indonesia at university-level provides the training they needed to teach. However, there is insufficient training or practical lessons specifically geared towards the teaching of English, which leads to the experience of praxis shock in the initial trajectory of the teaching career. This concern needs to be addressed as praxis shock can be a serious challenge for pre-service teachers. The short teaching practice for the pre-service teachers during which they deal with actual students in an actual teaching context is not enough to train them, particularly because it is done with little preparation for the pre-service teachers. They need more exposure to the school environment before they do teaching practice because the lack of such exposure causes the pre-service teachers to struggle when they began their teaching practice. There are some steps that can be done to fill the gap to overcome the praxis shock as depicted in Figure 9-2 below.

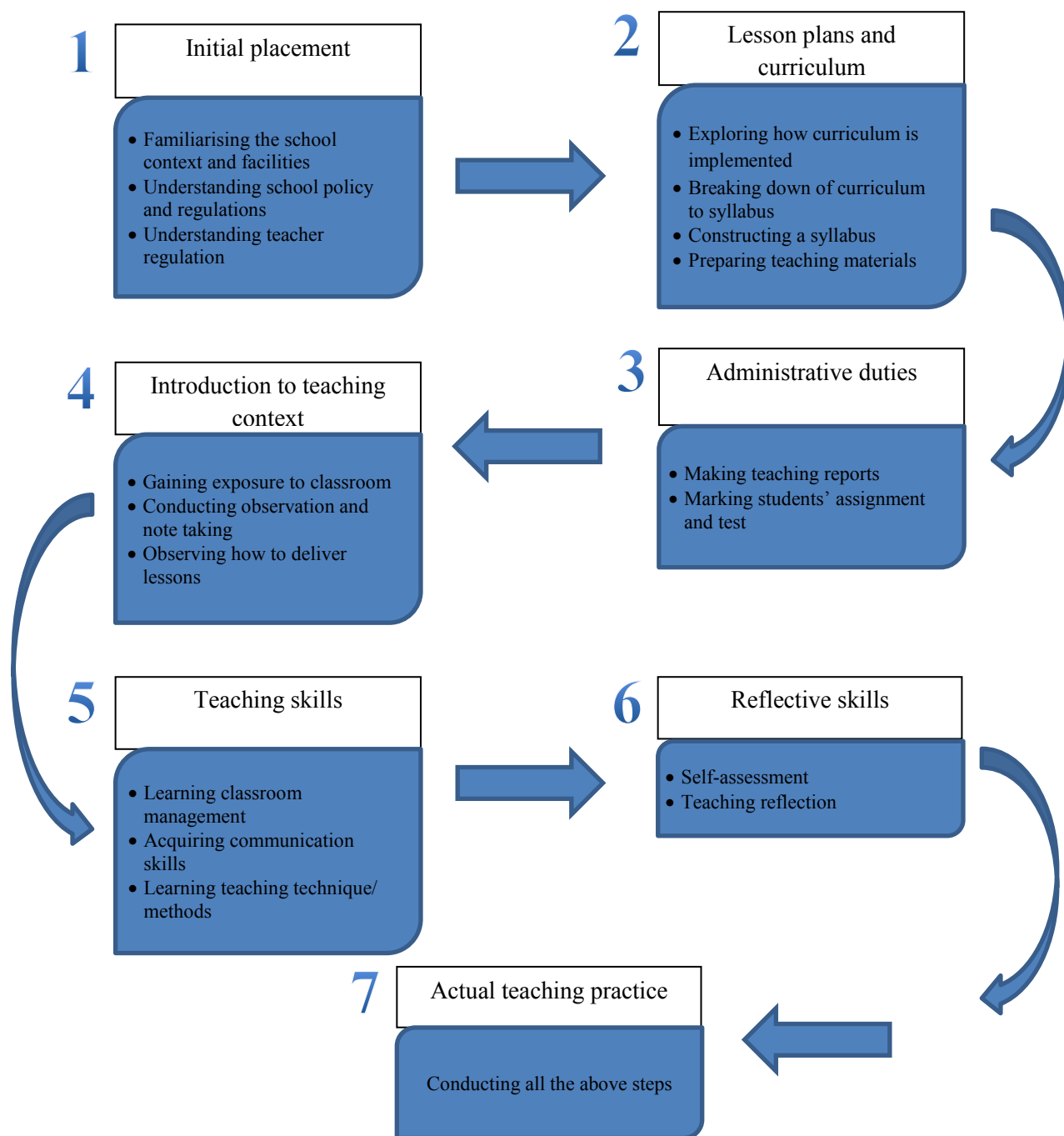


Figure 9-2: Overcoming praxis shock

The steps to overcome the praxis shock are elaborated as follows:

a. Initial placement

The initial placement stage gives the pre-service teachers a chance to get to know the school environment where they will conduct teaching practice. This first stage of teacher

education will be better if it is conducted in the first year of teacher education at the university by sending them to schools to have this placement. Mentor teacher can introduce them to the school environment by doing a school tour, to get them familiar with the context. The next thing that pre-service teachers can learn at this stage is the school policy, regulations, and teacher regulation so that they can understand how the school operates, how teachers work together, and how to behave, act and follow the rules accordingly. This initial placement will give the pre-service teacher a familiar sense of the school atmosphere without having to worry about immediately getting involved with the classroom and teaching responsibilities. As an induction stage, this placement should be light enough for the young pre-service teachers to absorb the school environment as well as preparing them to understand what it feels to be in the school in their role as prospective teachers.

b. Lesson plans and curriculum

This stage involves the introduction of curriculum, syllabus, and lesson plans implemented in the school. Pre-service teachers need to understand the regulation of curriculum and how it is implemented in school form different areas of Indonesian regions. Furthermore, besides curriculum, they also need to understand the breaking down of curriculum to become syllabus that is appropriate to the school situation, location, and culture. From the syllabus, pre-service teachers will learn how to construct lesson plans and teaching materials, both using the government supplied teaching materials and the ones that they need to design to meet the teaching target. This stage is better to be implemented in the second year of university education when pre-service teachers already got the necessary information and knowledge about how to be a teacher.

c. Administrative duties

The administrative duties placement for the pre-service teachers involves the learning about other duties that have to be done as a teacher. In this stage, pre-service teachers learn how to make teaching report that they have to deliver to the school principal so that it can be used to monitor learning progress of the students and the overall operation of teaching-learning activities in the school. This way, they will have enough skills to manage the workload when their time comes. Another thing that they have to do is to learn how to mark students' assignment and answers sheets of their tests. They need to understand different criterion in scoring and marking, and what kind of standard and benchmark they can use to give appropriate score or evaluation to the students. They learn how to evaluate their students objectively, assess them according to their stage of learning. It is essential

that pre-service teachers understand and master this skills before they actually have to teach the students.

d. Introduction to teaching

In this stage, pre-service teachers are really exposed to the classroom by inviting them to be present in the classroom during a lesson to watch the teachers teaching. They can observe how the teachers are doing their job by taking notes, paying attention to what kind teaching method and strategies that are used by the teacher and see if they are appropriate to use when they teach their own students in the future. Pre-service teachers also need to observe the teachers on how to behave and act around the students with their role as a teacher, how to interact with the students and how they make the class engage with the lesson that the teachers are teaching.

e. Teaching skills

Teaching skills are something that pre-service teachers need to learn in order to do their job as teachers. This includes the skills to master classroom management and how to have communication skills with the students. They need to learn the skills to establish who is responsible for running of the class, be the provider, and establish teamwork with the students so that they can learn from the teacher properly. They need to acquire knowledge about what kind of teaching technique and methods they can implement in the class, how to deliver a lesson and give a clear explanation about the lessons, and how to engage the students to make sure that they are involved in classroom activities.

f. Reflective skills

Learning the reflective skills would provide a good knowledge for the pre-service teachers to look back on their teaching practices. This is a skill that they need to learn during this initial stage of school induction. Mentor teacher needs to teach them how to reflect, to see the flaws in their teaching, to observe themselves in their interactions with the students, the students behaviour, and how they handled challenges in the classroom during a lesson. By acquiring this skill, pre-service teachers will see objectively how they are as teachers and what they can develop from there.

g. Actual teaching practice

This stage is the most essential stage of all of them because it embodies the training that they have done previously. This will give an opportunity for the pre-service teachers to actually implement their practice in the classroom. They can interact with the students in the class, teaching them using the lesson plans they have prepared previously and evaluate

them for the assessment or assignment that they give to the students. The teaching practices make them understand their place as teachers, what to do as teachers and the responsibilities that come with the job.

Having done the steps above will prepare the pre-service teachers with the knowledge, skills, and information about how schools operate. This kind of placement or school induction program should be carried out in chunks of assignment throughout their time studying at the university. The breakdown of timetable and timeline can be seen in Table 9-1:

Table 9-1: Stages of placement for pre-service teachers to minimise praxis shock

Year 1		Year 2		Year 3		Year 4	
Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2	Semester 1	Semester 2
Initial placement	Lesson plans and curriculum	Administrative duties	Introduction to teaching context	Teaching skills	Reflective skills	Actual teaching practice	-

9.7 The implications for the assessment of pre-service teachers

The current assessment and evaluation system is based largely on quantitative assessment. This system needs to be adapted to the way training and preparation for pre-service teachers are conducted. Alternatively, a process of ongoing formative assessment rather than summative should be encouraged to support the pre-service teachers. An evaluation that comes in the form of self-reflection will help pre-service teachers to assess their issues, acknowledge their weaknesses and insecurities as teachers, and to explore their expectations and plans for their future engagement with the students. It would be good to follow up teaching practice experiences with opportunities for in-class processes of reflection and discussion, to help the aspirant teachers make maximum gains from their time in class. It was interesting to note how participants exercised their agency outside of their learning context by taking separate actions to improve themselves regarding learning English. These actions, although informal in nature, indicated that the most highly motivated learners will seek their own ways to satisfy their curiosity, caused by a lack of satisfaction with what they were offered in their courses.

9.8 Limitations of the present study

There is no such thing as perfect research, and along with that line, this study also has some drawbacks, relating in particular to data collection technique, recruitment methods, and source of information.

For the purpose of data collection, the researcher is always at the mercy of the availability and willingness of potential volunteers, and with regard to the participants, the timing was somewhat against me as the researcher. For reasons beyond my control it was necessary to conduct the research at a less than ideal time; November – February was an in-between period for university students. The classes were coming to an end, and then there were the upcoming final exams and a whole month of semester break in March. I thus had to squeeze the research activities from observation to narrative accounts collection and interviews in a period from the second week of December 2015 to very late January. In the high school context, the reasons for the time constraints differed only slightly: it was near the Christmas holiday when I began recruiting the teacher participants, and I had to conduct the observation to their classes and interviews after the holidays, at the beginning of January.

The triangulation of data source covered in this study did not include authority figures in the research contexts, except Leila the owner of LPTC. I did not seek information about the curriculum or other matters in education from the principal of LHS because he did not have time to spare amidst his activities running the school. The Dean of LU allowed me to conduct research at his faculty, but he was unavailable for an interview. I also did not get data from parents, prominent figures in the society because, at that time, my focus was on the education context. I overlooked the possibilities that those individuals could have given me rich information about education and culture in Tegal City.

9.9 Recommendation for future research

The present study can be a starting point for further research in education, linguistics, and teacher identity. It would be good to investigate the motivational aspect of identity-making of teachers in Tegal City or other places using a different framework. The research site of this study is fascinating in its cultural and social features, which could make a significant contribution to research in motivational affordances. Different research that involved longitudinal studies with longer exposure time and appropriate timing may result in a valuable report on how young learners in Tegal City pursue their dreams and future related to English usage. I carried out my research in a high school context, so it makes a significant contribution to research in education

that relates to the perception of English among youth and what they could gain from learning English. Although research in motivation has been done extensively, it offers a contribution nonetheless from this particular cultural context.

Literature and research on teachers, teacher training, and how they shape identity in the Indonesian context are still insufficient. There is enormous scope for research with teachers in a different part of the country. The rich and diverse features of the Indonesian territory would provide an abundance of information for research related to identity-making. Another possible avenue of research that could build on this is a study of regulations, curriculum, policy-making, and how the authorities make such critical decisions in determining the future of the nation. Studies on teacher education and implications for education would also be an interesting field to research. Finally, this research on teacher and pre-service teachers' identity in Tegal City covers just a small portion of the participants' trajectories. The limited scope of identity and the framework that I used can only make a partial contribution. Further research is recommended to enrich the research database on teachers, teacher education, motivation, emotions, and education in general.

9.10 Closing

This present study describes the series of identity-making and agency choices of teachers and pre-service teachers in Tegal City. The overall depictions of their journeys reflect how they were resilient and flexible as they negotiated their identity within settings where the social value and values of English are contested. Identifying the participants' awareness of their needs, purposes, and how they met the desires of theirs and other people's for their own benefit was the strength of this study. Focusing on the personal narratives of teachers gave advantages to the participants because they could reflect on their experiences and become aware of their needs and how to navigate challenges in their environment.

This study has benefited me as a researcher and as a teacher trainer. I have been able to take advantage of the knowledge and skills gained during my study journey and use it for the improvement of my teaching. I have a better understanding of how pre-service teachers may struggle during their first engagement with students, and how they may be able to find ways to overcome the troubles. It was fascinating to observe the growth of the teachers and pre-service teachers who developed into professionals despite sidetracks from their plans.

To conclude, the journey of these participants was a glimpse as to what teachers might experience in their identity-making; paying attention to small details including their needs of

self-actualisation was an excellent recipe for how we might contribute to the professional growth of teachers.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Research recommendation from Capital Investment Board of Central Java Region – CIBCJR - (*Badan Penanaman Modal Daerah Jawa Tengah*) prior to data collection.



**PEMERINTAH PROVINSI JAWA TENGAH
BADAN PENANAMAN MODAL DAERAH**

Alamat : Jl. Mgr. Soegiopranoto No. 1 Telepon : (024) 3547091 – 3547438 – 3541487
Fax : (024) 3549560 E-mail : bpmd@jatengprov.go.id <http://bpmd.jatengprov.go.id>
Semarang - 50131

Semarang, 16 November 2015

Nomor : 070/5201/2015
Lampiran : 1 (Satu) Berkas
Perihal : Rekomendasi Penelitian

Kepada
Yth. Walikota Tegal
u.p Kepala Kantor Kesbangpol dan
Linmas Kota Tegal

Dalam rangka memperlancar pelaksanaan kegiatan penelitian bersama ini terlampir disampaikan Penelitian Nomor 070/2939/04.5/2015 Tanggal 16 November 2015 atas nama Siti Nur'Aini dengan judul proposal "FIGURED WORLDS" SEBAGAI KERANGKA IDENTITAS DALAM PENGALAMAN BELAJAR PEMBELAJAR BAHASA INGGRIS MULTILINGUAL DI KOTA TEGAL-WILAYAH BANYUMASAN, JAWA TENGAH INDONESIA, untuk dapat ditindaklanjuti.

Demikian untuk menjadi maklum dan terimakasih.

Plt. KEPALA BADAN PENANAMAN MODAL DAERAH PROVINSI
JAWA TENGAH
Kepala Bidang Promosi dan Kerjasama



Tembusan :

1. Gubernur Jawa Tengah;
2. Kepala Badan Kesbangpol dan Linmas Provinsi Jawa Tengah;
3. Rektor I Universitas PGRI Semarang;
4. Sdr. SITI NUR'AINI.



PEMERINTAH PROVINSI JAWA TENGAH
BADAN PENANAMAN MODAL DAERAH

Alamat : Jl. Mgr. Soegiopranoto No. 1 Telepon : (024) 3547091 – 3547438 – 3541487
Fax : (024) 3549560 E-mail : bpmd@jatengprov.go.id http ://bpmd.jatengprov.go.id
Semarang - 50131

REKOMENDASI PENELITIAN

NOMOR : 070/2939/04.5/2015

- Dasar : 1. Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia Nomor 07 Tahun 2014 tentang Perubahan atas Peraturan Menteri Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia Nomor 64 Tahun 2011 tentang Pedoman Penerbitan Rekomendasi Penelitian;
2. Peraturan Gubernur Jawa Tengah Nomor 74 Tahun 2012 tentang Organisasi dan Tata Kerja Unit Pelaksana Teknis Pelayanan Terpadu Satu Pintu Pada Badan Penanaman Modal Daerah Provinsi Jawa Tengah;
3. Peraturan Gubernur Jawa Tengah Nomor 22 Tahun 2015 tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Peraturan Gubernur Jawa Tengah Nomor 67 Tahun 2013 tentang Penyelenggaraan Pelayanan Terpadu Satu Pintu Provinsi Jawa Tengah.

Memperhatikan : Wakil Rektor I Universitas PGRI Semarang Nomor. 287/WRI/UPGRIS/XI/2015 tanggal 14 November 2015 Perihal : Ijin Penelitian.

Kepala Badan Penanaman Modal Daerah Provinsi Jawa Tengah, memberikan rekomendasi kepada :

1. Nama : SITI NUR'AINI.
2. Alamat : Dsn. Gubug Rt.002/Rw.012, Kel. Gubug, Kec. Gubug, Kab. Grobogan, Provinsi Jawa Tengah.
3. Pekerjaan : Dosen.

Untuk : Melakukan Penelitian dengan rincian sebagai berikut :

- a. Judul Proposal : "FIGURED WORLDS" SEBAGAI KERANGKA IDENTITAS DALAM PENGALAMAN BELAJAR PEMBELAJAR BAHASA INGGRIS MULTILINGUAL DI KOTA TEGAL- WILAYAH BANYUMASAN, JAWA TENGAH INDONESIA.
- b. Tempat / Lokasi : SMA Negeri 1 Tegal, Universitas Pancasakti Tegal, Molla English Course Tegal, Kota Tegal.
- c. Bidang Penelitian : Pendidikan.
- d. Waktu Penelitian : 23-11-2015 s.d. 29-02-2016.
- e. Penanggung Jawab : SITI NUR'AINI, S.Pd., M.Hum
- f. Status Penelitian : Baru

Ketentuan yang harus ditaati adalah :

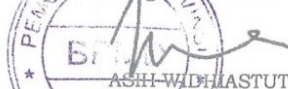
- a. Sebelum melakukan kegiatan terlebih dahulu melaporkan kepada Pejabat setempat / Lembaga swasta yang akan di jadikan obyek lokasi;
- b. Pelaksanaan kegiatan dimaksud tidak disalahgunakan untuk tujuan tertentu yang dapat mengganggu kestabilan pemerintahan;
- c. Setelah pelaksanaan kegiatan dimaksud selesai supaya menyerahkan hasilnya kepada Kepala Badan Penanaman Modal Daerah Provinsi Jawa Tengah;
- d. Apabila masa berlaku Surat Rekomendasi ini sudah berakhir, sedang pelaksanaan kegiatan belum selesai, perpanjangan waktu harus diajukan kepada instansi pemohon dengan menyertakan hasil penelitian sebelumnya;
- e. Surat rekomendasi ini dapat diubah apabila di kemudian hari terdapat kekeliruan dan akan diadakan perbaikan sebagaimana mestinya.

Demikian rekomendasi ini dibuat untuk dipergunakan seperlunya.

Semarang, 16 November 2015

Pt. KEPALA BADAN PENANAMAN MODAL DAERAH PROVINSI

PEMERINTAH JAWA TENGAH
Kepala Bidang Komosi dan Kerjasama


* ASHI WIDI HASTUTI

Appendix B: Massey University Human Ethics approval – prior to data collection.



MASSEY UNIVERSITY ALBANY

24 September 2015

Siti Nur'Aini



Dear Siti

Re: Figured Worlds as an identity frame in the learning experiences of multilingual English learners in Tegal-Banyumasan area, Central Java-Indonesia

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 23 September 2015.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

You are reminded that staff researchers and supervisors are fully responsible for ensuring that the information in the low risk notification has met the requirements and guidelines for submission of a low risk notification.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research."

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 356 9099, extn 86015, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz."

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "B T Finch".

Brian T Finch (Dr)
**Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)**

Cc Professor Cynthia White and Dr Gillian Skyrme
School of Language Studies
Palmerston North

Associate professor Kerry Taylor
Head of School of Humanities
Palmerston North

Appendix C: Consent form - prior to data collection



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

**Figured Worlds as an identity frame in the learning experiences of multilingual English learners in
Tegal – Banyumasan area, Central Java – Indonesia**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I also understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and decline to answer any particular questions in the study.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without permission, and that the information will be confidential to the researcher and only used for the purposes of this research.

I agree to participate in the interview and not to disclose anything discussed in the interview.

I give permission for the researcher to interview me during the study.

I agree to the interview being tape-recorded, knowing that I have the right to turn the tape recorder off at any time. YES NO

I give permission for the researcher to observe, take notes and take some photos in my classroom during the study. YES NO

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name - printed

School of Humanities

Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand T 06 951 6587 <http://soh.massey.ac.nz>

Appendix D: Invitation to join research - prior to data collection



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

Palmerston North, 3 December 2015

Subject: Invitation to join research

Encl: 3 bundles

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Siti Nur`Aini. I am a PhD student of the School of Humanities Massey University New Zealand. I am writing to seek permission to conduct a research at your school.

The title of my research is "Figured Worlds as an identity frame in the learning experiences of multilingual English learners in Tegal – Banyumasan area, Central Java - Indonesia". I am interested in conducting research to teachers and pre-service teachers to explore how they frame their identity under the framework of identity-agency and life-course agency. This qualitative research uses case studies approach and data collection is conducted through the means of classroom observation, questionnaire, narrative learning journal, and interviews. I am attaching the following documents for your perusal:

1. Research proposal
2. Information sheet (for school principals and participants)
3. Consent form (for participants)

You may find in the attached documents the detail of the research, inclusion criteria for participation and other significant information. Data collection procedure is planned to be carried out for the duration of three months starting from November 2015.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me using the contact details below. Your cooperation is highly appreciated, thank you.

Yours sincerely,

Siti Nur`Aini

School of Humanities

Massey University

Post Graduate Student Room, Colombo Village

Private Bag 11 222

Email: s.n.aini@massey.ac.nz

Supervisors:

Professor Cynthia Joan White	Dr Gillian Ray Skyrme
School of Humanities	School of Humanities
Massey University	Massey University

School of Humanities

Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand T 06 951 6587 <http://soh.massey.ac.nz>

Appendix E: Information sheet - prior to data collection



INFORMATION SHEET

Figured Worlds as an identity frame in the learning experiences of multilingual English learners in Tegal – Banyumasan area, Central Java - Indonesia

Researcher Introduction

My name is Siti Nur'Aini. I am a doctoral (PhD) student of the School of Humanities Massey University New Zealand. I am conducting a research for my dissertation under the supervision of Professor Cynthia Joan White and Dr. Gillian Ray Skyrme from the School of Humanities Massey University New Zealand.

Project Description

Learning experience is different from one person to another. The history of learning is important in shaping the identity of learners and how they view themselves as the user and learner of English language. By understanding the figured worlds, factors, and artefacts that influence the English learning stages in a learner's living history and experience, this research will result in better shaping of the formulation of curriculum, teaching methods, and teaching materials for future learners.

Furthermore, understanding how learners view themselves as the users and learners of English language will make them have positive reflection and expectation about what they want to achieve.

Research aims:

1. To identify how the multilingual users and learners of English frame their identity under the concept of figured worlds.
2. To identify artefacts that shaped the learner's identity as multilingual English users in Tegal City.

Benefits of the research:

1. In a bigger scope, by understanding learner's figured worlds of English learning history and how the artefacts influence how they frame their identity may lead to improved curriculum design and learning condition because the desires and expectation in the past experience can be developed to improve future curriculum of English, teaching methods and learning strategies of the English learners in the future.
2. In the interview sessions, teachers and students will be encouraged to share their experience, perception and expectation about the issue of their learning and experience. This process will become a positive and empowering experience for teachers and students thus they feel appreciated and heard.



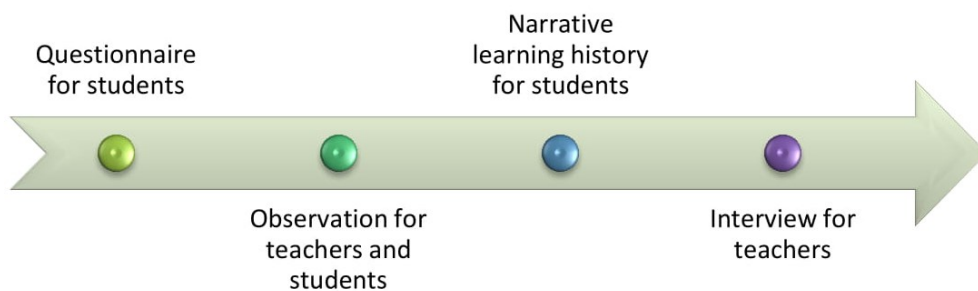
MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

Participant Identification and Recruitment

Participants in this research consist of Indonesian secondary school teachers and students, private tuition students and teachers, and pre-service teachers in a university who are in Tegal, Banyumasan area. The students and teachers are English learners and users and originally from Tegal or from other cities but identify themselves as Tegal people. It involves ten (10) secondary school students, five (5) private tuition students, five (5) pre-service teachers, ten (10) secondary school teachers, and two (2) private tuition teachers. A total of thirty-two participants. All students in the secondary school and private tuitions will be recruited to participate in classroom observation and to fill out questionnaires. The ten secondary school and private tuition students who meet the criteria defined by the purposive sampling when they fill out the questionnaire are invited to write their brief English learning history. The teachers from secondary schools are invited to participate in interview as social practice and are researched using ethnographic study. Meanwhile, teachers from private tuitions and pre-service teachers are invited for interview under case study methodology.

Project Procedures

This research consists of four data collection methods: questionnaire, observation, narrative learning history, and interview.



First, I will distribute questionnaire to the students to find out the general background of the students. Next, I will observe the classroom and out of classroom interactions between students and teacher to gain further details of information gathered from the questionnaire. During the observation, I will take some photos with a camera. I will not print them out. These photos will be used in the interview session as a tool to stimulate teachers' perspective about the learning activities.

Students then are asked to write their English learning history and experience in a brief narrative journal. The journals then will be analysed for theme, similarities and discrepancies. Meanwhile, the interview with the teachers will be audiotaped.

Permission will be sought from the teachers, students and their parents prior to their participation in the research. Only those students who consent and whose parents consent will participate.



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA

Data Management

After the data is obtained, I will transcribe them. Then, I will analyse the data. Pseudonyms will always be used throughout the research. No names and school names will appear in the dissertation. The data will be kept strictly confidential. I will store all the recordings and transcripts in locked cabinet. Only I as the researcher and the two academic supervisors will have the authority to access the documents. The documents will be destroyed 5 years after I finished my PhD program. You have a right to receive the summary of this study. If you want to receive it, you will be asked to provide an email or postal address so I can send it after this research is completed.

Participants' Involvement

Once I have received your consent to approach individuals to participate in the study, I will:

- arrange for informed consent to be obtained from pre-service teachers and the lecturers
- arrange a time with your university for data collection to take place
- obtain informed consent from participants

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me through my mobile phone numbers and emails written below. I would very happy to provide you with any further information if required. Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Regards,

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Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Application / (*insert application number*). If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: