English teachers in Indonesian senior high schools in Gorontalo:

A qualitative study of professional formation, identity and practice

Nonny Basalama

A thesis prepared for fulfillment of a PhD in the

School of Communication and the Arts

Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development

Victoria University

August

2010

Abstract

This study contributes to an understanding of why the implementation of new curriculum in the teaching of English as a foreign language continues to be unsuccessful in Indonesia, through exploring teachers' own conceptualizations of themselves, and their responsibilities and practices as professionals. The study sets out to examine factors that have affected teachers through their formation as learners and as professionals, and considers how these factors influence their beliefs and attitudes towards their practice and their responses to curriculum change in secondary high school classrooms in Indonesia.

Data for the qualitative study was collected through in-depth interviews with 20 high school English teachers from six urban and rural high schools in Gorontalo Province, Indonesia. Each teacher was interviewed for approximately two hours in two separate sessions. The interviews explored their past learning experiences including their investment in English, their motivations in becoming a teacher and their subsequent professional experiences, attitudes and beliefs about English language teaching (ELT) and towards ELT curriculum reforms.

A number of key insights emerge from the analysis. First, the nature of teachers' investment through their two pre-service learning stages in high school and teacher training college is dynamic and changing over time, and impacts on their identities as professionals. Second, teachers' identities are not context-free. They are closely related to the social and cultural contexts in which they live and work. The teachers' decisions to choose English in their pre-service teacher education were primarily motivated by the desire to gain a government civil service position. Parents and other influential older people played a critical role in course and career choices, with personal preferences generally being overridden by family desires and needs.

Two distinctive groups of teachers were distinguished in terms of their 'claimed' identities. Whilst all share an 'assigned' identity as teachers of English in government high schools, their 'claimed' identities are vastly different, and

appear to relate to how they approach and engage in their professional practice and respond to curriculum change. Almost two thirds of the teachers have been defined as having a 'minimally engaged' professional identity, with the others being characterized as having an 'empowered identity' The teachers with minimally engaged identities tend to show a lack of motivation and engagement in their practice. They are more likely to view barriers as insurmountable obstacles, and have closed minded attitudes to their students and curriculum innovation. In contrast, teachers with empowered 'claimed' identities demonstrate a sense of agency and empowerment in dealing with a range of challenges in their teaching contexts. They are empathetic to the limitations within their living and teaching contexts and work out solutions to the problems they are confronted with in English language teaching, including in implementing curriculum reforms.

The insights from this research are pertinent to understanding English teachers not just in Gorontalo and other similar Indonesian contexts, but also in other locations outside Indonesia that have comparable circumstances and cultural values. The results of this study emphasize how important it is to understand the English teachers themselves and how the factors involved in their formation both as learners and as teachers shape their professional socialization and approaches to practice, if the quality of English language teaching is to be improved.

Declaration

I, Nonny Basalama, declare that the PhD thesis entitled 'English teachers in Indonesian senior high schools in Gorontalo: A qualitative study of professional formation, identity and practice' is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Signature

Date

Contents

Acknowledgements

God has blessed me in finishing this dissertation project which I have found to be the most challenging journey in my life so far. This work would not have been possible without the support of a number of people and organizations, to all of whom I owe a huge debt of gratitude.

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Helen Borland, for her guidance, assistance, support, encouragement, advice and criticism. Professor Borland was always there through the process of this project and she encouraged me throughout this journey from the beginning until the end. Her patience and willingness to give generous feedback a priority was a great encouragement to me. I firmly believe that all I have learned from her in the process of preparing the thesis will continue to inspire me throughout my academic career and my personal life back home in Gorontalo.

At Victoria University, I would like to thank Angela Rojter from the Office for Postgraduate Research. Throughout my thesis, Angela has provided me with very useful research writing support. I have really enjoyed the process of continual learning from and with her. My special thanks goes to Professor Richard Chauvel who leads the colloquium for Indonesian students at Victoria University. This group has been a very valuable and supportive forum for all of us Indonesian students studying in Australia as we face the challenges of being international students and research candidates. I am extremely grateful also to the administrative staff in Victoria University International, the School of Communication, Culture and Languages, the Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development, and the Office for Postgraduate Research at Victoria University for all of their kindness, help and support during my studies.

My appreciation and thanks goes to the AusAid (Australian Government Overseas Aid Program) for providing me with a scholarship to study in the School of Communication, Culture and Languages at Victoria University in Melbourne. I am grateful to central Indonesian Government for granting me permission to take up the AusAid scholarship. I am extremely grateful to Dr Ir.

List of publications and awards

Basalama, N and Borland, H 2007, " Teachers' investment as English learners and its impact on their professional identity development." A paper presented at Language, Education and Diversity Conference, University of Waikato, November 2007. (The paper was double blind reviewed as the basis for acceptance/inclusion in these Refereed Conference Proceedings).

List of abbreviations

CDC   Curriculum Development Centre

CLT   Communicative Language Teaching

ESL   English as a Second Language

EFL   English as a Foreign Language

ELT   English Language Teaching

IPSTE   Institute of Pre-Service Teacher Education

KBK   *Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi* (Competency Based Curriculum)

L1   Language 1 – the native tongue and/or official language

L2   Language 2 – the target language being learned

PSTE   Pre-Service Teacher Education

TEFL   Teaching of English as a Foreign Language

UAN   *Ujian Akhir Nasional* (National Final Examination)

Chapter 1

Introduction

> I chose English because at the time the number of English teachers was still minimal and therefore needed. Graduating from the English Department would mean I could easily pass the selection process for becoming a government civil servant (Amir, Interview, December 2, 2005).

My personal story provided the initial catalyst for this research. As I contemplated why the quality of English teaching in my home province of Gorontalo remained so poor I reflected on the life experiences and motivations that led me to become an English teacher 22 years ago. I graduated from a city high school in Gorontalo having majored in the sciences and with a strong intrinsic motivation to become a medical doctor in the future. However, I had to face the fact that my dream could not be realised because studying as a medical student was the most expensive educational choice at the time. Coming from a middle-class family with seven other siblings who were also interested in furthering their education made my dream impossible. So I decided to enter pre-service teacher education and chose English as my major for two main reasons. First, I was inspired to learn English though observing my aunt, who is fluent in several foreign languages including German, French and English. Second, the decision to choose English had a strong economic base. I believed that choosing English as my major would make it easier for me to enter the job market, but not as an English teacher. I remember, in the process of making the decision, thinking that one day I might be able to get a good job in the private sector in the capital, Jakarta, as my aunt had done 22 years previously. Despite these materially driven aspirations, after completing my degree I changed my mind and embarked on a career as an English teacher at the same institution where I had been studying. Coming to Melbourne to study for a PhD in 2004 prompted me to

reflect again on my own personal story in relation to several issues that have emerged in the course of researching English language teaching (ELT).

The first issue I identified, as alluded to earlier, is my own curiosity about why English teaching in Indonesia, in general, and in Gorontalo, in particular, still seems to struggle in terms of quality. Secondly, I had experienced difficulty in my work at the teacher training college (the institution where I was teaching before coming to Australia for my doctoral studies) in encouraging students to articulate their perceptions of their own learning experiences as student teachers. The third issue, reflected in Amir's recollection above, caused me to embark on this project in order to explore which factors contribute to people's career choices and how this in turn impacts upon the English teaching process when they become English teachers.

In Indonesia, formal ELT education began in 1945 soon after the 'Independence of Indonesia' on 17 August 1945 (Jayadi 2004:1). English is considered a powerful language due to its role as the medium for transferring information and technology world-wide. Its importance to educational development after independence is evident in English as a foreign language being made a compulsory subject in schools throughout Indonesia. Since the 1940s English has been taught to secondary schools students starting in Grade Seven, and since the early nineties, in primary schools starting at Grade Four (Cahyono and Widiati 2004).

The literature on ELT in Indonesia suggests that the development and implementation of the ELT curriculum in Indonesia has generally not been successful (Sadtono 1979, 1997; Dardjowidjojo 1997; Dewi 2007; Jayadi 2004; Kweldju 2004; Mantiri 2004; Mukminatien 2004; Nur 2004; Priyono 2004). There have been at least eight curriculum reforms that have been introduced and implemented in senior high schools from the past through to the present (Bire 1996; Rudiyanto 1988; Jayadi 2004; Nur 2004). Despite these efforts most Indonesian students still face difficulties in oral and written English (Nur 2004).

There are many barriers that the Indonesian government has to overcome in its attempts to teach English effectively in high schools. Nur (2004:185) reports that

Government and community are very protective of local languages and fear that an emphasis on English will cause those languages to disappear. Moreover, Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia) has become a unifying and powerful language throughout the country (Sadtono 1979; Nur 2004). This makes English the third or the fourth language for most Indonesian students, and this may also be a barrier to successful ELT. While Dardjowidjojo (1997) and Sadtono (1979, 1997) generally believe that the failure of ELT is due to factors such as lack of motivation, low qualifications of English teachers, poor teacher remuneration and living conditions and the power of Bahasa Indonesia, some commentators and decision makers in the Indonesian Government have pinpointed the teaching methods as the real problem, thus justifying the frequent changes to teaching methods (Dardjowidjojo 1997:51). Some research has tried to understand the implementation of curriculum rather than focusing on understanding the teachers and their identity development, including how they respond to curriculum change. My study explores teachers' formation as learners and teachers which shapes their identities and approaches to practice. I hope the results of this study will reveal why curriculum has been unsuccessful from the teachers' points of view.

Since a classroom is a microcosm that is generally more easily manipulated than an entire nation, a basis for the focus of this study is the assumption that attempts to improve the quality of English should begin there. The classroom can be divided into three focus areas: the environment, the teachers and the students. The environment includes facilities and resources, the curriculum imposed upon the teachers and, importantly, the culturally influenced mode of delivery. The teachers and their students are virtually powerless to change most aspects of this environment. To improve the quality of English of Indonesian high school students, it is contended that one has to focus on the people, and since the students have very little power to change things without encouragement from their teachers, the most constructive focus is to start by considering the teacher.

One aspect of ELT that emerges as needing greater attention is the professional formation of teachers and how this impacts on their approach to teaching English and their response to curriculum change. Such study has been highlighted in

recent research across a number of national contexts such as in Hong Kong (Tsui 2003), in Toronto (Morgan 2004) and in Australia (Webb 2005). However, in literature, this area of research is in its infancy in the Indonesian context. Based on two decades of experience working as an English teacher, and as a lecturer in ELT in Indonesia for more than a decade, I have found that the approach and attitudes of teachers play a critical role in the quality of teaching and learning that takes place in classrooms. My prior experience sparked my interest in better understanding how teachers' formation as teachers shapes their professional identities and, through this, their effectiveness as facilitators in improving learning in ELT classrooms.

The context for my research centres on Gorontalo, on Sulawesi Island. Gorontalo is a newly autonomous province and now has a separate budget for education, with improving the quality of ELT in schools identified as a priority. In 2002 the Provincial Governor, Dr Fadel Mohammad said, "good teachers create good people" (Speech delivered on 2nd September 2002, State University of Gorontalo). However, there is very little research to date in the Indonesian context that looks closely at teachers in terms of their attitudes, beliefs and experiences and how this influences their approaches to their teaching practice. This study aims to thoroughly investigate teachers' formation, first as learners, then as pre-service and novice teachers, and to explore how these experiences contribute to their beliefs, attitudes, investment, professional identities and approach to their profession. This is based on the assumption that teachers have a critical role in the quality of teaching and learning and their formation as teachers contributes to the shaping of their professional identities and, through this, to their effectiveness as facilitators in improving learning. By undertaking this investigation it is hoped some new insights will be provided into why ELT curriculum reform in Indonesia is not leading to improved outcomes for students.

Aims of the study

This study aims to provide an in-depth understanding, from the teacher's perspective, of the process of teachers' formation as learners and professional teachers including their beliefs and attitudes towards their practice and their

responses to curriculum change occurring within their practice. In so doing this study closely analyses factors that affect teachers' understandings of themselves as professionals and how those factors influence the ways they perceive their practice and approach curriculum reform. In particular, the research explores English teachers' formation by examining the impact of two stages of learning on their professional development: as English learners in high school, and as advanced learners and pre-service teachers in teacher training college. The study is concerned with the teachers' investment in English through these experiences and how it impacts on their professional identities, attitudes, and approaches as English teachers. This research explores and documents factors that affect the approach that high school English language teachers have to their work, including how they view constraints placed on them by the teaching and learning context.

This study contributes to the growing understanding of why implementation of the ELT curriculum in Indonesia has been unsuccessful. It addresses the issue from the perspective of the teachers themselves and is grounded in the premise that to improve the quality of English teaching it is critical to understand how and why the teachers conceptualise and approach their practice in the ways that they do. This is expected to lead to a clearer, in-depth understanding of factors impact upon the processes of professional socialisation and identity development for teachers of English working in urban and rural schools in Gorontalo, a newly autonomous province of Indonesia, a multicultural and multilingual nation.

This area of research has great potential to make a contribution to the broader ELT community as many developing countries are still trying to improve the English competency outcomes in high schools and are changing the curriculum in an attempt to achieve this. In Indonesia, in particular, there is something amiss with regard to the teaching of English and by investing heavily in curriculum reform the Indonesian government may still not have found the right approach to solving the problem. An enhanced knowledge of the real experiences of ELT teachers will allow practitioners (including English teachers), language experts, language educationists, and policy makers to take into account the formation process of the ELT teacher when attempting to rectify the poor success rate of

the previous approaches to ELT. This new knowledge can highlight the reasons behind the failure of the previous curricula that until now have been hidden due to the lack of attention to teachers. As a qualitative study, however, it is understood that multiple data resources are important and are valuable to provide a means of data triangulation, which can enhance the credibility of the study. The relatively limited data sources of this research (primarily interviews) is recognised as a limitation of this study, and is discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 9.

Curriculum reforms in Indonesia

In western literature on teaching, teacher and curriculum used to be seen as two independent factors, but McGee and Penlington (2001:3) argue that starting from the 1980s "the assumption that a teacher is a kind of neutral agent making content available to students no longer prevails".

The meaning of curriculum itself is varied. In their discussion, McGee and Penlington (2001) give examples of how the word 'curriculum' has a variety of meanings depending on the person and perhaps even the institution applying the term. They cite Rosemergy (1997) who has suggested that to a teacher, the word curriculum often means the national curriculum text, while Prawat (1995 cited in McGee and Penlington 2001:3) highlights, that in a university context, the term curriculum is often understood as approaches to learning and teaching. In the Indonesian context, curriculum is defined as a package of plans and arrangements that cover the details of guidelines of methods and materials used for teaching and learning activities. This curriculum is arranged to achieve the goal of national education which focuses on children's development and the local environment (SEAMEO Resources 2008).

Historically, over the past fifty years, curricula in Indonesia have been designed, developed and reformed by the Department of Education and Culture of Indonesia in Jakarta. This task has been carried out more particularly by the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) in collaboration with the Directorate General of Basic and Secondary Education (Jayadi 2004; Priyono 2004;

SEAMEO Resources 2008). Since the previous curricula from 1950s to 1990s were ready-made centrally, the teachers were just expected to implement and achieve the target related to the objectives of the curriculum. They were not involved in the curriculum-making (SEAMEO Resources 2008). At the time of data collection for this study (2005-2006), the most recent competency-based curriculum, introduced in 2004 was decentralized, providing autonomy to provinces and regions (Nur 2004:180). In the following section I outline the history of curriculum reform. When I use the term curriculum, I refer to the high school English curriculum based on the meaning of the curriculum mentioned above by SEAMEO Resources (2008).

Since English started to be taught in Indonesia in the 1940s, the high school English curriculum has changed many times. Bire (1996) identifies seven changes in the 44 years until the early 1990s alone.

The old fashioned curriculum covers two broad periods: the 1950 and 1958 curriculum. Since then, English has been compulsory for all senior high school students; it was the first compulsory foreign language taught in schools in Indonesia. The main objective of teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL) during this period was to teach reading in order to be able to read English books and become knowledgeable in international affairs; the teaching approach was grammar-translation oriented (Jayadi 2004). In 1962 a new curriculum was introduced, the old one having been considered a failure. This new curriculum introduced the other three skill areas: listening, speaking and writing. The implementation of the 1962 curriculum was considered similarly unsuccessful after criticisms from community educationalists. Their critiques prompted yet another new curriculum - the 1968 curriculum (Bire 1996). Changes included modification of the senior high school structure, extra-curricular activity, and desired outcomes. In less than a decade, the fifth new curriculum in 25 years was introduced.

The goal of the new 1975 curriculum was to improve and increase educational quality. It specifically aimed to increase the students' potential to understand and use technology in higher education, so the primary focus was on reading skills and knowing the rules of English. The 1975 English curriculum had three

interrelated objectives ranked according to importance: the institutional objectives; the curricular objectives; and the instructional objectives. The specific instructional objectives were formulated by the teacher on the basis of the general objectives written in the curriculum. These three objectives were expected to be understood clearly and well implemented by all English teachers teaching in senior high schools. The ineffectiveness of the 1975 curriculum implementation led to another new curriculum: the 1984 curriculum (Rudiyanto 1988; Bire 1996).

The main differences between the 1984 curriculum and the 1975 curriculum were in terms of organization and implementation. In the 1984 curriculum, the students had to choose elective subjects based on their interests and ability in the second semester of their first year of high school. This affected the number of hours of English they studied. Students in the 'Bahasa' [Language] program had six hours of English per week, students who chose the Natural Science or Biology program participated in four hours of English classes per week, while those in the Social Science program had five hours of English classes per week.

The teaching method adopted in the 1984 English curriculum was the new Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach, a completely different approach from the method applied in the former curriculum. The objective of the approach was communicative competence in English (Tomlinson 1987; Rudiyanto 1988) in the sense that emphasis was placed on conveying meaning rather than only learning vocabulary and sentence structures. The new approach, CLT, also had the intention of allowing the learners to acquire some of the language unconsciously through meaningful use of the language (Dulay, Burt and Krashen 1982). To achieve this goal, teachers were expected to play a variety of new roles such as facilitator, organizer, initiator, motivator, independent participant, needs analyst, guide, counsellor and a group process manager (Dulay et al 1982). CLT encountered problems in Indonesian classrooms because teachers had been mostly educated in 'the structural behaviouristic audio-lingual' method of teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL) (Nababan 1984:161), which is dramatically different from CLT.

The problems faced by English teachers in the implementation of the 1984 curriculum caused the government to introduce yet another reform, the 1994 curriculum. There are no methodological differences between the two curricula although additional teaching hours were added and additional professional development provided to assist teachers in implementation of CLT, including their capacity to augment the basic textbooks with their own supplementary materials. In the 1994 curriculum, the students were provided with six hours of instruction in English per week in the general program. In the specialized programs, the amount of exposure to English changes. For example, students in the Language program had eleven hours of English per week. Unfortunately, the implementation of CLT in the 1994 curriculum was still not successful (Dardjowidjojo 1997; Jayadi 2004; Nur 2004; Mukminatien 2004). Problems reported by the teachers were similar to reports on the previous curriculum including the availability of textbooks, class size, teaching facilities, and the lack of teachers' capability in the implementation of CLT.

An eighth new curriculum, often called the 2004 curriculum or the competency-based curriculum (known in Indonesia as 'KBK'), was released by the Department of National Education of Indonesia in 2004 as a provisional curriculum (Nur 2004; Rozimela 2004). This curriculum was meant to improve the quality of TEFL through the adoption of the competency-based paradigm. This was done by changing from the previous curriculum, which was largely content-based and teacher-centred, to a learner-centred approach to learning. The 2004 curriculum aimed particularly to improve competency in oral and written English skills (Rozimela 2004).

It is against this backdrop of ongoing curriculum reform that this research takes place. As mentioned previously, each reform was motivated by an appraisal by the government of the day that English learning was not achieving the levels aspired to and was motivated by the assumption that newer, more up-to-date curriculum and methodology would yield improved student outcomes. As this assumption appears to be flawed, this study attempts to shed light on curriculum failures by examining the teachers who must implement the new curricula and methodologies.

Organization of the thesis

This study is organised into nine chapters. In this chapter I introduce the background context of ELT in Indonesia, and introduce the aims of the study, as well as provide an overview of ELT curriculum reform in the Indonesian high school system.

Chapter 2 reviews central concepts and themes relevant to this study, particularly centering on the notions of belief, knowledge, attitude and teachers' belief systems, the issue of motivation and investment in language learning and teaching, concepts and themes concerning language teachers and their identity development, and, finally, cultural values in English language teaching contexts. This chapter also reviews major studies that have been conducted across these areas.

In Chapter 3, I outline the principles that have guided my research process. This includes discussing the nature of qualitative study, profiling the twenty teachers, describing the data collection and its events, as well as discussing the intersubjectivity as it relates to my research.

The analysis of the teachers' experiences and perspectives is dealt with in Chapters 4 to 8. Five significant themes emerged through the process of data analysis. The results and discussion in this qualitative study have been organised based on these themes. Presentation on the themes has been structured chronologically starting from the early phase of the teachers' initial beliefs and attitudes, and experiences as learners, and continuing to their beliefs and attitudes and experiences as teachers. The themes are reflected through the more detailed outline of the following chapters.

In Chapter 4 I discuss the teachers' formation as learners, considering their investment in English at their two learning stages: at high school and teacher training college. Running through the chapter is the argument that teachers' investment trajectories are dynamic and changing over time and space. Theories I draw on include Norton's (1995, 1997, 2000) notion of investment, a concept which describes underlying factors that can explain a learner's motivation in

learning a language, and Setiadi's (2006) and Niode's (2007) descriptions of traditional expectations and values within Indonesia and Gorontalo .

In Chapter 5, I discuss broader contextual factors that may have shaped the teachers' understanding of themselves and which subsequently affect their attitudes, beliefs, professional identities and approaches as teachers. I continue my analysis in Chapter 6, discussing teachers and their school context. I divide the chapter into two sections. First I consider the issue of the teachers' attitudes to and beliefs about the collegial relationship and its connection to the development of English communicative practice within the school context. In the second section I deal with teachers' constructions of their students revealed a range of teachers' responses towards their students and affect how they conceptualise their roles as teachers.

Chapter 7 discusses the teachers' reports on their practice, including the challenges they face in their classroom practice in relation to class size, facilities and resources available both in Gorontalo and within their school. Chapter 8 follows on by dealing with the broad issue of teachers' response to change. Because a range of responses emerges, this is critical in understanding the twenty teachers' attitudes and responses to curriculum reform.

Chapter 9 synthesises the findings of Chapters 4 to 8, discussing emerging themes in this study, including the consideration of the theoretical implications, as well as the limitations of the study and recommendations for future research directions.

It is my hope that this study will provide an impetus to more research into teachers in terms of their attitudes, beliefs and experiences and how these influence their approaches to their teaching practice, particularly in an Indonesian context. The next chapter discusses the concepts and theoretical perspectives related to this study.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The purpose of this study is to look closely at teachers of high school English in a relatively remote part of Indonesia – Gorontalo Province at Sulawesi Island – in order to shed some light on why English language teaching in Indonesia has been considered unsuccessful. The investigation focuses on the teachers' attitudes, beliefs, experiences, motivation, and the formation of their professional identity with a view to discovering how these influence the teachers' approaches to their practice. It is hoped that this study will provide new insights into why English language teaching (ELT) curriculum reform in Indonesia does not generally appear to lead to improvement in student outcomes.

In recent years, there has been abundant research dealing with all aspects of teaching and learning in education. This has included scrutiny of a range of themes relevant to this study including factors that may contribute to the shaping of teachers' formation as professional language teachers and their identity development.

Over the past twenty years new ways to approach the study of individuals and their environment have emerged in the field of applied linguistics. There has been a paradigm shift, a movement from focus on the individual (structuralist) to a focus on the indivudal's interaction with the environment (post-structuralist). The concepts and theoretical issues discussed in this chapter consider how conceptualizations have developed over time and in relation to this overarching shift in perspective. The review is divided into four major sections. The first deals with the issue of teachers' beliefs, knowledge and attitudes in relation to teaching, including concepts in the literature that relate to learning and teaching and its impact on teachers' practice. In this section, I will also discuss Tsui's (2003) classification of expertise in teaching. The second section deals with motivation and investment in language learning and implications for language teaching. The concept of motivation is based on individual and psychological

perspectives, and there is a shift to a post-structuralist perspective when discussing the more recently introduced notion of 'investment'. The notion of investment is used to distinguish external influences on motivation such as socio-political power hierarchies and economics from internal sources of motivation.

In this second section it is important to discuss the issue of motivation in language learning since the key consideration of this study focuses on motivation with regard to teachers' formation. One of the key aspects to be taken into account is that the teachers in this study are effectively language learners who have then evolved into teachers of that language. This section will also review the issue of motivation and investment and studies that discuss the nature of that and how it impacts on teachers' classroom practice.

In the third section I will consider the issue of language teachers and identity. This section will review the literature on language teachers, and their identity development, including the theoretical perspectives of language teachers and their identity by Duff and Uchida (1997) and Varghese, Morgan, Johnston and Johnson (2005), all of whom share a post-structuralist perspective. The fourth and final section of this chapter will focus on contexts and culture in English as a foreign language (henceforth EFL). The section also discusses the terms 'culture' and 'discourse', clarifying them and positioning the research and its approach to unpacking the discoursal construction of culture within an interpretivist paradigm.

Exploring teachers' cognition

In the field of teacher education, research on examining teachers' ways of thinking has dramatically increased. Some experts (Breen 1986; Allwright and Bailey 1991; Borg 2003) point out that this has happened because there is a growing understanding that classroom observation is of minimal use in gaining a clearer understanding of what is going in the classroom without exploring what is going in the teachers' mind and why a teacher decides to do her teaching in a certain way. Moreover, the change of the research approach to teacher education is based on a shift in thinking about the teachers' role: from knowledge transfer

13

to proactive educator, in which a teacher "as a facilitator, helps pupils create meaning around the topic of interest" (Richardson 2003b:1). This means that it is necessary to explore teachers' cognition to better understand teaching. Borg (2003) further posits that teachers' cognition is not easy to observe because it relates to a teacher's knowledge, beliefs and understanding, and, according to Senior (2006), is based on the "premise that teachers draw on complex, personalized networks of knowledge to make their classroom decisions" (Senior 2006:16). Several terms, including knowledge, practical knowledge conception, perception, attitudes, theories, understanding and values have been used as though they are similar in meaning to the term belief (Richardson 1994, 1996, 2003b; Pajares 1992).

In addition, Richardson (1996, 2003b; see also Pajares 1992) emphasizes that it is between the terms knowledge and belief that most confusion arises, particularly within the area of teaching and teacher education. The notions of these terms are worthy first of clear definition. Thus, this section aims to review the literature on the concepts of belief and knowledge and then provides a rationale for the terms that will be used in this study. This is then followed by a discussion of teachers' belief systems prior to the review of some central themes concerning the origins of teachers' beliefs. The concept of attitudes and perception will also be highlighted in this section, in order to clarify how these terms are integrated throughout the discussion of this research. This first section will be concluded by reviewing Tsui's (2003) conceptualization of features of teachers categorized as expert or as novice.

Belief and Knowledge

Because belief is often confused with knowledge, it is worth exploring the literature on this distinction. An American-based educator and researcher, Richardson (1994, 1996, 2003b), in her review of the concepts of belief and knowledge, explains that belief has been treated as equivalent to knowledge in the psychological literature, while the terms have been clearly distinguished within traditional philosophical views. For example, Richardson quotes Alexander, Schallert, and Hare (1991:317) saying that "knowledge encompasses

14

all that a person knows or believes to be true, whether or not it is verified as true in some sort of objective or external way" (Richardson 1994:93). A similar argument also has been posited by Kagan (1990), who has suggested that knowledge and beliefs can be used interchangeably because there is not much difference between the two, as both refer to subjective opinion. In relation to this, Senior (2006) in her study discussing English language teachers in a western context, took the position of using the term belief in relation to teachers as it is referring to the "personal conviction about language teaching and learning that teachers are able and willing to express" (Senior 2006:12).

In contrast, within traditional philosophical views, there is a clear distinction made between these two terms. For example, a traditional philosopher, Green (1971), proposes that a belief as a proposition is held by an individual, and is accepted as something true without needing to be proved; while a proposition would be labeled as knowledge if there is supporting evidence for the knowledge which is provided by professionals or scholars, or, in other words, knowledge requires evidence and further clarification (see also Richardson 2003b for this discussion). Maddox (1993) similarly states that "if we know something we should be able to justify it and explain why it is true, cite evidence for it and show that it can be verified" (Maddox 1993:3). Unlike knowledge, belief does not necessarily need further clarification. However, according to Maddox, beliefs affect the acquisition and the development of one's knowledge. Knowledge is derived from experience and thought. If information, for example, is received by a person, this does not mean that the person has acquired knowledge. The information should be analyzed and selected in order to form knowledge; this is influenced by one's experience. Thus, knowledge which is represented by people is a result of the beliefs and experiences they have, so that belief and experience cannot be ignored, because they may influence other forms of human cognition, such as behaviour, attitude, perception, opinion and motivation.

In his studies of teachers' cognition in teaching, Devon Woods (1996) explains that there has been 'a plethora' of belief and knowledge terms being used recently, including 'conceptions' (Freeman 1990); 'preconceptions' (Wubbels 1992); Leinhardt's (1988) distinction between 'situated knowledge' and context-

free knowledge'; and Calderhead's (1988) differentiation of teachers' 'practical knowledge' and 'academic subject matter' or 'formal theoretical knowledge'. Woods (1996:192) further concludes that the precise choice of terms in different studies appears depend on the factors underpinning the studies' contexts, despite the preliminary distinction of both terms being still unclear.

Woods (1996) stated that it is difficult to determine whether interpretations made by teachers are based on what they know, or what they believe, or what they believe they know, giving rise to the lack of precision in terminology. Woods (1996:194) further illustrates with an example of a teacher, who interprets the students' groans when group work is introduced as a result of the students' negative attitudes to group work because he believes/knows that pupils do not like to participate in group discussions. The teacher's belief/knowledge does not take into account other factors, such as the students being in a bad mood or being tired after a party the night before. In this case, the teacher believed he knew why the students groaned, but it is unclear whether this could be called belief or background knowledge.

The blurred boundary between teachers' beliefs and knowledge has also been suggested by Pajares (1992). He states that "distinguishing knowledge from belief is a daunting undertaking" (Pajares 1992:309), though according to him it is possible.

> Beliefs are seldom clearly defined in studies or used explicitly as a conceptual tool, but the chosen and perhaps artificial distinction between belief and knowledge is common to most definitions: Belief is based on evaluation and judgment; knowledge is based on objective fact (Pajares 1992:313).

In order to make further sense of the two notions, Woods (1996) attempts to dispense with the idea of differentiating between knowledge and belief altogether, and proposes a spectrum of meaning points, "even though they have been treated for the most part as separate entities in the literature." The term knowledge has been used to refer to things that have been accepted as fact, while belief relates to propositions that are not demonstrable, and "for which there is accepted disagreement". For example, "I believe that early immersion is good for majority-language child's cognitive development but my colleague doesn't"

(Woods 1996:195). Woods concludes that the terms knowledge and belief represent "concepts which are situated on a spectrum ranging from knowledge to belief ("I do not just believe it, I do not just assume it. I know it!"). Woods' explanation above shows that beliefs, knowledge and assumptions are not distinct concepts but refer to the spectrum of meaning and therefore, in their use, overlapping may occur (Woods 1996:195).

To sum up, the discussion above has made clear that while some studies have differentiated between knowledge and beliefs (e.g. Green 1971; Maddox 1993; Nespor 1987; Richardson 1996, 2003b), others have not and assume that it is difficult to do so (Alexander, Schallert, and Hare 1991 cited in Richardson 1994, 1996; Lundeberg and Levin 2003). In addition, others (e.g. Woods 1996) suggest that distinguishing explanations between the terms, though overlapping, may occur between one term and another in their use. For the purpose of this study, the term 'belief' will be used to address both teacher's beliefs and teacher's knowledge, considering that it is difficult to distinguish between the two, as they tend to stem from a combination of the teacher's experience and belief system (teachers' belief system will be further discussed in the following section).

Due to the extreme difficulty of taking into consideration the degree of the teachers' objectivity, it has been assumed that what teachers say they know or believe refers to what the teachers believe to be true, that is, a teacher may hold beliefs that can be shown to be erroneous. The purpose of this study is not to determine which beliefs are true and which are false or which beliefs could be considered to be knowledge. Given that beliefs can vary with local context, judging which teacher statements are true or false, or classifying those statements as belief or knowledge, is beyond the scope of this study.

Teachers' belief systems

I have mentioned in the earlier section that the need to examine teachers' beliefs has been motivated by the desire to gain a deeper understanding of the how teachers conceptualize their work and how this then influences their classroom practices. But the notion of teachers' beliefs is worthy first of clearer definition.

Basturkman, Loewen and Ellis (2004) have distinguished teachers' beliefs as expressions teachers have made as a result of their thought processes, although it represents teachers' subjectivities. They define teachers' beliefs as "statements teachers made about their ideas, thoughts, and knowledge that are expressed as evaluations of what 'should be done', 'should be the case', and 'is preferable' (Basturkman et al 2004:244) whereas, Clark and Yinger have equalized teachers' beliefs to 'implicit theories' stating that "the teacher defines such things as the elements of the classroom situation that are most important, the relationship between them, and the order in which they should be considered" (Clark and Yinger 1979:251). This means that teachers' beliefs refer to teachers' classroom decision making. Moreover, Errington (2004) has followed Combs' (1982) distinction of teachers' beliefs as constituting a professional set of guidelines for teaching "a blueprint for what is or is not possible; an open or closed door to promote; inhibit or resist change, and a collective climate that can foster or inhibit innovation" (Errington 2004:20). This indicates that the role of teachers' beliefs may or may not cause the teachers to be empowered to implement or restrain change.

A key element that is evident in examining beliefs is that they can best be viewed as constituting a belief system, a term used to refer to the complete body of beliefs that a person holds. For the case of teachers and their belief system, Errington (2004:40) says that teachers' belief systems are multifaceted and consist of various thoughts regarding their teaching and learning and the factors they should be taking into account:

> Central to a teacher's belief system are likely to be dispositions regarding teaching and learning. These encompass held beliefs about what teachers believe they should be teaching, what learners should be learning, and the respective roles of teachers and learners in pursuing both (Errington 2004:40).

Beliefs within a system may contradict each other. Richardson (1996, 2003b) has drawn on Green's (1971) theory that because we hold clusters of beliefs related to particular subjects, and since these subjects are rarely considered side by side, contradictions within a belief system may not be readily apparent: "there is a little cross-fertilization among belief systems, thus incompatible beliefs may be

held in different clusters and the incompatibility may remain until the beliefs are set side by side and examined for consistency" (Green 1971 cited Richardson 2003b:3). The specific belief systems of teachers, and how these belief systems affect ELT are taken into consideration when analyzing the teachers' reported views, beliefs and attitudes through the process of their formation, which then impacts on their professional socialization and identity development (discussed through Chapters 4 to 8. In the following section I will discuss where a teacher's belief system originates.

Theories for the origin of teacher's beliefs

Experience plays a major role in the formation of belief systems. In the case of teacher belief systems, however, some experiences are more relevant than others. Richardson (1994, 1996) explains that there are three categories of experience: personal experience; experience with schooling and instruction; and formal knowledge experience. All of these are considered to have important roles in the development of beliefs and knowledge in relation to teaching; these different kinds of experience start at different stages of a person's career in education.

Richardson (1994, 1996) explains that personal experience covers various aspects in one's life and shapes how a person forms their world. Beliefs about the world could include: an individual's belief of themselves and their relationship with others, such as community groups and schools; their understanding of cultural values, family matters and other personal forms; beliefs about ethnic and socio-economic background; views on location of living, 'religious upbringing' and 'life decisions' etc. All of these are personal beliefs which also affect the way one deals with learning to teach and teaching matters.

In line with this, Johnston (2002:112) argues that among the different kinds of beliefs, religious beliefs are of the most personal, the most deeply held, and the most closely related with one's identity. He also notes that religious beliefs are considered the most profoundly vital parts of identity, so such beliefs are of great interest for anyone who wants to have a proper understanding of identity in teaching and learning practices.

Regarding an individual's experience with schooling and instruction, Richardson (1996) draws on Lortie's (1975) discussion of an individual "apprenticeship of experience". This learning phenomenon suggests that pre-service teachers bring with them a set of beliefs regarding teaching and learning that have been influenced and shaped during their previous experience as students. Richardson (1996; 2003) further says, such beliefs make it difficult for pre-service teacher education to have a role in changing any aspect of teaching, as the pre-existing beliefs have been entrenched over such a long period of time. In the same line of thinking, Richards and Lockhart (1994) have also demonstrated that it is hard to change one's previous beliefs and attitudes towards something, unless the individual is confronted with an occurrence or experience that proves that his/her belief is wrong.

Richards (1998:17) has suggested that the influence of the prior beliefs of the student teacher is pivotal, often held tacitly and "often serve as a lens through which they view both the content of the teacher development program and their language teacher experiences". Almarza (1996) and Thornbury (1996) have also recognized the critical role of a student teacher's prior beliefs in affecting their beliefs, attitudes and experiences during their pre-service teacher education, highlighting how awareness of this problem by teacher educators is crucial before any steps can be taken to instigate a change. Otherwise, as Thornbury further adds, "the effects of training may be only superficial" (Thornbury 1996:284). Kennedy (1997) says that beliefs held by student teachers regarding how teaching and learning should be, act as a filter during their time in pre-service education affecting the degree to which new ideas are accepted or rejected. For example, a new candidate student may hold the belief that a teacher's responsibility is to transfer knowledge to the students. This belief will have been shaped by his or her previous learning experiences and will have consequences in that it will influence whether he or she accepts current teaching about the contribution a teacher brings to the learning and teaching environment.

The other form of experience is formal knowledge experience, gained through individual formal education from kindergarten through to higher education (Richardson 1996:106). Richardson suggests that this kind of experience,

particularly focusing of the issue of learning to teach, consists of both 'subject matter knowledge' and 'pedagogical knowledge'. Subject matter knowledge, which involves the students' understanding of the subject matter, is covered in the beginning of their pre-service teacher education programs. 'Pedagogical knowledge', which is related to teaching practice, is usually given in pre-service teacher education courses before the candidate teachers embark upon their teaching practicum. According to Richardson (1996) among all the types of experiences, those associated with formal pedagogical knowledge are thought to have less influence on beliefs and teaching conceptions.

Though I do not explore 'subject matter' and 'pedagogical knowledge' specifically, my study draws on the idea that early experience of teaching as a learner has an impact on a teacher's attitude to teaching in teacher training college and beyond. It notes teaching styles encountered by student teachers throughout their learning experience and their attitude toward teaching in their present day practice.

The impact of teachers' beliefs on teachers' action

The importance of examining a teacher's thinking is closely related to a new approach used in understanding teachers' practice, as I have mentioned earlier. This approach encourages a better understanding of why a teacher approaches their teaching in a certain way (Breen 1986; Allwright and Bailey 1991; Borg 2003). Many similar studies found that there is a significant relation between the beliefs of pre-service teachers and/or practising teachers and their practice (e.g. Campbell 1985; Clark 1988; Clark and Peterson 1986; Clandinin and Connelly 1987; Cole 1989; Fenstermacher 1979, 1986; Goodman 1988; Johnson 1992; Munby 1982; Nespor 1987; Pintrinch 1990; Woods 1996). For example, Johnson (1992) has explored some features of teachers' beliefs regarding teaching English as a second language and found that 60% of the teachers demonstrated a consistency between beliefs toward an approach used and their classroom actions. Ernest (1989) similarly concluded that teachers' beliefs are a prominent and powerful indicator of their classroom performance.

Some experts (e.g. Berliner 1986; Freeman and Richards 1993; Tsui 2003) have focused on teachers' cognition in order to propose frameworks to better understand teachers and their expertise in teaching. The underlying assumption is that to analyze teachers' conceptions of their practice, it is crucial to know whether a teacher is an expert or a novice, an example of the significant shift of thinking towards understanding teachers' actions through their thinking. More detailed discussion of Tsui's (2003) framework for understanding expertise in teaching follows in the next section.

Although many studies have revealed a connection between teachers' beliefs and their actions, it is not sufficient to explain why teachers approach their classrooms and students differently, and there are some gaps in the literature in terms of understanding teachers' cognition as a way to better understand their action (Woods 1996). Woods' study on teachers' beliefs and attitudes to teaching supports the argument that examining teachers' thinking offers useful insights for teaching practice in second language learning. Unfortunately though many of the studies, including Woods' (1996) study, are in the context of English as a second language, rather than a foreign language as is the case in this study. My study will explore teachers' cognition in a more complete way than many other studies by examining their formation both as learners and as teachers, and then how this contributes to the shaping of their identities as professionals.

Teachers' attitudes

An individual's attitude is derived from their beliefs and experience. In other words, beliefs and experience can affect attitudes, which in turn can influence motivation and perception. In the literature, one's attitude is generally distinguished as a mental state towards something, affected by beliefs, feelings, values, experience, and disposition to act in certain ways. Allport (1967:8) defines attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience exerting directive or dynamic influence upon the individual response to all objects and situations with which it is related". This indicates that one's experience has a prominent role in which it influences the shaping of the person's attitudes. Fishbein (1967) has separated the terms attitude and belief and

suggested that each has a different meaning. He considers attitude to be "learned predispositions to respond to an object or class of objects in a favorable or unfavorable way" and thus the sense of attitude is more of an affective component, whereas belief about objects is designated as the cognitive (Fishbein 1967:257). In contrast, some psychologists (e.g. Rokeach 1968; Peterman 1991) classify attitudes and values as parts of belief systems.

In relation to teachers' attitudes, Jenkins (2005:539) states that "experience may have a major effect on the formation of teachers' attitudes". Moreover, a person's experience can affect everything from quantity and type of knowledge attained to beliefs and attitudes. For the case of a teacher as a professional, he or she undergoes experiences of teaching and learning and these can affect everything from quantity and knowledge attained to beliefs and attitudes.

Teachers' attitudes play an important role in their performance in teaching practice. For example, if a teacher believes that his/her students have low English learning capacity, it might cause a pessimistic attitude toward the students. For the teacher, he/she may think that there is not much to be done because of the students' condition. Conversely, the teacher may approach the students in an optimistic way because he/she has a different perspective - realizing that his/her role as a teacher is as a facilitator and a motivator for the students. A teacher with this attitude is likely to make an effort to facilitate the students' learning or even to create change. Richardson (1996) considers that teachers' attitudes toward students' language is an important factor in understanding teachers' thought processes, classroom practices and changes, and learning to teach. Pajares (1992) in his review of teachers' cognition which includes beliefs and attitudes, found that people usually used beliefs and attitudes interchangeably. Having explained this, in my discussion throughout the following chapters I will not differentiate teachers' belief from teachers' attitudes and perceptions, but will use the terms interchangeably to refer to teachers' conceptualizations of themselves and their practice.

Teachers' knowledge and expertise in teaching

This section aims to provide a detailed discussion of Tsui (2003) who has theorized that a critical factor in considering expertise is a teacher's understanding of their actions and motives. Based on her research on what she identifies as four 'ESL' teachers in Hong Kong, Tsui has delineated three dimensions of teachers' conceptions and understanding of their work. Critical differences in these dimensions can distinguish expert teachers from novices. The first dimension is a teacher's ability to integrate a range of various factors in their teaching actions, such as their classroom management. This ability of an expert teacher to manage their classroom would distinguish them from a teacher who is not yet an expert in her profession. Tsui (2003) has drawn this insight on the basis of two respondents: Marina (expert) and Ching (novice), with an example that these two teachers' conceptions differ regarding classroom management. They both have a routine in which they ask the class to repeat instructions given by the teacher. In both cases, the teachers desire to get their students' attention, although their reasons for this are quite distinct. As far as Marina (expert) is concerned, she is effectively facilitating the achievement of an instructional objective for her students, whereas for Ching (novice) it is more to exercise authority over her students. Marina was able to tolerate a certain degree of noisiness during her practice as long as she could manage to find out whether her instructions were understood. In contrast to Marina, Ching could not tolerate students' making noise during her practice. This was due to her understanding that a quiet classroom is a well-managed classroom (Tsui 2003:141-176).

The second dimension of Tsui's (2003) conceptualization in understanding expertise in teaching is the teachers' perception of their specific work context. How the teachers understand their context affects how they see the opportunity to present themselves. Tsui gives examples of how Marina as the expert teacher is able to recognize language learning situations and environments both in Hong Kong, in general, and in the school where she teaches (Tsui 2003:253-257). This ability has extended her to be able to devise strategies that she can apply to create a learning context for teaching English. Conversely, teachers categorized as novices lack these multiple abilities. They might focus more on vocabulary and

grammatical accuracy, no matter what their work context, indicating a lack of reflection on their teaching context culminating in a perceived lack of expertise.

Tsui's (2003) third dimension is the extent of a teacher's ability to discuss knowledge gained through their professional experience in theoretical terms. Where a novice teacher might articulate classroom difficulties in terms of what actually occurred, an expert teacher might articulate those same difficulties in terms of a theory of classroom dynamics. This ability to apply theory to practice, to let personal experience inform theoretical knowledge and vice versa, distinguishes an expert from a novice teacher. Tsui further explains that a vital expert skill is the ability to consciously deliberate and reflect upon their practice. An expert is also able to express tacit knowledge which is often difficult to articulate (Tsui 2003:257-265). Tsui (2003) also believes that the amount of experience a teacher has of whether they will be able to discuss knowledge in theoretical terms can also be an indicator to distinguish novice from expert, although it is not vital.

Tsui (2003) further says that for a teacher to be able to present these three dimensions cannot be separated from a teacher's wide-ranging knowledge, which is interrelated to his/her profession. For example, Marina's knowledge as an ESL teacher in Hong Kong which Tsui categorizes as "the richest and the most elaborated knowledge" (Tsui 2003), compared with her other three ESL teachers, included linguistic knowledge; knowledge of teaching in general and communicative language teaching (CLT) in particular; knowledge of her students; knowledge of language learning strategies; knowledge of other curricula and knowledge of the specific context in which she is operating. The latter also covers knowledge of students' economic statuses and their living conditions

I have reviewed briefly Tsui's conceptualization of expertise in teaching. Although my study does not draw directly on Tsui's conceptualization because initially I do not focus my study on exploring teachers' subject knowledge as Tsui did. I did find, however, that Tsui's theories were useful for me to better understand the teachers in my study (see Chapter 9 for this discussion). In contrast to Tsui's primary focus on classroom practices, my study is focused on

understanding more about the process of teachers' formation during their two critical learning stages and how this formation might contribute to shaping their subsequent beliefs, attitudes and approaches as English teachers and affect their handling of curriculum reform. In the next section I will review the issue of motivation and its relation to language teaching and learning.

Motivation and investment in language learning and implications for language teaching

Motivation in language learning

Motivation is stimulation for an action. Defining the notion is not a simple task because there are numerous theoretical perspectives coming from the various fields of psychology, education and social science. Within the literature of motivation studies in language learning, the concept of motivation is broad-ranging and includes an idea of learning orientation. The concepts of 'motivation' and 'learning orientation' are often used interchangeably (Belmechri and Hummel 1998; Noels 2001; Wright and McGrory 2005). According to educational psychologist Robert Gardner, the two concepts of motivation and orientation should be clearly distinguished in order to avoid the confusion in their use (Gardner 2006).

Gardner defines motivation as "the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language" (Gardner 1985:10). According to this definition, learners have some goals or orientations toward learning a language. Yet this does not mean he/she has a high motivation to reach the goal. In other words, learning orientation is not necessarily a sign of motivation (Masgoret and Gardner 2002:175). Citing a study by Noels and Clement (1989), Masgoret and Gardner (2003) report how some learning orientations are related to motivation and some are not. When a person has an 'integrative' orientation to studying a language, the person may or may not be motivated to learn the language. Alternatively, a person may have an 'instrumental' orientation, but may or may not have the motivation to learn the language. Belmechri and Hummel (1998)

have discussed the distinction of these two terms from the social psychological perspective. They indicate that motivation is "a composite of intensity and orientation that correspond respectively to the effort expended and to the learner's goal" (Belmechri and Hummel 1998:220), whereas orientation has been distinguished as 'learning orientation', involving long-term goals combined with attitudes which can prolong learners' motivation in language learning. They further add that even though researchers have applied motivation and orientation interchangeably, it is motivation which contains the power to achieve the reflective goal in the learning orientation. Adopting Gardner's perspective, Belmechri and Hummel discuss how power comes from the learner's aspiration to reach the goal, positive attitudes towards the target language, and hardworking behaviour (Belmechri and Hummel 1998:220).

Dornyei (2003) has responded to the debate regarding the conceptualization of motivation and has proposed that the construct of motivation itself is 'complex and multifaceted', and the nature of the variables present in certain circumstances depend significantly on contributing factors from the location of the study. The factors may be significantly affected by "the person's cognitive thinking, behaviour and achievement", and, in the language learning context, these factors could be affected by motivation itself. For example, the position of the target language within the learning context could make a difference. Learning the language as an international language, as a heritage language, as an official second language, or learning the language as a requirement at school affects the learner's motivation. Dornyei suggests that as a result, it is difficult to develop a concept of motivation that can offer a complete explanation (Dornyei 2003:1-2).

The number of studies on motivation and language learning has increased over forty years and the research in the field has become a large body of literature. It provides an understanding of the importance of motivation in both second language and foreign language learning, though second language learning seems to be referred to most often (e.g. Gardner and Lambert 1972; Noels, Pelletier, Clement and Vallerand 2000; Noels, Clement and Pelletier 2001; Dornyei and Csizer 2002; Mori 2004, Lamb 2004; Rueda and Chen 2005; Li 2006).

In earlier studies, the pioneers of motivational studies, Gardner and Lambert (1972) suggested an individual's motivation in learning a language (hereafter L2) is prolonged by both attitudes toward the L2 community and the goals, or orientations acquired through L2 acquisition. Their theoretical framework hypothesized two types of orientations: 'integrative' and 'instrumental'. It is worth describing how these terms are different. On the one hand, 'integrative orientation' refers to the driving force of the learner to learn a language when the learner wants to be more naturally engaged with the target language community, with the expectation that this will lead to acceptance by that community. On the other hand, 'instrumental orientation' reflects the interest in learning the language which is derived from other influential factors, such as to pass a test in order to achieve a desired position or career (Gardner and Lambert 1972:3). Although these two kinds of orientations have not been construed as contradicting each other, they suggested that the learner who embraces the integrative learning orientation can be predicted to be more successful in learning the language (Gardner and Lambert 1972:175).

Integrative orientation is seen as the key to successful language learning because it represents a positive viewpoint towards the language, as well as its culture. However, one criticism of integrative orientation is its conceptual limitation to contexts where the L2 is a second language and there is opportunity to practise the target language (Dornyei 2003). It does not work so well in a foreign language context where there is limited contact available for a learner with the target language community (see Dornyei 2003; Mori, 2004; Dornyei and Csizer 2002; Csizer and Dornyei 2005). Csizer and Dornyei (2005) in their study of students' motivation in Hungary found that the key element of the 'integrative' concept which has been used to elucidate 'the underlining mechanism' of the motivational nature and behaviour of the language learner may possibly be developed to incorporate new constructs and interpretations (Csizer and Dornyei 2005:5).

In contrast to integrative orientation, the concept of 'instrumental orientation' in learning, which was also introduced by Gardner and Lambert (1972), has been considered a more useful concept to explain in language learning where there is

limited contact available for the learners with the target language community (Lambert and Gardner 1972; Lukmani 1972, Belmechri and Hummel 1998). Gardner and Lambert (1972), in their study on motivation among students in the Philippines, found that instrumental orientation appeared to be more powerful than integrative orientation. English in the Philippines is a valued international language and students there benefit from great parental support which gives them an instrumental motivation to achieve success in learning the language (Gardner and Lambert 1972:141). Similar results had also been found by Lukmani (1972) for English learners in India (cited in Littlewood 1984), and Belmechri and Hummel (1998) for English learners in Quebec. Belmechri and Hummel's quantitative study explored high school students' motivation in learning English as their second language and found that travel, friendship and career formed part of the instrumental orientation for learning (Belmechri and Hummel 1998:238-239). While the distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation is best known in ELT research, there are also the concepts of motivation by Deci and Flaste (1996) which are widely recognized in understanding motivation in language learning and teaching. In their monograph I found the distinction between 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' motivation (Deci and Flaste 1996) informative in helping me in considering teachers as learners and as teachers and what motivates them.

Intrinsic motivation is the motivation which is present when one's interest in undertaking an action stems from a sense of fulfillment or challenge that is internally driven (Deci and Flaste 1996). Extrinsic motivation, in contrast, is present when one's action arises primarily from desire to achieve some externally originated reward or recognition, or avoidance of punishment. These two concepts were introduced and developed in motivational literature to explain learners' motivations. For example, Li (2006) explored the motivations of Chinese students in the UK to learn English and, during their first year, found that their motivational orientations were categorized as instrumental and extrinsic and that both positive and negative attitudes towards the British had different influences on the students' motivations. She also found that a positive self-perception influenced their motivation and confidence in learning (Li 2006:55). Li found that while some students were committed and worked hard to attain

their goals because they valued their current learning environment and saw it as supportive to their own goals in learning, others did not feel that way. As a result the latter group of students were more likely to seek more instruction in their learning, as a consequence of what Li refers to as "perceived deficiency of the environment" (Li 2006:55).

Other studies have placed motivation within the perspective of cultural difference and suggested that a learner's motivation and its relationship to their learning a foreign language may vary across cultures (Littlewood 2001; Lamb 2004; Rueda and Chen 2005). For example, Iyengar and Lepper (1999) found that Anglo-American students demonstrate less intrinsic motivation when the choice to learn has been made by others rather than themselves. In contrast, Asian-American students show the most intrinsic motivation when the choice has been made for them by their authority figures (see also Rueda and Chen 2005; Lamb 2004 for this discussion). In accordance with this, Littlewood (2001) has claimed that for some cultures the inequalities of power and authority are seen as something acceptable and normal, while for other cultures, even though the power imbalances exist and are recognized, there is "an ethos which says that they should be in some way minimized and their effects reduced" (Littlewood 2001:5).

In the era of the 1990s, studies on motivation have moved from socio-psychological approaches towards what Dornyei (2001a, 2001b, 2003) has called a more 'education-friendly' approach to L2 motivation. Since Dornyei's observation, other scholars have embraced this move. Ushioda (2006) states that this shift has been influenced by an understanding that there is a need

> to bring language learning motivation research in line with the cognitive revolution in mainstream motivational psychology and the move has brought with it considerable enrichment and diversification of motivation concepts under scrutiny (Ushioda 2006:149).

One of the new education-friendly concepts is that of 'investment', a concept developed in a post-structuralist perspective (see more discussion in the following section) as it aims to contribute to a clearer understanding of motivation and its relationship to the language learning and language teaching

context, a context that can be a second language or foreign language one. It is investment, rather than intrinsic/extrinsic motivation that I will rely upon in my analysis.

Second language or foreign language

It is necessary to distinguish the terms of second language learning and foreign language learning. Like the conceptions of motivation and learning orientation, the terms 'second language' and 'foreign language' are blurred within the literature on motivation. Some researchers have made a clear distinction between the two terms based on their study's setting (Mori 2004; Rueda and Chen 2005), whereas other scholars use the terms, or second language (L2), more generically to refer to both ESL and EFL (Gardner 2006; Noels et al 2000). However, I consider it important to distinguish between these terms in my study, because the distinction affects the analysis of my data.

The terms 'second language' and 'foreign language' seem at first to be similar. When discussing the terms 'English as a Second Language' (ESL) and 'English as a Foreign Language' (EFL), Ho (2004:3) suggests that these terms are used interchangeably. This is especially apparent in studies on motivation where the terms are usually ill defined or overlapping. Despite the confusion in some scholars' usage, Littlewood (1984) pinpoints that second language learning refers to the situation where the learner is learning the language in a context where the language has a communicative function within the society in which the learner is living. This may occur within bilingual or multilingual communities where the need for more than one language is considered important. In this case, learning the target language is not uncommon, such as learning English in India. In contrast, foreign language learning is mainly used for learners outside the target community and where there is no established function of the language within the community, such as learning French in Great Britain or English in Germany (Littlewood 1984). Further, examples of ESL contexts include Southeast Asian countries, such as Singapore (Ho 2004), Malaysia (Pandian 2004) and Brunei Darussalam (Martin and Abdullah 2004), where students have exposure to English from a young age, including using English as an instruction medium

within a school context. In contrast, examples of EFL contexts include other Southeast Asian countries, such as Thailand (Chayanuvat 1997) and Indonesia (Dardjowidjojo 1997; Nur 2004), where English is seldom used outside the classroom.

Despite the differentiation of the terms EFL and ESL above, in reality the distinction between EFL and ESL is not dichotomous, but rather more like a continuum. This is because regardless of the amount of exposure the learner has access to, the learner him/herself can influence how much access to the target language they receive. For example, an older immigrant in Australia who is reluctant to make contact with native speakers will have a reduced exposure to the target language of English. However, for another learner of English in an EFL context, it would be possible to seek out exposure to English through media, such as film or pop music. For the purpose of this thesis, however, unless I discuss another author's work I will use the term 'foreign language'. It is more suitable for the context of this thesis as English is learned as a foreign language in Indonesia.

Investment in language learning: a new theoretical perspective

Another concept to explain motivation is that of investment, which was developed within the post-structuralist perspective. Norton introduced the notion of 'investment' in language learning to better understand motivation. Early motivation theories arose from the field of social psychology, being introduced by the well known experts Gardner and Lambert (1972). Norton (2000) argues that with their conceptualization of integrative and instrumental motivation, Gardner and Lambert (1972) do not fully embrace the complex relationship between 'power', 'identity' and 'language learning' which she discovered in her 1993 study. Norton's (1993 cited in Norton 2000) doctoral study was a study of immigrant women learning English in a natural learning setting outside the formal classroom in Canada. Norton found that respondents' learning barriers, such as not being able to constructively face the changes in learning, or not being able to take advantage of the material presented, was not due to the absence of motivation. In contrast, she argues that her learners were all highly motivated,

but felt subordinate and humiliated because of feeling powerless as non-Canadians.

Norton has argued subsequently that integrative and instrumental motivation do not encompass the relationship between power, identity, and language learning (Norton 2000; see also Norton 1997). She argues that the conceptualization of instrumental motivation is different to the notion of investment that she proposes. While pinpointing that instrumental motivation "presupposes a unitary, fixed, and a historical language learner who desires access to material resources that are the privilege of the target language speakers", Norton suggests that the notion of investment "conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires" (Norton 2000:10). She further says that this notion assumes that when language learners communicate with the target language community they are continuously shaping and reshaping who they are and how they themselves relate to the world socially. Thus a learner's investment into the language also represents the learner's investment into his/her own identity, an identity "which changes across time and space" (Norton 1997:411). Norton demonstrates that the concept of investment goes beyond the learners' motivation to provide a clear picture of underlying conditions and factors that affect motivation.

In the process of constructing the notion of investment, Norton draws on the theories of Cornel West, Pierre Bourdieu, Chris Weedon, and Jim Cummins (Norton 1997:410-412). She defines the notion of investment in terms of "the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (Norton 1997:411). Drawing on the notion of 'cultural capital' by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Norton (2000) explains that cultural capital is the term that refers to "knowledge and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups in relation to specific sets of social forms" and points out that when a learner invests in a language, he/she makes this investment with the understanding that he/she will obtain a variety of symbolic resources (language, education and friendship) and material resources (capital goods, real estate and money), which then enable the learner to improve the value of his/her cultural capital. Norton

further explains that as a result, the learner looks forward to a good return on the investment and access to new opportunities and other advantages (Norton 2000:10).

Norton points out that the investment process does not always result in new opportunities and other advantages. It is possible that an individual's investment in a language may be accompanied by barriers and other disadvantages. These may include issues of power and identity for the individual, such as a feeling of marginalization as an immigrant, or a threat to gendered identity as a mother, as a single woman, or as a wife. Investment in a new language may also be affected by the interests of children and other family members if those interests are more valued than those of the individual (Norton 2000:120-122). Similarly, Ushioda (2006) has noted that a learner's motivation for L2 may be linked to the amount of support available in the target language community. According to Ushioda, power imbalances affect a learner's capacity to practice the language within the target language community, and this causes significant problems in "the degree to which an individual 'invests' in an L2" (Ushioda 2006:153). With regard to ELT in Indonesia, many of these deleterious cultural, institutional, societal and power factors come into play. In my study, I will embrace the notion of investment to explain how investment affects the teachers' professional identities, their motivations, attitudes, experiences and beliefs.

As will be outlined below, Norton's notion of investment has proven extremely useful to many researchers. However, she does have her critics in Price (1995) and Menard-Warwick (2005). Price argues that Norton's interpretation of one of her subjects contradicts her assertion that identity is fluid, and that there is no evidence that "Martina's interests change as a function of ongoing discursive practices." (Price 1995:332). Norton defended this criticism, stating that it was possible that if Martina had been followed for longer than twelve months her identity as mother may well have displayed some fluidity (Menar-Warwick 2005). Despite this, the same criticism is taken up by Menard-Warwick who concluded that, "the contradiction between fluidity and continuity remains undertheorized in Norton's work" (Menard-Warwick 2005:260). However, Menard-Warwick goes on to say that, "her 1995 article raised vital questions

about language learning, power and identity, many of which were taken up by later authors" (Menard-Warwick 2005:260). The number of empirical studies listed below evidences this.

Whilst the notion of investment is relatively new in the language learning literature, having being introduced and developed by Norton (1997, 2000), a number of empirical studies have applied the concept to various contexts, including Chinese learners and classroom learning (Arkoudis and Davison 2008; Gao, Cheng and Kelly 2008; Norton and Gao 2008; Trent 2008); learners and classroom identity (Leung, Harris and Rampton 1997; Morgan 1997; Schecter and Bayley 1997); learners, citizenship and identity (DaSilva Iddings and Katz 2007; Gao, Zhao, Cheng and Zhou 2007; Piller 2001; Stroud and Wee 2007); learners, agency and identity (Lin, Wang, Akamatsu and Riazi 2002; Ushioda 2006; Xu 2005); language policy and policy responses (Clapson and Hyatt 2007; Clarke 2007; Dudzik 2007; Parmer 2007); language teachers and teaching issues (Flowerdew and Levis 2007; McDonough and Chaikitmongkol 2007; Tembe 2006; Yamchi 2006); and language learning and socio-cultural context (Clemente 2007; Tarone 2000).

Most relevant amongst these are studies by Lin, Wang, Akamatsu and Riazi (2002), who explore investment together with the issue of the learners' identity and agency; Xu (2005), who examines learners' investment together with identity and self confidence; and Ushioda (2006), who discusses identity and autonomy. Even though these applications of investment examine the learning context where the language functions as L2, or where the language functions as a foreign language but in a context where there are opportunities available for a learner to practice the foreign language in the target language community, they nevertheless provide insights that are directly relevant to my research.

Lin et al (2002) examine the conceptualization of 'investment' and its relationship to 'agency' and 'identity' (Lin et al 2002). The study examines the life stories of four proficient English learners. It was found that the issues of agency, ownership and identity have a strong connection to English learning investment. For instance, Lin (one of the authors) recounts that her investment in English was derived from her motivation to pass examinations, to obtain good

results, as well as to fulfill her obligation to please her parents. To achieve these goals, she maintained contact with overseas pen pals thereby gaining interaction with adults from different socio-cultural groups. Riazi (another of the authors) recounts that his investment in English was due to his strong desire for higher occupational status – from technician to university English major and then in turn to expert in English (Lin et al 2002). These life stories exemplify the results a learner can achieve through investment in English.

A second study by Xu (2005) found that the notion of investment was more useful than the concepts of motivational type from earlier studies (including instrumental and integrative motivation). To understand learners' motivations in her doctoral project on advanced English learners from China., Xu (2005:14) drew on Norton's notion of investment in examining how the learners form self-confidence in learning and communicating in English by exploring the learning experiences of three Chinese sojourners. She follows their language learning journeys, beginning in mainland China and extending to their living experiences in Australia. Norton's notion of investment helps her to understand how the respondents' interactions with other people in English shaped their self-confidence as both learners and users. She found that there is a connection between the learners' initial experiences with English in China and their understanding and interpretation of new learning experiences in Australia. Xu argues that the three learners are different in terms of how they perceive their learning experiences due to the variety of events they face. This in turn affects how they understand themselves and build self-confidence. Xu regards this as a manifestation of how learning English is dynamic, differs from one person to another, and is an accumulative process of individual investment in the language (Xu 2005:vi). The learners in Xu's study experienced different English language learning settings, first, as EFL learners in Mainland China, and then in Australia, where contact with an English speaking community is available. Norton's notion of investment allowed Xu to give a more accurate description of how these learning experiences affected the learners' self-perception and self-confidence.

In the studies outlined above, Norton' notion of investment has been applied to contexts where language learners have contact with the target language

community. My study, however, addresses how Norton's notion of investment applies in the context of learning English as a foreign language in Indonesia. In particular, I focus in Gorontalo where there is minimal availability of resources to enhance a strong engagement in communication with the target community. In this context, the notion of investment is important for in-depth exploration of the underlying factors, not only of motivation, but also of attitudes, experiences and beliefs. The notion of investment is drawn on to document teacher's desires, approaches, and commitment to learning through their two formative learning stages in high school and teacher training college.

The sense of agency and empowerment: As learner and as teacher

Recent important studies on the socio-cultural dimension of second language learning (Lantolf and Pavlenko 2001; Lin et al 2002; Pavlenko 2002) have recognized the critical role of the learner in the process of learning a language. The learner's role as an agent in taking action and putting effort and commitment into learning the language is crucial to success. This leads to the question, 'to what extent does agency as a learner influence teachers' thinking and thus empower them in their practice?' This section aims to review two things: the concepts of agency and empowerment, and how these concepts specifically apply to teachers over their learning trajectory from their early learning experiences to their professional development as teachers.

A sense of agency is considered to be embedded in human beings and has been widely recognized in past research to distinguish persons and animals. For example, Taylor (1977) posits that human beings are able to self-reflect and perform self-evaluation which does not occur in animals. Bandura (1997) further explains that this sense of agency begins in early infancy. Agency is demonstrated by being able to act on something and have control of it. Through the development process, the infant must gain self-recognition in that they can reflect upon what they can and cannot do and any resulting consequences of their action. According to Bandura the nature of a sense of agency is an intentional action of an individual in order to achieve his or her goal.

This implies that the human sense of agency is a person's capacity to act; it is being empowered to do thing. Clark, Hong and Schoeppach (1996) in their review of the term empowerment say that this term has experienced a wide range of shifting interpretations. Historically, the meaning of empowerment originated from the historical view of the word 'power'. The idea of Kreisberg (1992) is that a common understanding of an individual possessing power is 'power over', thus representing an individual, institution or group's domination over another in terms of having power to control others' thoughts, beliefs and values (Clark et al 1996:596). They further conclude that this kind of relationship is structured by unequal social position, such as from a superior to their subordinate.

The interpretation then moved to an understanding of empowerment that referred to one's own capacity to act on something. For example, Ashcroft (1987) has referred to agency in this sense – as an individual's power to do something, citing the idea of Dewey's (1916) that individual power refers to one's ability to act on something. Ashcroft (1987:143) then concluded that, "an empowered person …would be someone who believed in his or her ability/capability to act, and this belief would be accompanied by able/capable action". In addition, Lightfoot (1986) aligns the concept of empowerment with opportunities to exercise autonomy; a person does something, is responsible towards it, has a choice to do it and has authority over it (see also Clark et al 1996 for this discussion). This new perspective of a human being as an agent suggests that the term 'empowerment' can now refer to an individual's personal capacity to do something, and is not related to other external factors, such as social and political power. In other words, "an empowered person's final satisfaction is in their condition" (Clark et al 1996: 597).

The personal approach to empowerment can apply to language learning, particularly with regard to an individual's capacity to influence the learning process. Lantolf and Pavlenko (1995, 2001) have discussed a language learner's sense of exercising agency based on the concept of activity theory (derived from Vygotsky's theory of the mind). Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) state that human thinking and action cannot be separated from each other and individual acts are a result of the thinking process combined with cultural factors. Narrowing this

concept to the activity that may occur within the language learning classroom, they argue that students may engage in the same activity but their response and cognitive gain is not the same as they all have different motivation and histories (Lantolf and Pavlenko 2001). A learner's response and cognitive gain depends on their engagement, effort and commitment to the process, which is a reflection of their empowerment.

There is a close interconnection between Norton's notion of investment and Lantolf and Pavlenko's concept of the agency of a language learner. As discussed in an earlier section, Norton suggests that the notion of investment "conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires" (Norton 2000:10). This has been identified by Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001) in their study explaining that agency is linked to "motivation, more recently conceptualized by Norton Pierce (1995), to action and defines a myriad of paths taken by learners" (Lantolf and Pavlenko 2001:146). Lantolf and Pavlenko further suggest that in the process of exercising agency, a language learner is more likely to experience "a long, painful, exhaustive and, for some, never-ending process of self translation" (Pavlenko 2000:169). At the same time agency is also considered to be a kind of relationship a person builds involving the process of renegotiating and reconstructing other factors in their living environment and "with society at large" (Lantolf and Pavlenko 2001:148).

The sense of agency and empowerment during one's experience as learner may be maintained and expanded when he or she becomes a teacher. Maeroff (1988) has also linked empowerment to a teacher's professionalism and the level of a teacher's confidence in teaching. In a sense, a teacher who has the power to exercise his teaching craft with high level of confidence and applies himself with effort will be seen to be, and "treated as professionals" (Maeroff 1988:6). Zehm and Kottler (1993) add additional insights and claim that a teacher's professional development does not stand by itself, but is shaped by external factors. They suggest that the personal development of a teacher can significantly affect the teacher's confidence and thus strengthen or weaken the teacher's capacity to control other factors that may take place both within school and outside.

I will draw on the notion of teacher development affecting empowerment when examining teacher's formation as learners particularly concerning teachers' learning trajectories in this study. The concepts of empowerment and agency relating to both learner and teacher will be useful for my investigation of the process and nature of teacher's formation as learners. I will explore in what ways and to what extent the teachers demonstrate a sense of agency and empowerment during their learning journeys in high school and in teachers' college, and whether a sense of agency and empowerment during their learning journey impacts upon their attitudes, beliefs, experiences and approaches as professional teachers.

Language teachers and identity

The study of language teachers and their identity has significantly increased over the years under the umbrella of applied linguistics. Varghese, Morgan, Johnston and Johnson (2005) have suggested that there are two possible reasons for the increased recognition. The first is the changing view of the teacher's role in the classroom. There is a growing understanding that rather than being a passive conduit for the transmission of knowledge via prescribed methods, the teacher is a vital part of the classroom dynamic and a key element in successful learning outcomes. The teacher's identity plays an integral role in classroom practice, thus a teacher's identity could affect learning outcomes. The second reason is investigations into the socio-cultural and socio-political dimensions of teaching, such as the influence of gender or race has set the stage for the idea that a teacher does not play a neutral role in teaching, but rather that their role is influenced by their relation to others, such as their students and their living context. These factors have significant influence in shaping the teachers' identities which then influence practice (Varghese et al 2005:22). Varghese et al further conclude that if we want to understand teaching, we should understand the teacher and in order to understand the teacher we should have "a clearer sense of who they are: the professional, cultural, political, and individual identities which they claim or which are assigned to them" (Varghese et al 2005:22). This perspective of teachers' identities has influenced my study in that it has helped me to shape and interpret my data. The next section outlines theories used in understanding the

shaping the identity of language teachers before discussing some studies that have been done in this area.

Central themes and theoretical perspectives: The construction of identity

There are several theoretical perspectives that clearly help my understanding of the nature and process of teachers' formation as English learners and teachers, and its relation to their professional socialization and identity development will be discussed in this section.

The concept of identity is a combination of several factors that form and shape an individual. Brewer and Gardner (1996:390) point out "the concept of identity is central to the idea that connectedness and belonging are not merely affiliations or alliances between self and other, but include fundamental differences in the way the identity is structured". This means that individual difference is also considered as crucial component in the shaping of an identity. In extension to an identity of a teacher, Stout (2001:201) defines teacher identity as "a teacher's sense of a unique self as differentiated from others in which it has created a renewed interest in the individual, relational, and collective aspects of self". This resonates with Markus and Kitayama's (1991) analysis that a teacher's identity forms a relationship between the teacher himself or herself and others, including a group or community.

In conceptualizing identity, three underlying tenets have been emphasized in recent theoretical perspectives on identity (e.g., Gergen 1991; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain 1998; MacClure 1993; Sarup 1996; Varghese et al 2005; Duff and Uchida 1997) and are worthy of highlighting. First, identity is multiple, shifting and in conflict. This means that identity is not a fixed thing, stable and coherent but rather having "multiple, a site of struggle, and subject to change" (1995:9). One may experience the change of his or her identity due to their relationship with others including one's relations to the world and environment, choice, language and practice that can constantly impact on the change, form and reform of one's identity (Weedon 1997:33). Moreover, the sense of agency has become a central component to be considered through this

tenet of identity formation which involves the process of understanding the self and others "as intentional beings" (Varghese et al 2005:23). This understanding of human agency is seen as a part of the concept identity and also has been strongly recognized by Norton (2000) and Weedon (1997).

Second, identity is not context free, but is crucially related to the social, cultural and political context (Duff and Uchida 1997). According to Varghese et al (2005), in understanding this concept, the integration of the two types of identity – assigned identity and claimed identity – is vital. They draw on Buzzelli and Johnston's (2002) distinction of these two types of identities in relation to an individual's understanding of themselves: 'assigned identity', that is the identity given or imposed by others, and 'claimed identity', that is, the identity claimed for one upon himself or herself (Buzzelli and Johnston 2002:106). Related to teachers, the assigned identity, is the identity given to the teachers due to their role as English teachers, and the 'claimed identity' is the identity claimed and/or understood by the teachers regarding themselves. Furthermore, Ottensen (2007) says that the identity of a teacher is characterized by the way a teacher understands themselves through their own view and imagination of self. In this study these two concepts of identity, assigned and claimed, will be used to analyze teachers' professional formation as learners and professionals and how these impact on their engagement and approach to practice including their response to curriculum change. This will be gathered through the teachers' own conceptualization of their stories and experiences as learners and as teachers.

Traditional culture and society expectations are also closely bound with this second concept of language teacher identity: that identity is not context free. Relating to this concept, I will also take into consideration Setiadi's (2006) and Niode's (2007) concepts such as 'the sense of belonging', 'the influence of parents' voice', or authority figures. These influences may colour a teacher's motivation for learning English during their formation and the learners'/teachers' institutional contexts all impact on identity (further discussed in the next section).

Finally, identity is constructed, maintained, and negotiated "to a significant extent through language and discourse" (Gee 1996; MacClure 1993 cited in Varghese et al 2005). Buzzelli and Johnston (2002:106) in their discussion have

42

further added that this theme refers to identities "are not simply internal, unchanging characteristics; rather, and crucially, they are discursively constructed, maintained, and negotiated".

I have discussed the three tenets of identity which are widely recognized in recent theories and empirical studies (e.g., Gergen 1991; Holland et al 1998; MacClure 1993; Sarup 1996; Varghese et al 2005; Duff and Uchida 1997) and all of these concepts are appropriate to be used in the study of language teachers' identity as they can guide researchers to be of aware and consider both internal and external factors that form teachers and their lives outside the classroom and hence impact on their identity as professionals. In the next section I will consider multiple perspectives in understanding the construction of identity in relation to language learning and teaching and teachers.

Multiple perspectives in identity construction

This section will review several dimension or theories used in the literature in understanding an individual's process of identity formation. This will include, but not be limited to: socio-cultural identity, national identity, personal identity, professional identity and collective identity.

Socio-cultural identity

There are various aspects in the formation of identity, such as 'social identity' (Morgan 2004), 'cultural identity' (Norton 1997) and 'socio-cultural identity' (Duff and Uchida 1997). Cultural identity refers to identity through belonging to a group, community or nation who share many things in common including values, customs, beliefs and attitudes (Demirezen 2007). In addition, according to Petkova (2005), it is not easy to differentiate between social and cultural identities. Social identities are interrelated social structures and attributes (gender, family, profession, hobbies) while cultural identities are linked to certain cultural groups or communities (ethnic, regional, religious).

The difficulty in drawing a discrete distinction has given rise to the term socio-cultural identity. Socio-cultural identity recognizes the relationship between an

individual and other people in the socio-cultural network, including family, community and society, who probably share the same common language, the same ethnicity and the same ways of life. School is also the other socio-cultural network, which may also become a prominent factor in the construction of identity, including teachers' identities as professionals. Pennington (2002:1) states "every teacher wears a number of different hats, and every teacher's identity involves multiple influences". In addition, Pennington mentions that the aspects of teachers' attitudes, knowledge and skills are important in the construction of professional identity among TESOL teachers (2002:7).

Scholars such as Kubota (2001), Norton (1997) and Pennycook (1994, 2001), for example, claim that in the exploration of the socio-cultural and socio-political dimensions of teaching, there are many aspects of identity important in the teaching of language. These aspects of identity cover race, gender and sexual orientation. Teacher identity firstly develops when student teachers enter teacher education. Further, during classroom practice, there is another process of teacher identity development that takes place, the development of a 'professional identity'.

National identity

In many countries, language plays a vital role in shaping a national identity. One owns his/her national identity because of the use of the national language. Demirezen (2007) indicates that the use of a standard national language has greatly impacted on the shape of one's national identity, as it is the most widely encountered symbol of nationhood functioning as the nation's identity. In the case of Indonesian speaking people, most have owned a strong national identity since Indonesian was declared as the national standard language in 1928. Since then, Indonesian has been officially used in schools, offices, banks, government and any other formal institutions throughout Indonesia. The most important role of Indonesian affecting its development is its status as 'the linguistic vehicle of national unity' (Alisyahbana 1975). It functions, in fact to unify the various ethnic groups with different languages and cultural backgrounds into an Indonesian nation. In relation to this, EFL teachers in Gorontalo seem to have strong national identity and allegiance to the Indonesian language. This may

impact on the development of their professional identity in the Gorontalo context and impact to English teaching practice.

Personal identity

Personal identity is one of the types of identity that also plays an important role in the process of forming professional identity. Liebkind (1999:141) differentiates two important components of identity, personal identity and social identity that are crucial in understanding an individual's self image. The concept of 'self', as referring to personal identity, cannot exist by itself; rather it is socially developed. This concept is in line with Mead (Mead 1934 cited in Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop 2004), who claimed that 'self' can only exist in 'a social setting'. For example, the relationship between one's own personal identity and one's attachment to the language/s one uses is necessarily bound up with broader social attitudes to the language/s in question. Shaping one's personality and learning to explore himself/herself occurs in the development of a personal sense of language.

Ethnic identity

The other identity affecting the development of teacher identity, especially language teacher identity, is ethnic identity. In many places where some ethnic groups live together, their ethnic identity can be identified by the ethnic language they use. Demirezen (2007) refers to ethnic identity as 'a sense of belonging to a group'. Demirezen further explains that a person's development of allegiance to an ethnic language results from the individual experience of living in a group and sharing the collective consciousness of common ancestry features of the same language variety. The sense of belonging, as part of the ethnic group, is often identified by the ethnic/local language or dialect. For the EFL teachers in Gorontalo, they not only deal with their national language, Indonesian, but also their ethnic language/dialect as they face more complexities with their multiple layers of identity during their teaching and learning of EFL.

Professional identity

In literature on teachers and identity, the professional identity of a teacher may be viewed as the most important aspect of identity to consider. Johnston, et al

(2005:62) look at the case of an EFL teacher teaching English in Japan and argue that whilst there are several fundamental tensions concerning teacher identity, including the "dynamics of cultural identity and professional identity", professional identity is the most powerful. The teacher's identity begins in teacher education, and according to (Pennington 2002) during classroom practice this identity develops into that of a 'professional identity'. Professional identity matures throughout individual development and formation, beginning with vocational training for the profession and continuing as a lifelong process (Pennington, 2002). Therefore, a teacher's socialization, behaviour and maturation as an individual can shape their professional identity.

There are two types of professional identity: prior identity and current identity. Current professional identity derives from the prior professional identity. Formation of the prior professional identity occurs during the initial stage of pre-service education. After a certain amount of teacher education, EFL teachers reach a stage where they are expected to continuously improve their teaching and classroom practices. Specifically, they are expected to implement certain innovations ranging from models of teaching and learning to final exams and study profiles. They are also expected to increase collaboration and participation within the school. This requires teachers to continue to develop and learn professionally thus developing a professional identity. In her study, Alsup (2005:6) argues that "forming … a professional identity is central in the process of becoming an effective teacher". Factors that contribute to the shaping of teachers' professional identities are the focus of this study.

Studies of teacher identity

As teacher identity is seen as an important component in determining how language teaching is played out, there have been an increasing number of studies devoted to the topic of language teacher identity (Carson 2005; Demirzen 2007; Duff and Uchida 1997; Johnston 1999, 2003; Malm 2004; Morgan 2004; Pennington 2002; Steensen 2008; Varghese 2000; Webb 2005). Among the studies some have considered teachers' socio-cultural identities and classroom practice in relation to expatriate teachers and ESL teachers (Duff and Uchida 1997), how identities are developed in the teacher education context (Varghese

2000 cited in Varghese et al 2005), teacher's identity as a form of pedagogy (Morgan 2004), and teachers' collaborative research in understanding self-identity development (Webb 2005). These studies have provided insights for this present research in understanding teachers and their identity formation, especially the influence of socio-cultural values and student-teacher relationship development in classroom practice.

These studies have predominantly looked at the issue of language teacher identity when English is a teacher's native language in an ESL context (e.g., Morgan 2004), when English is either a teacher's native language or a foreign language in an EFL setting (e.g., Duff and Uchida 1997), and secondary school teacher identity development in their native (western) context (e.g., Webb 2005). In contrast, this research focuses on the issue of language teacher identity in a quite different context: in a relatively remote part of Indonesia – Gorontalo Province, a context where the teachers concerned had previously been learners of English as a foreign language and then later had themselves become teachers of English as foreign language. The focus of the investigation is the teachers in terms of their attitudes, beliefs, experiences, and how these influence their approaches to their teaching practice, and, subsequently, provide an understanding of the shaping of the teachers' identities as professionals.

Factors affecting the development of language teacher identity

To be an effective English teacher is not easy because they go through experiences and acquire beliefs and knowledge that influence and challenge the shape of their professional identity. The development of this identity begins in pre-service education and continues in training service. Factors that affect identity can be socio-cultural, motivational, socio-economic and educational.

One of the factors that has a significant influence on the shape of professional identity is the socio-cultural factor. Family, society, and community groups play an important part in teacher development and they maintain the teacher's professional identity during the whole process. Norton (1997:57) in her study found that

An EFL teacher experiences a huge shift in social and cultural relations when they start learning a new language in the EFL and ESL settings and become EFL teachers in school. The discovery of self for language learners and teachers often occurs with others' recognition of who they are.

For the case of EFL teachers in the Gorontalo context, they not only experience a huge shift in socio-cultural relations when learning English, and learning how to teach English, but also the huge complexity of how to deal with other identities, such as personal identity, ethnic identity, national identity and gender, as they assume the role of English teacher.

In relation to socio-cultural factors, gender, race and religion may also play an important role in the construction of teacher identity. In the Indonesian context, a man has multiple identities through his socio-culturally defined roles as a husband, father, head of family and breadwinner, whilst a woman has strong expectations through her obligations as homemaker and primary caregiver (Errington 1990; Katjasungkana 1991; Istiadah 1995; Robinson 1999; Wagemann 2000). This perspective influences the shaping of a teacher in terms of his/her professional identity and approach to practice.

Identities and expectations, whether culturally imposed or not, can have an affect on a teacher's motivation with regard to their work. Cardelle-Elawar, Irwin and Lizarraga (2007:569) argue that there should be a systematic understanding of the motivational factors that affect teachers, not only by examining the way teachers choose teaching as a profession, but also how they stay in teaching. They claim that 'teacher motivation is critical to effective teaching' (Cardelle-Elawar et al 2007:569).

Socio-economic factors could also be linked to motivation as they are significant in influencing the professional identity formation of a teacher. In identity formation, West (1992 cited in Norton 1997: 410) argues that identity is not solely linked to the desire for establishing social/ethnic affiliation and recognition, but also to the desire for accessing what one can do materially, that is, to build up and improve one's socio-economic condition. Dewi (2007:2) states that there has been lack of appreciation given to teachers including English teachers, as can be seen from various parameters, such as salary and

acknowledgement of expertise. In addition, some Indonesian scholars have pinpointed poor teacher remuneration as one of the factors that causes the failure of English language teaching in Indonesia (Sadtono 1979; Dardjowidjojo 1997; Nur 2004). Poor remuneration seems to diminish teachers' welfare and could negatively impact upon teachers' commitment and their motivation to improve their professionalism and thus have a detrimental affect on their professional identity.

Revisiting Norton's theory of investment

Norton introduced the notion of 'investment' to language learning theory to better understand motivation. In constructing the notion of investment she includes the relationships of 'power', 'identity', and 'language'. She defines the notion of investment in terms of "the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practise it" (Norton 1997: 411). She suggests that investment "conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires" (Norton 2000:10). The notion of investment relates to this study in that it is useful in unpicking how aspects of the socio-cultural context impact on learners' desires and approaches to teaching English whilst also acknowledging the commitment and effort required to learn English. This study measures investment in high school, through to teachers college, to teaching practice. Because Norton includes the notions of "power" and "identity" in the notion of investment, it is possible to consider factors that might affect investment that fall outside of the realms of instrumental motivation, such as experiences in high school, parental or authority figure influence, role models, gender identity, religious values and family responsibilities.

An important consideration in reflecting on investment in this study is that the target language is not readily available to respondents. This means that some of Norton's assumptions do not apply in this case. For example, she says 'investment' assumes that when language learners communicate with the target language community they are continuously shaping and reshaping who they are and how they themselves relate to the world socially. In the specific case of

English language learners in Gorontalo, the opportunity to interact with the target language community is minimal, and the capacity for direct interaction with native speakers to continuously reshape who they are does not apply. However, increased use of L2 in the classroom and engagement with English texts and non-native speakers outside the classroom can ameliorate this lack of direct contact by giving the language learners more confidence in their ability to communicate in L2 and therefore influence their identities.

Norton also assumes that when a learner invests in a language, he/she makes this investment with the understanding that he/she will obtain a variety of symbolic resources (language, education and friendship) and material resources (capital goods, real estate and money), which then enable the learner to improve the value of his/her cultural capital. Norton further explains that as a result, the learner looks forward to a good return on the investment and access to new opportunities and other advantages (Norton 2000:10). The assumption here also is that the language learner resides in the target language community. This is not the case in my study so once again the return on investment is less direct. While some learners of English in high schools have in mind the rewards that learning English can bring in Indonesia (a secure job, gaining high status), the rest simply see it as a compulsory subject to endure. The material reward for learning English for a high school student in Gorontalo is not as immediate as the reward if that same student were living in an English speaking country.

Despite the differences in two major assumptions, Norton's theory of investment remains extremely relevant and helpful for this study, as it allows for considering a wider scope of influences on identity than the narrower concept of motivation and accounts for a learning context in which not all factors are under the learner's control. Thus, the teachers in this study are not seen as mere deliverers of information in a classroom, but as rounded people with their own histories, strengths, weaknesses and views.

Contexts and Culture in EFL

This section discusses two important aspects that may affect teachers' beliefs and attitudes in teaching and learning English in Gorontalo. The first aspect concerns traditional values and beliefs through culture within the context of Gorontalo. Since, the term 'culture' has been increasingly displaced by the term 'discourse' within post-structuralist studies, I will include a discussion of the two terms and their use within the study. The second aspect that influences teachers' attitudes is their beliefs regarding a government civil service job. These are discussed in the following sections.

Understanding culture as 'discursive practice'

Individual's expectations and values cannot be ignored in a study of social phenomenon such as this project. Acknowledging Holmes (2006), who draws attention to the risks of making generalizations about individuals, groups or communities within specific contexts, I believe that there are values and expectations (which may be referred to by some commentators using the term ' culture') that are locally grounded within a society and which may influence educational choice at a broader level. As the term 'culture' can be problematic now being increasingly displaced by the term 'discourse', preliminary discussion of both terms and how they will be used in this study will firstly be addressed. In social science research the way culture is described and conceptualized can become problematic for a number of reasons. One of the reasons is the difficulty of pinpointing a precise definition of culture. There is a risk of simplistically interpreting the generalized behavior of a group, which Clarke and Otaky (2006:112) explain as "a static, synoptic thing". They further argue that "human capacity akin to our abilities to create and use language and other tools of the mind even though the particular forms it takes will inevitably be shaped by historical, cultural and social factors" (Clarke and Otaky 2006:120). When describing lifestyles, moral codes, and communication exchanges within a group there is a danger of overgeneralizing and discounting individual variants and outliers within the group. A static description of a group's activities gives an

inflexible view of a way of life that may not necessarily accurately reflect the constructed nature of the group, which may be far more elastic with regard to internal variants, including subcultures which can be produced and created, and even adjusted by individuals.

An example of a highly regarded scholar who has regarded the notion of culture to be essentialist and static is Geert Hofstede (1980, 1994, 2001). The cultural values Hofstede distinguishes between a collectivist society and an individualist society in his foundational work on a range of countries, including Indonesia, has been both cited approvingly and also roundly criticized for establishing empirical foundations for measuring national culture. Among the critics of Hofstede's theorization of national culture are McSweeney (2002), Clarke and Otaky (2006), McConaghy (2000) and Phillips (2007).

McSweeney (2002: 91), in particular, describes Hofstede's treatment of national culture as "implicit; core; systemically causal territorially unique; and shared." McSweeney points out that Hofstede was so convinced of the causal properties of culture that he described it as "software of the mind" (Hofstede cited in McSweeney 2002:91) implying that an individual was programmed by their culture to behave as their culture dictated. Similarly, Clarke and Otaky (2006); McConaghy (2000); and Phillips (2007) all criticize Hofstede's conceptualization of the notion of culture as static and essentialist.

The assumption of national cultural determinism seems to have attracted the most criticism from proponents of the view that national identity is socially constructed. When one talks about national identity, it is useful to recognize that there are differences in ways of life, modes of acceptable conduct and values and these may be noticeable as varying between races and nations. On one level such differences may be noticed by any world traveler. For example, the differing standard dress codes between Arab and western communities, or the predominance of patriarchal cultural values in a patriarchally structured society may be observed. However, to describe those differences as static and immutable, as Hofstede has done, is untenable. Unlike Hofstede's (1980, 1994, 2001) conceptualization of culture which stems from a 'top-down' approach, my discussion recognizes that local context may influence teachers' beliefs and

attitudes in language learning and teaching to varying extents and in varying ways. In doing this, I am taking the position that traditional values, beliefs and expectations in a society are not constant, static or uniformly shared by its members, and people's conduct within society depends on how they discursively construct and locate themselves in relation to a wide range of different factors that may include their understandings of traditional values, beliefs and expectations. Following this position, the term 'discourse' will be further explored in the following section.

The notion of 'discourse' sidesteps the pitfalls of a deterministic paradigm that is assumed often within usage of 'culture', while enabling a discussion of how different individuals position themselves in relation to traditional values, beliefs and expectations within a social group. Yet, the notion of 'discourse' is also loaded and can be confusing and elusive (Clarke 2008: 15) and like the term 'culture' requires careful definition before it can be used productively in analysis,. As Mills (2004:1) explains, discourse, like culture, has become one of the most widely used terms in Social Sciences and Education disciplines, but "it is frequently left undefined". Thus, careful definition of discourse is required to clarify its use. Mills (2004:3) remarks upon the elusive definition of discourse stating that:

> Within the theoretical range of meanings, it is difficult to know where or how to track down the meaning of the term discourse. Glossaries of theoretical terms are sometimes of help, but very often the disciplinary context in which the term occurs is more important in trying to determine which of these meanings is being brought into play.

Despite the possibility of confusion, the notion of discourse has gained increasing prominence across a range of disciplines.

The value of the notion of discourse is that it opens an understanding of culture as dynamic. This can be found from the argument of Clarke and Otaky (2006) to a study based on Hofstede's theorization of culture, which they critique as being too limited. In a study of reflective practice among student teachers in the United Arab Emirates, Richardson (2004) has argued that reflective practice is not an effective approach because it is ' incongruent' with the values of Arab Islamic

53

cultures (cited in Clarke and Otaky 2006:111). In response, Clarke and Otaky (2006) suggest this view is superficial because the study draws only upon Hofstede's (1994) limited theorization of culture. Importantly, they argue that "culture can be usefully understood as a never-finished site of competing historical and social discourses, rather than as a received set of beliefs and values" and they stress "the given and the possible" instead only "the given" (Clarke and Otaky 2006:120). Their explanation identifies that discourse enables a richer understanding of expectations and values within a society.

Discourse and context are both represented in the language used within groups within a particular community context. Introduced by Michael Foucault (1972), the concept of discourse enables cultural and sub-cultural groups to be analyzed in terms of the language used within them. An examination of exchanges between subjects within groups can shed light on institutions and their practices. Of particular concern to Foucault was "its power to structure, classify and normalize the social world" (Schirato and Yell 2000: 58).

Discourse, however, always operates in a specific context. It is noted in literature that all discourse occurs within a context, regardless of whether it is an educational, legal, religious or another discourse. "Discourses never exist in isolation " (Schirato and Yell 2000:59). Other scholars have also emphasized the interplay between discourse and context. "Discourses are always produced in a context and cannot be understood without taking context into consideration" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997 cited in Phillips and Hardy 2002:4). Phillips and Hardy (2002:5) state that in order to connect discourses and social reality we must "make reference to the social context in which the texts are found and the discourses are produced." This means that it is both difficult and possibly misleading to analyze discourse without referring to the environment in which it occurs.

To do this requires reference to traditional values and beliefs, also referred to as traditional cultural values. These are the values and beliefs that are quite widely held and shared within the social context in which the interviews were conducted, the social context experienced by the teachers both as learners and as teachers. Discourse will be the lens through which the analysis is framed when I

look at the teachers as individuals who are discursively constructing and locating themselves in relation to their understandings of traditional values, beliefs and expectations. In this thesis the utterances are not of particular importance when assessed individually. But how teachers position themselves discursively through their claimed beliefs, attitudes and experiences when they talk about themselves as learners and as teachers will be taken into account in the discussion and analysis. This will help me to understand the teachers and how their 'discursive practice' operates within the context in which they live and work.

Whilst this project aims to employ the notion of discourse in analyzing responses to perceived traditional values, beliefs and expectations in the context of Gorontalo, there has been no research on Gorontalo values and culture that has located these explicitly in terms of the notion of 'discourse' and as "a never finished site of historical and social discourses" (Clarke and Otaky 2006: 120). Therefore, I will be using the research available to me in combination with my cultural insider knowledge (the term 'cultural insider' is explained in detail in Chapter 3) to describe the context within which the teachers developed from English learners to English teachers. To do this, I will draw on the work of Setiady (2006), an Indonesian psychologist and lecturer at Atmajaya University and Niode (2007), a sociologist specializing in Gorontalo society and a lecturer at Gorontalo State University, when discussing Gorontalo society, its values and their contribution to the shaping of teachers' identity formation.

Traditional values, beliefs and expectations in the Gorontalo context

There has been very little formal research conducted in Gorontalo with a view to understanding the structure of society and family values, beliefs or expectations within society. This study is one of the first qualitative studies to consider how cultural dimensions of Gorontalo social life may impact on people's ways of understanding and locating their own life and professional experiences and attitudes. My approach allows an understanding that different people engage differently with values, beliefs, behaviors and expectations. In the case of the teachers in this project, for example, they might engage with those values, beliefs

and expectations to varying degrees depending on ways they construct what is important to themselves.

One of the strongest traditional cultural values recognized in Indonesia widely is the connection or bond between members of a group or community. Setiadi (2006), who portrays Indonesia as a changing, yet traditional family oriented society, outlines that strong bonds are found throughout Indonesian societies. More specifically to Gorontalo, Niode (2007) has stressed that strong bonds occur in Gorontalo society where social interactions between members rely on these relationships. In relation to this value, Jacobs (1979) explains the bonds of empathy which he calls 'particularistic ties' are found in East Asian culture that build up the strong connection between people from the same origins or with a shared social experience such as in the workplace, village or school class. In addition, in relation to my position as a cultural insider, which gives me the right to make 'a local claim' (Joseph 1996:110), I observe that one of the ways these bonds are maintained and strengthened within Gorontalo society is through what I recognize as 'a sense of belonging'. A sense of belonging is rooted in family structure in Gorontalo and is manifested in almost every aspect of life within the community. The concept of *gotong royong* (translated by me literally as 'to help each other') is a common traditional cultural value among Indonesians and is strong between Gorontalo people (Niode 2007). What that means and how it is practiced by the teachers within their contexts is further outlined below.

The traditional value of concern for other people's needs is found in the concept of *gotong royong* within the society of Gorontalo. A key message imbued in this concept is that something difficult can be more easily endured if its responsibility is carried together by those sharing a bond. This is manifested and delivered through social activities both for sad and joyful matters. For example, if there is a member of the community who has passed away, others will unite to help support the grieving family by taking care of what needs to be done and providing emotional and material support. This notion is also implemented in community activities such as development work on public facilities and public cleaning. Maintaining and strengthening enduring bonds between members of the

community enable them to develop a sense of belonging through their participation in community activities.

Bonds are not only formed within community activates. Within the family, which is almost always an extended family consisting of three or more generations, this feeling of belonging to a group is more pronounced. Children are socialized into a family structure that aims to build a sense of belonging. Children learn that each member should look after the others. For example, if one of the siblings moves house or undertakes further education, the responsibility for support is not only carried by the parents, but also by other mature sibling/s who are able to take on a responsibility. Responsibility might also take the form of addressing the economic needs of a member of the family. For example, finding employment for an individual concerns the needs of the family not only the needs of the individual. The concern of family members for each other can outweigh personal needs in terms of helping the family member to get a job. Siblings may be very strongly convinced of the importance of a particular job that is considered promising for another sibling, although it is not the preferred job of that sibling. Based on my personal experience living in Gorontalo, it is also not uncommon to find that an extended family member, such as an uncle or aunt, will sell their property in order to help meet their extended family's needs. This is particularly evident if it is related to educational costs within the family. It shows that the fulfillment of the family's needs is more important than personal needs as every individual is seen as part of the group.

Another traditional expectation that appears strongly in Gorontalo society is giving respect to elders both for inside the family and outside the family in the community. In the family, children are taught to respect their elders. This perspective is rooted in a patriarchal system which is often found within Indonesian cultures (Setiadi 2006), and it is also manifested within the traditional community values in Gorontalo (Niode 2007). Within the custom of respecting one's elders, authority is usually held by parents over children, men over women and the elder over the younger

A custom of respecting one's elders can be particularly applied to parents' roles in their childrens' lives. One of the important factors is the expectation parents

have of their children which has a crucial role in their academic achievement. Within family structure in Gorontalo, parents have an influential role in their children's education. Parents are regarded as being entitled to make decisions for their children, and are also responsible for their children's emotional and financial success (Niode 2007). Based on my personal experience of over thirty years of living in Gorontalo (I was eight years old when my family moved from the island of Maluku to Gorontalo), I have found that despite the variation that might take place through the community as a result of technology and Gorontalo's social and economic development, this custom is strong. Both older relatives in the extended family structure and the parents are very concerned about their younger family members' needs.

Older people in Gorontalo have a strong view that they are responsible for their children's and younger relatives' welfare and to ensure they enjoy a good life. In Gorontalo, parents are usually responsible for the children's financial and emotional support regardless of whether the children are mature enough to live independently. Such a phenomenon is not law, but it is however a strong traditional cultural influence. For example, it is very common to find a married couple living with their parents because they are unemployed or are not financially independent. Alternatively, couples who are financially independent, may still live with their parents or have their parents look after their children while they are working.

In addition to the responsibility of elders for their younger family members, there is a belief that unmarried children, regardless of age, would stay in the same house with their parents as it is regarded to be the most appropriate and secure place for them, even if they are an adult, already have a job and can afford to support themselves. As parents always feel responsible, they aim to ensure their child's needs are fulfilled and always try to provide both emotional and financial support even for their adult children. Further, it is not surprising to hear that even parents with very low incomes might take out a loan to help their children financially even though the children may be old enough to solve their own problems. Thus, in Gorontalo, children either rely on their parents or elders to

make decisions in their best interests, or are compelled to comply with decisions made for them whether they agree or not.

In this section, I have outlined some traditional values, beliefs and expectations from Gorontalo that are pertinent to the thesis discussion. In the following chapters, the analysis and discussion will take into account how the teachers engage with values, beliefs and expectations as learners and as teachers. The next section introduces and elaborates on the significance of government civil service employment in Gorontalo and how it means for Gorontalo people and for the teachers as the government civil servant.

Government civil service in Gorontalo

The second traditional cultural influence is the enduring belief in the value of government civil service jobs. This section introduces and elaborates on the significance of government civil service jobs in Gorontalo to provide a clearer understanding of the scope of the teachers' formation as learners and professionals in this study. As I explained earlier, there is very little formal research conducted in Gorontalo about understanding Gorontalo people and their attitudes and beliefs. In my discussion, I will build on Niode's (2007) explanation of the value of government civil service for people in Gorontalo.

Historically, in Gorontalo, being an *abdi negara* (translated literally as civil servant) or government employee, is seen as the most prestigious job with the highest status (Niode 2007). For one to be a civil servant in Gorontalo also meant that the person was successful and "an educated person" (Niode 2007:93). This historical influence has been passed down from the older generation to the current one. As a result, this influence may become an underlying factor in education and career decisions. In addition, I suggest that this belief may have been derived from the benefits of a civil service position which caused the job to be so highly desired. Firstly, this type of position is considered more secure than many other jobs. Working in private companies or running a business both involve risks which do not occur in the government sector. This is because, once a person has been appointed as a civil servant, the person's future is thought to be

secure in terms of the legitimacy of the 'appointment letter' (called an "SK" *Surat Kerja* in Indonesian). The SK is certified by the Central Government in Jakarta and means the person is entitled to the job for life, with all rights and services including salary, sick leave and superannuation, regardless of performance (Atmanto 2005). It is very rare to hear of a civil servant being terminated, unless there has been an extreme violation which cannot be tolerated by the law or rules governing the civil service.

Indonesian civil service positions not only benefit the individual. Having a child who is a civil servant is seen as an icon of success for the parents and the extended family as this is recognized by the entire community as a desirable job with very high status or *abdi Negara* (Sartono Kartodirdjo 1994:105 cited in Sawali 2007). In Gorontalo, this may be the reason why parents can put extreme pressure on their children to become civil servants. However, it is not surprising to hear that within an Indonesian context, the process of entering and passing the selection stages for a civil servant position is not necessarily based on merit, because 'quality' is not seen as a priority to pass the selection criteria (Kusharwanti 2008). The process may also involves what Indonesians term as *sogok*, or 'dirty money', or what in the West is termed as 'bribes'. To sum up, civil service positions are highly desired by most Indonesian families (Adhiwicaksana 2006), including families living in Gorontalo where such jobs are considered as high status (Niode 2007).

The significance of government civil service employment for families in Gorontalo is the second of the two traditional cultural influences discussed in the previous sections, with the first including a number of values, beliefs and expectations within the Gorontalo society. These influences inform the later analysis and discussion of teachers and their practice in relation to their identity development, agency and empowerment as professionals.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed the terms related to teachers' cognition – such as beliefs and knowledge – that are often confused or conflated. Because of the

difficulties in clearly differentiating the terms, through the discussion I have taken the position that they are best used interchangeably to denote teachers' cognitions. The first section also identified concepts regarding teachers' beliefs and the source of those beliefs. The second section addressed the broad issue of motivation in language learning and teaching ranging from psychological perspectives, encompassing: integrative and instrumental motivation, and intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, to a new approach in understanding motivation, Norton's notion of investment. The third section reviewed the literature covering teachers and identity as it concerns the process of teachers' professional identity development. Some key tenets necessary to better understand teachers and their identity development, including cultural and contextual factors which may influence the shaping of teachers identity, were also addressed in this chapter. The review has resulted in a deeper understanding of a set of attributes which are comprised of teachers' beliefs, knowledge, and teacher's investment in learning and teaching. These factors may influence a teacher's decisions and attitudes in everyday educational practice, thus they are central concepts in understanding teachers and their professional formation in this study.

However, there is a gap in the current literature, notably, a lack of consideration of multiple perspectives (cultural, contextual and social) in understanding teachers and their beliefs, attitudes, and approaches to practice. The focus has been on motivation and language learning, while factors that contribute to identity development as professionals have been neglected. In addition, while teachers' identity development is well studied in a western context, it has been largely ignored in Indonesian contexts. This is unfortunate, as studies contributing to a deeper understanding of English language teaching issues in an Indonesian context would be invaluable given that to date, English language teaching in Indonesia has been considered unsuccessful.

In conclusion, when analyzing my data in Chapters 4 to 8, I consider theories discussed in this chapter. I take into account that theories, such as Norton's notion of investment, Duff and Uchida's notion about identity, are not context free. Traditional values, beliefs and expectations as well as the concept of

government civil service may contribute to the discursive practices of the teachers in their understanding and locating of themselves both as learners and as teachers. However, before turning to this analysis I will introduce and discuss the methodology adopted in the study.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The aim of this study is to understand how teachers' professional formation impacts on their approaches to, and engagement with, their practice as English teachers in Indonesian high school classrooms, including their responses to English curriculum reform. This chapter will discuss the underlying principles and processes used in this study. The first section of this chapter outlines the nature of qualitative research and discusses data collection and data collection events. The second section of this chapter discusses the issue of 'inter-subjectivity' to consider the relationship between the researcher and the researched, which has been widely integrated within recent discussions of qualitative research.

Qualitative research

Guba and Lincoln (1994) label a research paradigm as a set of beliefs that provides an understanding about how a researcher's views of the world can help the researcher to choose some fundamental ways of doing research. For example, the research paradigm is related to the research method, the ontology (the nature of reality) and the epistemology (the nature of knowledge and what constitutes knowledge) of research (Guba and Lincoln 1994:105).

The paradigm chosen for this study is constructivism, which is also used interchangeably with interpretivism (Guba and Lincoln 1994, 2005; Mertens 1998; Bogdan and Biklen 2003). This research paradigm is under the broad umbrella of qualitative study that views the world as having multiple realities with emphasis on meaning and integration of values as facts. This differs from a quantitative research paradigm which has an empiricist /naïve realist worldview which corresponds to the facts of reality and theory of truth and thus falls under the paradigm of objectivism (Guba and Lincoln 1994). Moreover, this objectivist

paradigm views the researcher as needing to be independent and objective in his/her relationship with the respondent, with he/she being is expected to be able to study the research object without being either influenced by or influencing it. As the researcher is the primary instrument in this case, this approach necessitates incorporation of strategies in order to avoid bias so as to ensure the validity of the study (Guba and Lincoln 1994:10). It is the contrasting constructivist qualitative paradigm which adopts quite a different approach by strongly taking into account the nature of relationship between researcher and researched and assumes and openly acknowledges how this affects the data gathering, the approach used, analysis, data interpretation and hence the overall study results (Joseph 1993, 1996; Bogdan and Biklen 2003).

In the early stages of this research, I was influenced by the distinction between these two paradigms to begin my study under the constructivist paradigm. Conducting research under this paradigm involves taking into account multiple realities with emphasis on varying meanings derived from differing underlying values, beliefs and perceptions. Within this paradigm, I can approach my research based on the view that the teachers, their thoughts and insights are embedded in a dialectical interaction with their cultural contexts and the environments where they live and teach. As Merriam (1988) explains the constructivist view sees reality as not being an objective construction, but rather as "a function of personal interaction and perception" (Merriam 1988:17). In addition, Guba and Lincoln (1994:110) have emphasized that the understanding of reality within the constructivist paradigm is

> apprehend-able in the form of multiple, intangible mental constructions, socially and experimentally based, local and specific in nature (although elements are often shared among many individuals and even across cultures), and dependent for their form and content on the individual persons or groups holding the constructions.

These perspectives emphasize that since reality is independently perceived by the individual, it is subjective. How the person views the world could be influenced by a range of contexts and factors: where one lives, accumulated knowledge, experiences, beliefs and attitudes. Based on the constructivist paradigm, therefore, I define this research as a 'focused qualitative study', grounded in

interpretative theory or a 'constructivist paradigm', in which to understand particular actions, such as teaching, learning or breadwinning, as "the inquirer must grasp the meanings that constitute that action" and this can only be achieved through "the system of meanings to which it belongs" (Schwandt 1994:191). Thus the statements made by the teachers have been interpreted by me drawing on my knowledge as a cultural insider. At first glance it may seem that this method of research lacks transparency. To be sure that I had interpreted the teachers' meaning correctly, I would often ask for clarification, "what do you mean by that?" and the second interview was often used to clarify statements in the first interview. In addition, I presented my results at The International Conference on English Language Teaching (4th February 2009) in Gorontalo Province. Interviewees attended my presentation and there were no objections to my interpretation of their meaning. So, though interpretive theory may seem to lack transparency, it is possible through the sort of 'member checking' that I engaged in to ensure the analysis has as much interpretative integrity as can possibly be achieved under this paradigm.

This research was generated by my curiosity regarding the phenomenon of English teaching in Indonesia, which has generally been understood as a failure, rather than a success (see Chapter 1). My study focuses on understanding English teachers in the Indonesian context, particularly in Gorontalo, and explores which factors have contributed to the shaping of the teachers' professional formation and identity development. This, in turn, may influence their roles as facilitators in learning and teaching in high school classrooms in Gorontalo. In engaging in this study I am working from and influenced by my own position as an English teacher, and now English lecturer in Gorontalo, by trying to gain an in-depth understanding of how the teachers today make sense of their own experiences and practice.

Data collection and data collection events

Data for this qualitative study was collected from in-depth interviews (conducted from September 2005 to March 2006) following approval from the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee. The interview gives the

researcher a chance to encourage the participants to develop and express their feelings, attitudes, expectations, and insights. It can allow the respondents to talk about their thoughts and to do this "with greater richness and spontaneity" (Opie 2004:11). Interviews can take different forms depending on the requirements of the researcher: structured, semi-structured, or unstructured. In this study the interviews were in the form of semi-structured in-depth interviews. This provides a more natural environment for the communication and clarification of ideas, whilst ensuring that broadly the same themes are covered for each interviewee.

I restricted my data sources to teachers only as this enhanced the trust between the teachers and myself as the researcher. I would not have been able to obtain the same level of information from teacher interviewees if they had known I was interviewing their Principal or their students as well. There are limitations with the in-depth interview method if it is completely unstructured. These include difficulty in analysis and the tendency for an interview to "go off course" thus limiting the amount of useful data obtained. Opie's (2004) suggestions regarding the preparation of a range of questions and a possible interview sequence has also been adopted. There is also the problem related to a tendency of interviewees to exaggerate/dismiss or lie about concerns in order to save face or preserve harmony. This can be partially addressed by allowing the subjects to remain anonymous. In any case, it is critical that the identities of the respondents remain anonymous for the purpose of the study. For example, in the Gorontalo school system, an English teacher in either city or rural areas would be easily recognized, therefore pseudonyms were used to describe each respondent (see Table 3.1 for the interviewees' profiles).

Interviews were conducted through face-to-face interaction in a series of two separate interviews with each teacher, which ran for approximately 1 hour per interview per person. The purpose of the first interview was to give the participants the chance to talk about their desire to become English teachers. This session was also used to elicit the teachers' stories of their investment in English from when they were learners in high school to when they were advanced learners as student teachers/pre-service teachers or as. This data provided important information about teachers' early formation so it could be considered

how this influenced their perspectives as teachers. In the second interview, the researcher continuously explored teachers' stories of their approach to and engagement in practice including their views on several key aspects within their work and lives. Across the two interviews the following broad thematic areas were covered:

- Interest in becoming an English teacher, including personal history and experiences in learning English in high school

- Experiences and perception of pre-service training

- Beliefs and attitudes towards language learning, including attitudes specifically towards English

- Perceptions about own teaching responsibilities including towards professional development

- Beliefs about culture and language learning

- Perceptions about Gorontalo culture and condition for English learning in Gorontalo

- Perceptions about the changes to curricula and their role in relation to curriculum change

- Suggestions for improving English language teaching

- Perceptions about the attitude and involvement of government in promoting English teaching

Please see Appendix 2 for detail of the topic areas covered and the prompt questions used (both in English and Indonesian) in the in-depth interviews.

Ideally the space of time between the first and second interviews was planned to be from three days to a week in order not to lose the connection between the two. Yet this expected interval did not happen for all the interviewees as sometimes this pattern was not be able to fit in with the respondents' timetables (see Appendix 1). The space of time given is beneficial, however, as "this allows time

67

for the participant to mull over the preceding interview" (Seidman 1998:15). While time for taking notes was integrated in the session, each interview was recorded so that the researcher would be able to authentically absorb the data (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight 2001:171) The interviews were carried out in a comfortable atmosphere, such as in a café or place chosen by the interviewee (for example the language laboratory when it was not being used). Both researcher and respondents believed that this accommodated the interviewees in expressing their thoughts and opinions freely.

The participants were given the option to be interviewed in English or Indonesian, because they share similar language and cultural background to me. In addition, I can also speak the local Gorontalo language and this sometimes was used during the data collection. Though the respondents were given the option to use English, they all chose to communicate predominantly in Indonesian with occasional expressions from Gorontalese and English. The ability to communicate in all of these languages impacted on my relationship with the participants, an issue that will be further discussed in 'inter-subjectivity section' in this chapter.

Gorontalo: The Teachers in Context

To understand teachers and the factors involved in their formation and the influence this has had on their identity development, it is necessary to understand the context where the teachers live and work. In this section, I will briefly describe Gorontalo and its population including its linguistic context, narrowing to the position of English in the society as a whole and in schools.

Gorontalo, located on Sulawesi Island with a population of approximately 900,000 (2003 census), is one of the newest provinces in Indonesia, being created in 2001. The primary tribe or ethnic group living in the province is the Gorontalonese, while the remainders are a mixture of Buganese, Javanese, Chinese, Balinese, and others spread throughout the one municipality that is divided into five districts. Based on the 2003 data, 57% of the population works in the agricultural sector and the rest derive their livelihoods from trading,

communication, transportation, industry and many other smaller sectors (Department of Transportation, Post and Telecommunications, and Tourism, Gorontalo Province 2007:3-4).

There are several religious beliefs recognized under Indonesian Law: Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism. In Gorontalo, about 90% of the population is Moslem and the rest are divided amongst the other three religions.

People in Gorontalo often use 'Bahasa Indonesia' as their daily language, as is the case in other regions throughout Indonesia. Indonesian functions as the lingua franca amongst Gorontalonese and other ethnic groups. In addition the local language (Gorontalese) is also popular among the population, but is more widely used by people in rural areas than in the city, though the use of the local indigenous language is still very noticeable in the city. English, which is positioned as a foreign language, is rarely used in daily communication. However, in recent years there has been a significant increase in the number of people trying to introduce English, including a rapid growth of private English courses available for young people and business people throughout the province. In addition, as there has been an increased number of people being selected for either domestic and overseas scholarships, interest in learning English has been further encouraged. Apart from this, English is still recognized as the most prestigious language to learn because of its position as the international language of business. At schools English is taught as one of the five compulsory subjects, which are English, Bahasa Indonesia, Mathematics, Science and Social Science. English teaching in secondary high school holds a similarly important position to the other four subjects. It is allocated four, 90 minute sessions each week for Grades Ten and Eleven for students in science, social science and language programs.

As Table 3.1 illustrates, 20 high school English teachers working in a cross-section of urban and rural high schools (six in total) in Gorontalo Province, Sulawesi, Indonesia consented to participate in the study. The twenty teachers, consisting of eight males and twelve females, were all experienced teachers and having between 11 to 25 years teaching experience. All had received their teacher training at the local teacher training institute (IPSTE Gorontalo, now

known as the State University of Gorontalo), and had completed a four-year undergraduate degree in Education with English as one of their specializations. One of the teachers (Ariyanto) had also completed a Master in Education by coursework at a university in Java. The twenty teachers I interviewed average similar class hours (about 12 hours/week) in their teaching. Each of the teachers taught both Grades Eleven and Twelve. As seen in Table 3.1 below, the twenty teachers are spread between urban and rural schools. In general, the condition of urban schools and rural schools is slightly different in terms of resources, facilities and students' socio-economic background. The urban schools mentioned consist of four schools in the capital city. Two of these schools are the most prestigious high schools in Gorontalo city while the other two high schools have lower status. There were two rural schools from which teachers participated. In general, urban schools and rural schools, on average, have the same English teaching facilities available in terms of the number of tape recorders, laptops, videos, English teaching cassettes, internet, CDs and VCDs. There is, however, a disparity in that only three of the six schools have a language laboratory. Language laboratories are located in the two urban schools and one of the rural schools (see Table 3.1 for the teachers' locations and access to a language laboratory).

Table 3.1: Teachers' Location, Years of Service and Facilities

Pseudonymous Name (Sex/Gender)	Place of appointment	Years of Service (12 hours/week)	School Description	Availability of language laboratory
Amir (M)	Gorontalo City	14 years	Prestigious	Yes
Ani (F)	Gorontalo City	20 years	Prestigious	Yes
Arifin (M)	Gorontalo City	14 years	Prestigious	Yes
Ariyanto(M)	Rural	20 years	Rural	No
Deni (M)	Rural	20 years	Rural	No
Emi (F)	Gorontalo City	20 years	Lower status	No
Farida (F)	Rural	14 years	Rural	No
Harun (M)	Gorontalo City	25 years	Prestigious	Yes
Hendro (M)	Gorontalo City	13 years	Lower	No
Lian (F)	Gorontalo City	12 years	Prestigious	Yes
Lisa (F)	Rural	14 years	Rural	No
Maryam (F)	Gorontalo City	14 years	Lower	No
Muna (F)	Gorontalo City	25 years	Lower	No
Nina (F)	Gorontalo City	20 years	Prestigious	Yes
Nola (F)	Rural	14 years	Rural	No
Ray (M)	Rural	12 years	Rural	No
Rima (F)	Rural	13 years	Rural	No
Widi (F)	Gorontalo City	14 years	Prestigious	Yes
Yeni (F)	Rural	14 years	Rural	No
Yusuf (M)	Rural	12 years	Rural	Yes

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed following steps and guidelines suggested by Seidman (1998) and Miles and Huberman (1984). Data was transcribed in the original languages of recording in order to preserve the original meaning as far as possible. After transcription the data was reduced and displayed in relation to the broad sections of interest before being closely scrutinized, marked and tagged to identify emerging themes that could be related back to the teachers' profiles. This was achieved by taking relevant responses from the respondents' narratives and allocating them to categories relevant to the broad questions. This tabulated data then was further scrutinized for patterns and regularities which would form the basis of themes. Once themes were established, they were able to be related back

to respondent profiles; conclusions were then drawn from the data, which could be compared and contrasted with current theory regarding teacher beliefs, attitudes and the teachers' identity development in their workplace. As the data from classroom observation was minimal, any classroom observation notes were used to complement the interview data, but not to substantiate it due to the reasons explained further below. Relevant sections of the interviews were translated into English by the researcher for inclusion as examples to illustrate themes in the analysis and discussion.

Observation Data

In order to add a different perspective to the data obtained through interviews the researcher also regularly recorded field notes during the data collection. This included observations of the staff room environment, how the staff interacted with one another and the researcher's impressions of the interviewees in their school environments, and in some cases, also at home. Data gathered from class observation, where available, was also drawn on to inform the analysis (see Appendix 3 for the formats used in recording classroom observation and school visit).

The class observations aimed to investigate the teachers' activities and classroom practices to determine the links with their beliefs and attitudes towards language learning and learning English, in particular. Through observation, the researcher aimed to have opportunity to study what actually happens in the classroom, and whether it is consistent with accounts related by participants within the interview sessions. Observation is an appropriate technique to support the data gathered from the interviews and will provide a check for a relationship between the two.

Unfortunately, I was not able to do this successfully, and this is one of the limitations of this study. Most of the teachers delayed their permission to allow me to observe their teaching practice. I assumed this was because they felt uncomfortable upon realizing they would be observed and, therefore, in their minds, their teaching practice would be judged. In addition, culturally, people, including teachers in the Indonesian context, often feel less relaxed when being

observed in what they are doing. As a result, I was only able to observe the classroom practice of four teachers (Muna, Yusuf, Ani and Emi). The analysis of this observation data was combined together with the teachers' views when I discuss the teachers' views regarding their practice in Chapter 7.

I have begun in this chapter by discussing why my study is counted as a qualitative one, and I have introduced the paradigm that I am basing my study on as well as explaining the research method, and approaches to data collection, and introducing my teacher participants. In the next section, I will discuss in detail the nature of inter-subjectivity and the relationships between my respondents and myself as researcher in this study.

Inter-subjectivity in research

How researchers construct themselves during fieldwork activity within qualitative research methodologies has significantly increased as an area of debate. A focused qualitative study, such as this, necessitates discussion of the relationship between researcher and respondent because they interconnect in multiple ways and can affect method, theory used and the epistemology of the study, as well as affecting the data gained, the data analyzed and the interpretation of the data (Joseph 1996, Bogdan and Biklen 2003). During my research I encountered many problems related to inter-subjectivity. These problems and my solutions to them are addressed in the following discussion.

In their studies, Berik (1996), Joseph (1996), Wolf (1996), and Soucy (2000) have pinpointed how factors such as race, class, ethnicity, power, the position of a researcher, and cultural values within society, including the issues of gender and age hierarchies, are central affecting the relationship between the two parties, from the researcher to the researched or vice versa. For example, Wolf (1996) and Soucy (2000) have indicated that highly educated Caucasian westerners who are doing their fieldwork in a foreign culture and working with informants who have a different level of educational background may experience difficulties in building a good relationship with informants. But this does not mean that those who are of the same race and equally educated as their subjects of research do

not face difficulties in the building of the relationship. In fact, the difficulties are multifaceted in fieldwork settings (Wolf 1996).

Wolf (1996) specifically points out that gender differences can also become a critical factor in terms of a researcher collecting the data. Gender differences often create more problems for female fieldworkers than for male fieldworkers. For example, women who have worked in some countries in the Middle East and South Asia have had to adjust to local cultures and tradition, by not engaging in direct eye contact with a man during the conversation as this is considered inappropriate interaction, or, have adjusted by adopting the special dress code of full body covering, which is dictated by that culture (see Wolf 1996:8).

While the issue of gender differences may create difficulties, it may also bring advantages for the female researcher. For example, female researcher, Suad Joseph (1996), uses the concept of 'patriarchal connectivity' to describe her relationships with her respondents during her fieldwork in Camp Trad in Lebanon. Joseph claims that becoming enmeshed in quasi-kin relationships with her informants favourably affected the data she collected, how it was collected, as well as her data analysis and the subsequent interpretation. The quasi-kin relationships Joseph experienced as a mature, female, 'insider' researcher were built on hierarchical structures of gender and age that are normally experienced within that cultural context. For example, Joseph's interactions with other women and other men in her research were governed by cultural expectations about how a mature woman should approach others. The context and associated influences on her interactions are comparable to those that I experienced within the hierarchical social structure in Gorontalo.

While Joseph has referred to her relationship with her respondents as 'patriarchal connectivity', Soucy (2000) suggests it is important to pay attention to sociological factors that emerge in the researcher's relationship with key informants regarding cultural capital in relation to power and authority figures, and how these influence what data is gathered and the interpretation of the data. I consider these two issues of patriarchal connectivity and cultural capital in relation to power and authority figures as critical in understanding my relationship as a researcher with my respondents.

Below is a discussion, drawn from literature, which outlines the relationship in this study of the researcher to those being researched, teachers in their school environments. The discussion explores the effects of the relationship between the researcher and the informants during the fieldwork. In particular, it explores the researcher's experiences, how relationships between the researcher, the teachers and school environment were built and shaped, and how this, in turn, affected the data collection method and kind of data collected as well as its interpretation and analysis.

Cultural capital and the authority to speak

Sociological factors, such as power accumulation, which have their root in the cultural values in a society, can have a significant effect on the research outcome (Soucy 2000). Soucy (2000), who studied religious practice regarding the interpretation of Buddhist rituals in Vietnam, says that a researcher may ignore this concept of power accumulation or 'cultural capital to speak' during their fieldwork activity, which in turn, has a significant effect on the result of a study.

The concept of cultural capital is best known through the analysis of well-known experts Bourdieu and Passeron, referring to its relation to pedagogic communication (see Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:71-106). This is echoed in Soucy's (2000) notion of cultural capital to speak in his discussion about problems he experienced with key informants in his study in Thailand. According to Soucy, cultural capital to speak refers to someone being regarded as an expert in a certain field, because of factors such as age, knowledge, experience and status. In terms of what may occur in a research context, Soucy claims that the cultural capital one has can bring the person into the position to have a right to speak on an issue needing to be explored or understood by a researcher. Conversely, others who do not regard themselves as being expert would show reluctance to speak more upon an issue.

Soucy (2000:184) gives a personal example dealing with his study. One day he was trying to approach a nun living in a Pagoda, who, according to him, knew more about the religious practice and ritual he wanted to discover. However, the

nun continually refused to speak more about the issue and always asked him to talk with Ong Le, the man, who was hailed as the expert in that field. This nun was reluctant to speak because she thought she did not have the cultural capital to speak, although according to Soucy she knew more than the man. Soucy further claims that the issue is not just about the person who is seen as the one who is knowledgeable and the 'philosopher' in that field, but is more complex relating to power and authority, which goes beyond the body of knowledge that a person embraces (Soucy 2000:181). This affects not just the data that can be gathered, but also data analysis because a researcher who has ignored this sociological factor does not embrace the social contexts and dynamics from which the explanation is shaped and given by the person. This might indicate that his authority to speak up is coming from the manifestation of cultural capital he has which is derived from cultural values within the society regarding age, sex differences, education level, and "the presentation of the self" (Soucy 2000:182). Beside the gender ideology between men and women and age hierarchies that are highly differentiated in a society, the educational background of a person and the way he may present himself as one who knows more greatly affects how he is seen as an authority figure.

When considering the dynamic between myself and the teachers I interviewed in my fieldwork, the cultural capital to speak was manifested because of age differences. In Indonesia, power is manifested through gender and age hierarchies (Istiadah 1995; Setiadi 2006). Particularly in Gorontalo, the issue of seniority is still highly pronounced, differentiated and manifests itself in every aspect of life, including both verbal and non verbal communication. The accumulation of power is represented through the interaction between the teachers across gender and seniority. For example, in Gorontalo, it is possible that the more senior teachers (of general subjects as well as English) have lower levels of education or less in-service training experience compared to the younger teachers. Despite this, the junior teachers are always trying to maintain the line that they are 'inferior' or 'powerless' in comparison to their seniors in order to show their respect and appreciation of their elders. During my visits to six schools, it was common to find this hierarchical system being played out inside and even outside the staff room. For instance, even if they were in the

middle of their conversation, the younger teachers would always end their conversation when a senior teacher approached.

In my informal conversation with the teachers in the staff room when I was attempting to create trust and a bond of empathy between us, it was apparent that when expressing their opinions or comments, the younger teachers often let the senior teachers express their opinions first or even allowed their seniors to dominate our conversation as a part of showing respect. Because of the age differences, the younger teachers thought that the seniors were more eligible to speak up than they were. Indeed, the seniors themselves naturally took this position for granted. The reluctance of the younger teachers to speak about teaching issues, as I clearly interpreted from their expressions and/or body language and gestures, also affected my relationships with them because of their assumptions that I was more experienced than them based on my age and educational experience.

The cultural capital to speak was also demonstrated in the power and authority differences between the male and the female teachers. On one of my early visits to a rural school, I engaged in conversation with four English teachers. When asking general questions regarding the school and the environment as a means of trying to create trust and empathy among us, often I found that the three female teachers always looked to the male teacher as an indication that the floor should first be given to the man - a manifestation that culturally, men, in terms of their role in society, are more powerful than women. This does not mean that women feel that they do not have knowledge but rather they consider that males have more authority to speak first than females, reflecting a society where hierarchical rank is strongly recognized, including the conception of females being positioned as subordinate to males (Istiadah 1995; Setiadi 2006; Niode 2007).

With an understanding of the impact of these issues, I was able to adapt my role, across gender and age differences, in the relationships I enjoyed with the teachers. This allowed me to 'shift roles' (Joseph 1996:114), so that sometimes I posed as a curious child, acknowledging the power and authority among the senior and the male teachers which encouraged them to speak more freely. However, on the other hand I offered a relaxed and supportive atmosphere for the

younger teachers so as to facilitate their feeling comfortable and empowered with the cultural capital to speak on their own. I was rewarded with more relaxed and open body language and an obvious fading of the initial hesitancy to speak. I am confident that the younger teachers eventually felt comfortable enough with me to converse freely both during the interviews and at other times during my visits to their schools.

Positioning self in research: Cultural insider and cultural outsider

There have been a variety of opinions expressed regarding the position of a researcher during fieldwork stages. Some researchers have said that being 'cultural insiders,' ones who study their own cultural group, is more beneficial because the position itself provides a more balanced view of the people under study. It also allows for a more engaged feeling and for intimacy to emerge during the study (Wolf 1996,) or in other words, it enables one to be immersed naturally with the people (Joseph 1996). This could also encourage respondents to talk more freely, which, in turn, could produce more natural and prolific data. Suad Joseph (1996) undertook her study with the Camp Trad people in Lebanon, near the Lebanese village in which she spent much of her childhood before she migrated to the United States. Joseph found that she slipped into the group and embraced the relationships naturally because she had internalized the same rules as they had. She further realized that engaging in friendship with the Camp Trad people provided supportive and insightful data for her analysis regarding "the shifting nature of sectarian identification through these highly inter-sectarian networks" (Joseph 1996:115).

Other researchers conversely claim that being 'outsiders' is more advantageous for them because they can be more objective and neutral. This enables them to be more sensitive and recognize patterns emerging in the study, while this would be difficult for the insiders as they are often so immersed with their study subjects (Wolf 1996). However, this does not mean that outsider researchers do not face difficult experiences because of their racial and national differences. For example, being an educational researcher within an unfamiliar cultural context must be a frustrating and overwhelming experience because the researcher would

need to encounter and deal with many different things pertaining to that context, such as language and communication style differences, including those that relate to gender. Berik (1996) explains that she had to be accompanied by her husband during her fieldwork in a Turkish village because the male villagers felt comfortable talking with a Turkish male while she could freely interview their wives at home when the husbands were busy talking with her husband.

The position of the researcher being either an insider or an outsider may have additional implications for the data gathered. For example, in some group contexts, there are sensitive issues that are preferably and more comfortably discussed with people who do not come from the same cultural background. Wolf (1996) cites the test conducted in a female-run study of women in Chicana, pointing out that the different position of the researchers affected the data outcome. The study was duplicated by two researchers; a Chicana woman (an insider) and an Anglo-Saxon researcher (an outsider). They did the same study with all the same procedures and found that the Chicana women were more comfortable talking with the outsider about private matters such as the function of female body and sexual issues, whereas they kept silent on these topics with the Chicana researcher. Conversely, they were more open to discussing and articulating their views regarding 'discrimination matters' with the Chicana researcher than with the Anglo-Saxon researcher (Ti Xier Y Vigil and Elsasser 1976 cited in Wolf 1996:15).

Some researchers, such as Abu-Lughod (1991), Zavella (1996) and Hsiung (1996) have rejected the dichotomy of insider and outsider because it can restrict the flexibility of multiple positions, which may have been adopted or experienced by a researcher along their own personal journey. For example, a researcher's positioning may be influenced by various factors, such as, by dual identity or living in and/or experiencing a different culture. Yet, according to Wolf (1996:15), the most important thing is that a researcher would be able to deal with 'positionality', where the researcher has to construct and/or reconstruct their self in order to fit the expectations of the research setting.

In relation to my fieldwork, I mostly have played the role as an insider; one who has been taught and has subsequently internalized the same cultural values, who

speaks the same language, and is of the same profession as the respondents in my study. As a result, I felt my relationship with the teachers blended naturally. However, having lived in a foreign country, Australia, for some length of time, (two years previously when I was doing my master degree and then again for approximately 14 months before returning to Gorontalo for data collection), I feel this has lead me to adopt multiple positions during the fieldwork stage, thereby affecting the nature of the data gathered, the manner in which I collected it and its analysis and interpretation. All of these will be discussed further throughout the following section.

The culture of patriarchy and Indonesia

In Chapter 2 when discussing the concept of 'culture' and 'discourse', I am taking the position that traditional values, beliefs and expectations in a society are not constant, static or uniformly shared by its members, and people's conduct within society depends on how they discursively construct and locate themselves in relation to a wide range of different factors that may include their understandings of traditional values, beliefs and expectations. However whilst acknowledging this, I have observed that there are dominant values and expectations that are locally grounded within a society and which may influence my relationship with the teachers during my fieldwork.

In literature, Indonesia is widely recognized as a patriarchal society (Errington 1990; Katjasungkana 1991; Berninghausen and Kerstan 1992; Istiadah 1995; Robinson 1999; Wagemann 2000; Setiadi 2006; Marching 2007). A community with a patriarchal system reflects the power domination of gender and age hierarchies, in which women and juniors are in a subordinated position to men and seniors (Berninghausen and Kerstan 1992; Istiadah 1995; Joseph 1996).

Joseph (1993, 1996) observed how traditional values and beliefs within the patriarchal society structure of Camp Trad, Lebanon was manifested in the relationships she observed between people. In Camp Trad everybody cared for each other's feelings and thoughts, being closely engaged emotionally and seeing others as 'the conjunction of themselves' (Joseph 1996:118). This sense of

belonging and intimate feeling amongst each other, however, maintains and reinforces the highly regarded lines of demarcation between gender and age, where it is taken for granted that some people have more power than others. The power of men and elders over women and juniors may be strongly evident in a community with a patriarchal-based structure (Joseph 1996; Irwin 1990), and though in some patriarchal countries men's power and authority is more demonstrated and noticeable than that of elders but this does not necessarily interpret the same ways by individuals.

The power of seniority and gender differences are also widely recognized in Indonesian society (Katjasungkana 1991; Istiadah 1995; Setiadi 2006), and this is evident in the context of Gorontalo (Niode 2007). In particular, in educational contexts, for example a school, it is a common phenomenon that a young teacher will frequently consult with a senior teacher before delivering a class whether or not the consultation is required. People who come from a different cultural background, might think that this young teacher has a good relationship with the more senior teacher, or, this behavior may alternatively be interpreted as a lack of competency, in that the young teacher cannot make his/her own decision without consultation. Actually, this is not the case. In a hierarchical society like that of Indonesia, this kind of relationship, where there is a gap between these two people because of different status, legitimizes the power itself. This highlights that respect and honour given to people who are considered superior to their subordinates, specifically males and elder people, is essential because they are the ones who are supposed to protect and care for those below them in the patriarchal relationship (Joseph 1996).

The culture of 'indirection' demonstrated within the communities of patriarchy may be delivered both through verbal and non-verbal means (Joseph 1996; Levinson 1983). For instance, it would be considered rude and inappropriate to show disagreement with an idea or opinion, although it is false. As recognized by Joseph (1996), this tolerance only makes it possible to express disagreement through indirect ways that do not hurt the person's feelings.

Different communication styles may reflect different norms for interaction as practices within a specific cultural context. As mentioned above, it appears the

communication styles within a patriarchal society are distinguished by indirect communication (Joseph 1996; Hall 1997). The culture of indirection is strongly demonstrated when people are expressing their beliefs, their thoughts, and discussing sensitive matters (Joseph 1996:116). Joseph found that the expressions delivered were often full of multiple meanings, were unclear or hidden, and were expected to be understood by the people to whom they were directed. She also found that sometimes misinterpretation did occur within the interaction. She describes a particular conversation she had with Hanna Jusif (one of her key informants) who misinterpreted her excitement and appreciation for the hospitality of another family, the Kurakies, as expressing a desire for a dinner invitation from his family.

Joseph's (1996) illustration of indirect communication in a patriarchal society has been supported by others. For example, portraying his support, Levinson (1983) claims that those whose cultural backgrounds are from a predominantly patriarchal society often communicate in indirect ways compared to members of cultures with lesser emphasis on hierarchy within social structure, who tend to express their ideas and thoughts more directly. Hall (1976) defines people with this indirect way of communication as being characterized by high context communication where the meaning is implicit and expected to be inferred by the receiver. The meaning also can be delivered through the expression of the speaker's body language and gesture (Hall 1976:79). This implies that if there are two or more speakers in an interaction, there is an underlying assumption that the speakers would be able to understand and grasp the meaning of verbal and non-verbal communication from the context. This leads to the question: what if the interaction takes place among people who come from different cultures, or, among people who, while they have the same cultural background, have been separated and therefore have been living for a long time in other places? Would they enjoy successful communication and, if yes, to what extent would the communication succeed? In accordance with this Joseph (1996) implies that even as an insider in her study, she had to spend hours interacting with her neighbours during her fieldwork stage in order to capture the meaning of the indirect style of communication the people used to portray through the expression of their feelings, thoughts and 'actions' (Joseph 1996:116).This issue is important

regarding the inter-subjectivity relationship between myself and the teachers I interviewed.

Chen (1991) has indicated that in their interactions Indonesian people use an indirect style of communication. In addition, Brandt (1997; Tjitra 2001; Panggabean 2001 and Panggabean 2002 cited in Panggabean 2004) have also identified Indonesians as having an indirect communication style which can become problematic for their foreign business counterparts. Although there has been no formal study as yet regarding the issues of patriarchal values and communication styles in Gorontalo, based on my own experience as a cultural insider (one who has lived there for more than 30 years), and on the relationship I enjoyed with the teachers and schools, I have observed the same patriarchal values that Joseph experienced in her field study in Camp Trad. Gorontalo people often interact in an indirect way on the basis of mutual respect and empathy with each other and this is more strongly pronounced if the communication involves males and elders as authority figures within the society.

All the cultural values above intersected and manifested in my relationship with the teachers and had implications for my study in respect to what I regarded as data, how I collected it and from whom it was collected. These values also affected how I analyzed and interpreted the data.

Positioning myself within the context of Gorontalo

I was born in Ternate, in the northern part of the Maluku Islands in Indonesia. My parents moved to Gorontalo city in Sulawesi when I was eight years old. My family heritage is Arabic, though our ancestors have been living in Indonesia and have intermarried with indigenous Indonesians for more than 200 years. I was raised with patriarchal values, like any other Indonesian family in which male and elder dominance is recognized and predominant. I was taught to live with the local cultural traditional values, such as that women have to be feminine, show respect and behave well in front of males and elders. However, caring, loving and intimacy are integrated and naturally manifested in the relationship. Every family member is seen as part of the others and the family's honour is central and

is positioned above all. These all have become general patterns for Indonesian family traditions. Despite embracing these patriarchal cultural values regarding function, roles and the position of men and elders within the society, which have been embedded in my life experiences, my great keenness in reading books and magazines in my childhood and my experiences of living in Australia for five years for academic study, have affected my thinking and beliefs about the need for better education to reach greater success in life. Moreover, women's emancipation and the phenomenon of power imbalance across genders within Indonesian society, in general, and in Gorontalo, in particular, have increased my interest in education. Returning home to Gorontalo for data collection, I found my position as an insider because of the similarities between myself and the teachers, such as speaking the same languages, and having the same profession as an English teacher in the province, as well as having embraced and internalized the same local rules, helped me to be naturally engaged with the teachers and the schools (Joseph 1996; Lal 1996). It can be noted that as a person who is now studying overseas I have broader perspectives about globalization and localization, Anglo-European, South East Asian, Australian and Indonesian cultures. These have brought me to incorporate flexibility into my position so that I have the capacity to show more tolerance and respect in the cultural context without compromising my own principles and ideologies.

Inter-subjectivity and Compromise

Creating relationships with the teachers was important to the interviews. On the first days I visited the schools, I was faced with the phenomenon that almost all of the female teachers were wearing Moslem dress (called *jilbab* in Indonesia, which means an Arab-style dress covering all the body, including neck and hair, and is recognized as a typical dress suggested to be worn by a Moslem woman). In western literature this type of dress is called *hijab* (see Laborde 2006:351).

As a result of religious teaching regarding this issue, this fashion has spread in Indonesia, and particularly in Gorontalo, during the last seven years and has become dramatically more popular in the last 3 years. A common belief has spread within Gorontalo society that once a woman has come to the decision to

wear a jilbab, it would be very shameful if she changed her mind and went back to the normal dress she used to wear. Indeed, the woman is also going to be judged as one who is not committed to the decision being made, and as not being a good Moslem. She would also be seen as one who is neglecting her own religious values, which often has adversely affected the person, in the sense of 'losing face' within the society.

As a Moslem woman, I have not made the commitment to wear the jilbab. However, faced with the situation where almost every teacher at the schools where I was doing fieldwork was wearing the jilbab, I decided to adjust to the dress code by wearing a long dress with long sleeves to modestly cover the arms and the legs, and a headscarf to cover the head, though not all of my hair. I chose to wear this more flexible type of Moslem dress indicating a 'bargaining' decision I made for my environment and for myself. Indeed I was happy enough to wear that type of dress, since I had chosen to be part of the environment of the schools during my visits. This type of engagement I made also in order to build rapport and to develop bonds of empathy with the teachers I interviewed, teachers of other subjects and the administration staff. Building rapports and develop bonds of empathy which often considered essential issue in terms of the nature of the relationship between researcher and the researched within a qualitative studies also being incorporated within the methodology of qualitative studies (see e.g., Berik 1996, Wolf 1996, Joseph 1996, Tsui 2003).

Building rapport and developing bonds of empathy were also manifested through the language I used with the teachers which affected my research methods and data. For example, I often spent many hours in the schools' staff rooms. These are big rooms where all the teachers have their own desk. I would often be there in order to be closely engaged with all the teachers (both English teachers and teachers of other subjects) at the schools, which I found was a tremendously useful approach. Some of the teachers in my first visits at the schools were reserved and were suspicious of me, however when I kindly approached them by switching from Indonesian to the local language, I was successful in gaining their sympathy and acceptance.

Creating trust in order to develop rapport and bonds of empathy affected the data gathered and how I collected it. For example, to explore the teachers' thoughts and beliefs about their experience when they were student teachers in pre-service education, sometimes I initiated the sharing of my own experience: what and how I remembered things when I was as a student teacher that made me laugh, be joyful or sad. By doing this, I felt I successfully created a supportive atmosphere and encouraged the teachers to naturally take their turn to share their own experiences. Sharing experience and feelings was an advantage as we graduated from the same pre-service education institution. These bonds of empathy created intimacy which was very useful in building trust between each other. As a result, it seemed that the teachers felt free and comfortable to express their thoughts, emotions and views regarding various issues. In my fieldwork, I had the advantage of being a cultural insider and local teacher which allowed me to easily create trust and to be accepted by the teachers.

The culture of indirection

The culture of indirection played itself out in my relationship with the teachers. As mentioned earlier, I often visited the schools and spent hours in the teachers' staff rooms, which I thought of as a part of my engagement to develop bonds of empathy. In daily conversation held within the staff room, indirect communication often appeared both in verbal communication and through the body language and gestures which reinforced the sense of group belonging within the society between the teachers and myself. In front of me, one of the teachers told the others that she had passed my house and really liked the nice view around the house. The others responded that my house seemed like a nice place to pray. I understood that they indirectly suggested that they wanted to be invited to my house for a meal (usually taken after praying). The atmosphere was humorous and I responded that I was looking forward to listening to them pray in my house one day. This gave them the message that I appreciated their comments and would soon invite them. The indirect communication and hidden messages we sent to each other maintained and strengthened the close feeling we were developing.

The indirect communication also occurred when the teachers expressed their beliefs, thoughts and certain issues which were considered sensitive or critical. When expressing their frustration about certain authority figures who they thought had not been supportive of English programs and English teaching development, most of the informants shifted their statements to indirect modes, such as using body language or some local language expressions which communicated the hidden messages (Joseph 1996:116). This indicated their dislike of the person which I was expected to be able to understand. Understanding the culture of indirection assisted me in developing relationships with the teachers and in interpreting the meanings of their comments. In other words, the culture of indirection is linked to inter-subjectivity of relationships.

Patriarchal relationships

Patriarchal relationships intersected within my relationships with the teachers due to age and sex differences. Some of the teachers were in the same age group as me which made our relationships more equal and informal. We often talked to each other like we were close friends. We could easily make contact with each other through text messages. However with others who were older than me, the relationship was more formal and hierarchical. When talking with them, I was able to position myself as a junior and behave as a junior should behave and treat the elders in a way that indicated respect and appreciation. I remembered during my initial visits to a school in the city, there was one female senior teacher (Ani) who had viewed me with suspicion and seemed a bit reserved in her responses to me. I realized that the barriers between us may have occurred because of our age differences. It is also possible that my higher academic educational level affected Ani's thoughts and made her feel uncomfortable that I had more power than her (only one out of my twenty respondents had finished a Master's degree). Having said this, I kindly acknowledged her seniority and experience by saying that I was a graduate of the same school where she was then teaching and had heard about her arrival as a new English teacher at the time when I was still a student in my last term at the school. This approach had a positive effect on our relationship because after that Ani changed her attitude to be more open and friendly with

me. This meant that I had successfully sent her the message that I understood and appreciated her status as one who is senior and therefore more powerful than myself. Since then, I found that in a certain situation Ani placed herself in the position of an authority figure because of her seniority. An example of this is when we were in one room together with some of the younger teachers, and she created a distance between the two of us, as older teachers, and the younger teachers using both body language and stylistic choices in her spoken language. However, this distance did not occur when Ani interacted with other teachers the same age group as her. Joseph describes this power within a patriarchal relation as 'shifting and situational' (Joseph 1996:118).

Hierarchical relationships also occurred between male teachers and myself though with differences. When talking with male teachers I had to take into account that a female is expected to behave relatively reticently. In return the male teachers treated me in a way that a man should treat a woman in that culture. Despite not agreeing with the superior position of men within the society, I acknowledged this situation by recognizing this role and adjusting my position to successfully facilitate and maintain a good relationship. Yet this hierarchical position between the male teachers and myself varied. While some male teachers were more conservative in their ways and attitudes to women, others were modern and more flexible, which allowed me to shift roles to be more equal within the relationship.

Meanwhile, there were a few teachers younger than myself. Some were my ex-students before I went to Australia to undertake my Masters degree. Those teachers saw me as one who has higher status than them because of my age, my former position as their teacher and my academic qualifications. This hierarchical relationship between the younger teachers and myself gave me the chance to shift roles. When we were involved in an informal conversation in the teacher's staff room, they expected me to share my feelings about living and studying overseas that they regarded as a privileged experience. By sharing my feelings I tried to cultivate intimacy amongst us. I expected to be seen as an equal by them, or in other words, I shifted my role to be a friend rather than a senior.

The relationships between the teachers and myself affected my data analysis and interpretation. This is because as a cultural insider in this study, my intimate intensive relationships with the teachers and the school environment has lead me to believe that I am able to make local claims (Joseph 1996:110). My interpretation of issues about the structure of families in Gorontalo, cultural values within a family and decisions about employment, education and the future have been influenced by my insider experiences.

To sum up, I acknowledge that I have assumed multiple positions some reflecting my understandings as a cultural insider and others reflecting my outsider formation, in the process of data collection and interpretation. I have tried to be honest and open about these positions, and believe they have given me some advantages in undertaking the research I have played during the data collection process have given me various advantages. My approach brought me into naturally bonded relationships, despite my awareness of how I might have been impacting on the insights shared with me.

Chapter 4

Formation as Teachers:
Investment in English as Learners

A key focus for this research is to understand factors that influence teachers' formation as learners and as professionals by contributing to the shaping of their professional identity and through this to their approach to their professional practice as facilitators in improving learning. This will be explored through documenting and examining the contextual factors which influence the way they understand themselves and, subsequently, the way they approach their work.

The contextual factors are broad ranging and it is necessary to refine the meaning of the terms used. By motivation I primarily mean interests associated with internal factors, which are referred to as 'intrinsic' in some literature on motivation, that is arising from an individual's expressed personal interest or desire. When referring to external and environmental factors and their impact I will use the term investment as it encompasses how power hierarchies and social, political and economical factors impact on foreign language learning and the learner's experience in a way that is distinctive from an individualized and individualizing notion of motivation. Teachers will be referred to as having low or high investment and this expression depicts how they position themselves and understand themselves in relation to their overall enthusiasm for learning English as a result of a combination of internal and external factors. I will also refer to teachers' engagement with English, their profession or their community. I intend the term in its dictionary sense. For example, a lack of engagement is a lack of attraction to, and bonding toward, the element under discussion, whereas a strong engagement indicates an attraction to, involvement with and bond toward the element under discussion.

In this chapter, I will consider the English teachers' formation as professionals by examining their development in two stages: as English learners in high school and as advanced learners (pre-service teachers) in the English department completing their degree in education with an English major. It should be noted

for western readers that an education degree from IPSTE differs from a degree in education from a western university. For example, the education degree with an English major from IPSTE is more like a western English degree with an education major – the emphasis is on the topic chosen (whether that be English, Science, History etc.) rather than on subject pedagogy itself. An analogous degree from a western university might be an English literature degree with a diploma of Education. So it should be assumed that the teachers in this study are majoring in English, rather than solely undertaking teacher training.. In particular, this chapter will examine differences in the nature and processes of their investment in English. The discussion covers factors that have had an impact on the teachers' investment in learning English in high school, and their choices to study English after graduating from high school. Their motivation for learning and teaching English when entering their pre-service teacher education program is examined and their experiences in English investment during that time are revealed.

In examining the teachers' narratives, four broad trajectories of investment in English emerge. Using these trajectories the teachers have been grouped in relation to the pattern of their investment and key phases in their early professional formation. There are four investment trajectories. Trajectory 1 describes the pattern where a teachers' investment begins low in high school and remains low in teachers' college, while the pattern of Trajectory 2 involves investment being high in high school and becoming low in teachers' college. In contrast, Trajectory 3 describes the pattern of low investment in high school becoming high in teachers' college, while Trajectory 4 illustrates high investment in high school that remains high in teachers' college. These trajectories will be discussed further in the following sections.

Trajectory 1 – Begins Low, Remains Low

The low $\Rightarrow$ low group consists of six teachers (see Table 4.1), whose investment trajectories as learners remained low both in high school and in their teacher-training course.

Table 4.1: Trajectory 1 – Begins Low, Remains Low

Respondents	Investment at school	Motivation to choose English teaching	Investment at college
Amir, Deni, Maryam, Yeni, Ani, Hendro	Investment = low • See constraints as a burden on teachers: • Taught with a threatening approach • As learners thought of English as the enemy	• Strong motivation to study English, as a stepping stone to the civil service and a 'valued' career, • No personal desire to learn English • Some made own decision (Amir, Maryam), others influenced by parents (Yeni, Hendro) • No personal desire to study teaching or become a teacher	Investment=low • Perceived the quality of English teaching as being poor • No experience of role models or motivating lecturers

English Investment in High school

These teachers had negative perceptions of their experiences of learning English at high school, including perceiving the teacher's approach as threatening and seeing studying English as 'enemy'. This appears to have diminished their motivation to learn English with the result that they report putting little commitment and effort into their learning. As Amir explains:

> For me English was like an enemy! … at that time the teacher was very authoritarian. If we made a mistake, we were not informed what our mistake was, why it was wrong or how to fix it, yet the

92

teacher would be angry and even hit us!" (Amir, Interview, December 2, 2005).

He reports that this teacher's approach instilled negative attitudes towards English in him. The teacher's approach can have lasting influence, as Amir says:

> I thought at the time I did not know anything about English. When I graduated from high school my ability in English was zero! Maybe what I could say in English were only the words yes and no! Nothing good! I hated English …! (Amir, Interview, December 2, 2005).

Amir had built a barrier between himself and English. The other five teachers (Deni, Maryam, Yeni, Ani and Hendro) have similar perceptions of their teachers as authoritarian figures. This contributed to creating a barrier that affected their interest in, and motivation for, investing in English. Yeni and Deni's recollections are below:

> … in the past, a teacher was usually authoritarian and therefore we hated learning the lesson [English] because we hated the teacher (Yeni, Interview, November 29, 2005).

> I did not like to learn English at the time because our English teacher was a difficult person and he was also so strict I was not interested at all in English … (Deni Interview, 2005).

Whilst each of these six teachers' recollections show that their dislike of and low investment in English was due to the way they understood teachers as being authoritarian figures thereby affecting how they were constructing themselves in relation to English learning, it is worth noting that regardless of their low investment they all studied English as their major at pre-service teacher education (hereafter called IPSTE) after graduating from high school. So, if the teachers had no love of English, what underlying factors motivated them to choose English and become teachers?

Motivation to choose English teaching

This section examines how and why the six teachers chose English when embarking on their teacher training college period. The aims are to explore the

factors that had an impact on their decision to choose English and to discover their motivation for teaching.

Based on their narratives, none of the six teachers had any personal motivation to study either English or teaching, instead, their motivations derived from a range of factors discussed further below.

Two teachers, Amir and Maryam, believed that graduating from the English department would ensure that they could easily satisfy the selection criteria for a government civil service position.

> I chose English because at the time the number of English teachers was still minimal and therefore needed. Graduating from the English Department would mean I could easily pass the selection process for becoming a government civil servant. (Amir, Interview, December 2, 2005).

> … [I studied English] so it would be easy to be appointed! (Maryam, Interview, 2006).

These remarks clearly indicate that the teachers' motivations to major in English were not because they liked the subject particularly, but rather because they saw it as a stepping-stone to reach their main goal.

Parents also appear to be driven by the same interests and to have influenced their children's decisions regarding what major should be taken to ensure a good opportunity to obtain a government posting. Two (Yeni and Hendro) out of the six teachers in the low-low category specially say that their choice of English after graduating from high school was strongly influenced by the voice of their parents. For example, Yeni told me that she personally did not want to choose English, but her parents thought that choosing it was the best decision as she recalls:

> Actually I wanted to work as a secretary in a big company or something like that and I didn't want to be a teacher. But what could I do, as only Pre-Service Education was available here at the time? There was no other university or anything like that. The IPSTE did have a study program called "Office Administration". I wanted to choose that program because graduating from it, meant that I would not necessarily need to become a teacher, but could work in an office instead. However, my parents told me it was

94

> better to choose English rather than Office Administration because English would give me a greater chance of passing the civil service selection criteria (Yeni, Interview, November 29 2005).

Similarly Hendro recounts:

> Initially I wanted to become an engineer but my parents pushed me to choose English because they thought that by becoming an English teacher meant it would make it easy to be appointed [i.e. to pass the selection criteria for entering the government civil service] (Hendro, Interview, February 9, 2006).

There is no additional information given which would further explain the reasons behind the teachers' decisions to follow their parents' wishes. However, it is possible to say that young learners' own desires to learn other subjects might have become a second priority to fulfilling their parents' wishes. Putting aside their own desires to please their parents is a family characteristic common within a society which emphasizes the group and belonging (Setiadi 2006; Niode 2007) as discussed in Chapter 2. Another possible explanation is that these interviewees, at the time the decision was made, consciously understood that their parents' wishes for English to be used as a 'stepping stone' were achievable and logical. It highlights also the extent to which gaining a government civil servant job is regarded as a valued. The benefits of a government position have been discussed in detail in the literature review (see Chapter 2). Another benefit of the job that emerges and which has been emphasized by Deni, is that choice of profession is part of a commitment to help siblings:

> I am the eldest in the family, so I thought I cannot only think about myself [meaning what he wanted to be] but I have to think about something practical. If I can be appointed as quickly as possible [to become a government civil servant] I could easily help my siblings who also need to continue their education. Everybody wants to go to university (Deni, December 11, 2005).

Deni felt torn between desires for his own education and the need to help his family, a common occurrence within family structure when there is a high sense of belonging. Children grow up being taught that every member should take care of the others. These values contain the sense of belonging within the family Setiadi (2006) and (Niode 2007). Based on my observation as cultural insider the eldest child is expected to financially support and look after their ageing parents

more so than younger children. Another factor that influences one's decision to choose English is perceptions that the language is in demand in the labour market. For example, Ani believed that with English major it would be easier for her to get a job after graduation as people with English skills were in demand in the labour market:

> I did not actually want to be a teacher. I just chose English because with English it would be easy for me to apply for a job (Ani, Interview, November 29, 2005).

In summary, this group of teachers appeared to lack any personal interest in English in their decision to choose English and the teaching profession when they were learners. When entering IPSTE their decision to choose English was based on other motivations that reflected a desire for bettering their social and economic position. For some, the primary motivation was a personal desire to enter the civil service (Amir, Maryam), others were strongly influenced by the voice of their parents (Yeni and Hendro). Deni needed to adopt a career that was perceived as helping the family and Ani specifically chose a career in English because of the perceived marketplace value attached to being an English graduate. In other words, this analysis reveals that for all the low-low interviewees, English was chosen as a stepping-stone toward achieving job opportunities either in the government sector or private enterprise. Under these circumstances, these teachers' perceptions of their learning experiences when they were pre-service teachers is of interest. This is a theme I will discuss in the next section.

English Investment in Pre-Service Teacher Education

This section builds on the previous section and aims to examine the six teachers' investment during their studies in the teacher training college. It considers the factors that contribute to shaping the teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards advanced English learning and teaching which affect their commitment and effort in investing in English. Two factors are identified as critical in affecting the teachers' attitudes and beliefs regarding their learning experiences in teacher training college. The first is the poor quality of teaching (both perceived and

actual), and the second is a lack of role models to motivate them about the prospect of being a future teacher. Both factors appear to affect investment.

Some teachers held beliefs that they did not learn much from the IPSTE, which caused their low investment in English. Yeni, Maryam and Deni raised the issue of poor quality teaching and explained how this affected their motivation for English learning:

> At the time there were many lecturers who delivered their teaching by simply talking at the students in a very boring manner. We did not feel that we were interested in learning … and the teaching was also often delivered using Indonesian (Yeni, Interview, November 29, 2005).

> What I remembered is that what we actually learned was less than what we could or should have learned because there were many lecturers who not only came to our class without having done much preparation, but also many of them were so often teaching English by using Indonesian more than English … our own competency in English was low because we did not have much practice… (Maryam, Interview, December 3, 2005).

> Teaching methodology was taught theoretically. There was no practice of the method. We experienced that [the practical use of the teaching methods] when we became teachers (Deni, Interview, December 11, 2005).

The second factor relates to the perceived unavailability of motivational and inspiring models at the IPSTE. Among the six teachers, Hendro, Yeni and Deni have pinpointed the lack of motivational and inspiring teachers as a major contributor that negatively impacted on their investment in English learning and teaching.

> There were a small number of lecturers who were teaching interestingly there; we could count them on our fingers [names given] and the situation became even worse because this small number was reduced because they had to go away to undertake their postgraduate studies … (Hendro, Interview, February 9, 2006).

> Many lecturers were away undertaking their postgraduate degrees and therefore we did not receive excellence in our learning experiences. I thought that many of the remaining lecturers could not teach English well (Yeni, Interview, November 29, 2005).

> Some of the lecturers, even if they were great and could motivate us to learn, just taught for one or two semesters and then had to go for further study. So I thought the graduating students did not get much (Deni, Interview, December 11, 2005).

From my own personal knowledge of IPSTE in Gorontalo, there have been approximately 20-25 English teaching staff during the 1980s-1990s when these teachers were trained. Of these staff, only 20% were widely regarded as being motivational and inspiring teachers as revealed also by the teachers' accounts above.

These two broad issues, the mode of English teaching delivery and the availability of motivational and inspiring lecturers, appear to affect the advanced learners' feelings of competence in both learning English and learning how to teach in different ways. As a result they express dissatisfaction regarding what they have learned from their IPSTE through how they perceive their learning experiences. Amir, Hendro, Deni, and Yeni raised this, believing that what they had learned from IPSTE was minimal:

> What we learned was not much. I mean it could not fulfill the needs of a teacher in training. I thought we were just being pushed to pass [meaning to graduate from the IPSTE] without any consideration of the quality of the education… (Amir, December 2, 2005).

> Even though it was useful in some extent but I still thought that what we had to learn more (Hendro, Interview, February 9, 2006).

> When I started teaching, I realized that I had to start to prepare myself as an English teacher because I did feel that I did not learn a lot from IPSTE. As a teacher you should do a lot of preparation that otherwise you will look stupid in front of your students. Therefore we had to study and prepare ourselves (Deni, Interview, December 11, 2005).

> I thought that I did not learn much about English and how we should teach English. When we did our teaching at school after graduation there were a lot of things we have to do but we had to learn from the process [of their own classroom teaching] (Yeni, Interview, November 29, 2005).

As seen in the discussion above, these six teachers, Ani, Amir, Deni, Maryam, Hendro and Yeni expressed negative beliefs and attitudes towards their learning experiences at the IPSTE. Two factors emerged that appeared to have an impact

on the formation as learners and affect their views and attitudes: the teaching methodology used in teaching and learning activities during their learning stages and the limited number of competent lecturers. It seems that these interviewees believed these factors have at least influenced their efforts in, and commitment to learning, English, resulting in their low investment.

How have these formative factors shaped the negative beliefs and attitudes of these teachers? First, they entered the pre-service teacher training institution with previously established negative beliefs towards English learning and teaching. As low investors in English at school, they found that experiences during their IPSTE learning process resonated with their previous learning experiences. This resonance further reinforced their negative attitudes and contributed to a sense of disengagement from both English and teaching. Along the same line of thinking, Richards (1998) has suggested that the influence of the prior beliefs of the student teacher are pivotal, often held tacitly and "often serve as a lens through which they [students] view both the content of the teacher development program and their language teacher experiences"(Richards 1998:17). Almarza (1996) and Thornbury (1996) have also recognized the critical role of a student teacher's prior beliefs in affecting their beliefs, attitudes and experiences during their pre-service teacher education. In addition, Freeman and Johnson (1998) suggest that when entering a teacher education program, a candidate brings their previous experience, personal values, and beliefs, and those inform their knowledge of teaching. Many of the teachers entered teachers' college with prior experience, values and beliefs and low investment in high school. This perhaps contributed to their passive attitudes to learning English and their low level of motivation in proactively facing the challenges in the IPSTE.

Second, these teachers lacked an interest in English and teaching when entering the teacher training institution. There was no emotional connection between the teachers' ambition and English, and this may have affected how they perceived learning and teaching activities at the IPSTE. However, the fact that the IPSTE was not well resourced to provide a strong educational foundation for these English teachers contributed to the fact that their negative experiences and beliefs from their high school learning remained unchallenged. The position of

English in Indonesia as a foreign language and its impact on the availability of appropriate resources, such as high quality English lecturers, and appropriate English teaching materials affected the capability of the IPSTE level programs to enable these pre-service teachers to develop more positive attitudes and ways of thinking about themselves as future English teachers.

Trajectory 2 – Begins High, Becomes Low

The high $\Rightarrow$ low group consists of four teachers (see Table 4.2). These four teachers whose investment trajectories began high in high school shifted to low when they were student teachers.

Table 4.2: Trajectory 2 – Begins High, Becomes Low

Respondents	Investment at school	Motivation to choose English teaching	Investment at college
Lian, Emi, Nola, Widi	Investment = high • Positive experiences of being taught at school - teachers reported as making learning enjoyable and effective	• Strong motivation to study English, as a 'stepping stone' to the civil service and/or a 'valued' career (Widi) • No personal desire to learn English • Some made own decision (Emi), others influenced by parents (Lian and Nola) • No enunciated personal desire to become a teacher	Investment = low • Became dissatisfied with style of teaching, lack of competent lecturers, content of teaching materials

English Investment in High school

The investment in English of these 4 teachers was considered to be high at high school because they all reported feeling positive about their teachers and enjoyed

learning English through them. They all described their school English teachers as using a wide variety of class activities and teaching techniques such as games, songs and pictures to create a productive and positive classroom learning environment this enabled them to develop a sense of connection with English and to aspire to develop themselves in the language.

> There was a teacher in high school, whose English teaching approach was fascinating as she always mixed her teaching with games and songs and thus encouraged the students to learn (Lian, Interview, December 12, 2005).

> The motivation for learning English came from a high school teacher whose method of teaching English was good and interesting. Because of this, I was interested in English. Perhaps it was the teacher's experience that made English easier for the students to understand (Widi, Interview, November 22, 2005).

> My teacher in high school was good at teaching English. The ways in which the teacher taught English were clear and very systematic. I like the teacher's ways in teaching English because the teacher's often mixed her teaching with English songs. I can still remember the song, "Come On, Mummy" [sings the song] (Emi, Interview, December, 15, 2005).

> When I was in my high school, I liked the way my English teacher taught although at the time a lot of my friends did not like to study English. I liked English because of the teacher's teaching delivery. Whatever the topic the teacher taught us, I could understand it well (Nola, Interview, December 10, 2005).

These comments from Lian, Widi, Emi and Nola indicate that they were motivated to learn English because of their high school teachers. This may have been because learning English as a school subject and as a foreign language was not, of itself, of any interest. Because of this lack of inherent interest, students became motivated through the teaching approach used by their teachers. Like the other three teachers, Widi believes that her teacher's method of teaching was attractive.

What is stimulating to one student is not necessarily attractive to all students as Nola pointed out regarding her friends' lack of passion to learn English. There are two possible interpretations that emerge from Nola's comments. First, it is possible that learning English as a school subject and as a foreign language did not create any interest for her friends regardless of the teaching approach used by

their teacher. Another possibility is that it was something individual – pertaining only to Nola's character – that inspired her to learn English. Because of her experiences during the process of investment, Nola always had a positive attitude towards learning English and was not affected by her friends' dislike of English.

All the recollections above clearly show that the role of the high school teacher is an important influence on students as they learn English as a foreign language. With no communicative function in Gorontalo society, English at high school is a purely academic subject. In a learning context where English is positioned as a foreign language and exposure to English is minimal, the teacher's role can be considered crucial to the process of the students' investment in learning the language. However, although these four teachers had positive experiences learning English at high school, this does not necessarily influence their career aspirations after graduating from high school, as I will explore in the following sections.

Motivation to choose English teaching

This section builds on the previous section and explores how and why Lian, Nola, Widi and Emi chose English when embarking on their period of pre-service teacher education. The aims of this section are to examine what factors influenced their decisions to choose English and to identify their motivation for teaching.

Like the teachers discussed in the low-low trajectory, these four teachers had become English teacher candidates, yet they neither wanted to choose English specifically nor were they initially especially oriented to becoming teachers:

> My parents wanted me to choose English because if I graduated with an English certificate it would be easier for me to become a government employee (Nola, Interview, December 10, 2005).

> If we chose English, there were a lot of advantages. For example, it made it quicker to pass the selection [to become a civil servant]. I think that was very important … (Emi, Interview, December 15, 2005).

There were a lot of advantages, I think, when we chose English. For instance, in applying for a job (Widi, Interview, November 22, 2005).

I actually had passed the entry test for the Faculty of Economics in University X [10 hours travel away] yet my parents would not allow me to continue my study out of the Gorontalo region, so there was no choice other than English. When I went to the campus it was the last day for enrolment, and only English was available, so I chose English (Lian, Interview, December 12, 2005).

These extracts show that their choice of English was not because of their own desire to learn English. Nola and Emi chose English in order to become government civil servants. For Nola, this was her parents' desire for her, while Emi saw English as a tool that provided easy access to achieve her own goal of selection as a government civil servant. Widi referred to the pragmatic benefits of English, while in Lian's case she chose English because it was the only subject available on the last day of enrolment. Moreover, none of these four respondents aspired to become a teacher. Each of the four respondents indicated that they did not have any thoughts of specifically being nominated as a teacher, but rather considered they may complete their studies and apply for a different job (Lian, Nola, Widi and Emi), as they recall:

I would have liked to study economics but not to become a teacher. I entered the institution and chose English as I have explained [meaning that she did not have any other options but English]. After graduation, I sat for the government selection criteria like the other graduates did. I passed and was appointed to this school [the school where she is teaching right now] (Lian, Interview, December 12, 2005).

I just thought that the important thing for me at the time was that after I finished my study it would be easy for me to be appointed [pass the government civil service criteria]. I did not think about whether I would be a teacher or some other type of government officer (Emi, Interview, December 15, 2005).

… not to become a teacher. I did not think that I would be able to teach but I did (Nola, Interview, December, 10, 2005).

I thought that if I finish I might have got the opportunity to apply for a job, for example in a bank … (Widi, Interview, November 22, 2005).

These teachers do not appear to have had a specific motivation to become teachers. Lian's intention was not to learn how to teach. Yet, after graduating from the institution, she finally ended up being a teacher. Similarly Emi, Nola and Widi also entered their pre-service teacher education without any intention of becoming teachers. All of them were of the opinion that entering the IPSTE did not mean that one should have to become a teacher.

In summary, in their transition from high school to IPSTE, and despite their enjoyment of English at school, the teachers' reasons for continuing with English at teachers' college were not due to a personal desire to continue their English. They expressed the view that English was a good 'stepping stone' to enter the civil service or a valued career because of the perceived demand for English speaking graduates. Furthermore, they reported that their parents had strongly influenced their decisions to choose English, although in Lian's case it was the only teaching discipline area with places available. None of this group enunciated any personal desire to become a teacher nor to major in English at tertiary level. The expectation was that once they graduated they would use their English knowledge to find an unspecified type of job. Their attraction to English in high school and low motivation in college coupled with motives to study English that were not related to personal desires, makes the nature of their investment in college of particular interest. This is explored further below.

English Investment in Pre-Service Teacher Education

This section aims to examine Lian's, Nola's, Widi's and Emi's investment in English when they were students at the IPSTE. The analysis has revealed how the way those teachers' understand their learning experiences at college is quite different to their learning experiences when they were in high school.

When I asked about their English learning journey at the IPSTE, it appears that the four teachers reflect more on their negative experiences than positive ones. Lian, Nola, Widi and Emi, who previously held positive beliefs and attitudes towards learning English, stated that learning English during their IPSTE did not meet their expectations. They identified various issues from their negative

104

experiences ranging from the inadequacy of teaching delivery (Nola, Emi, Lian), lack of role models (Nola, Emi, Lian and Widi) to the lecturer who taught English by using Indonesian texts (Widi).

> I did not think I learned a lot from there [IPSTE]. The teaching was not fun and we did not learn English well. I remembered there was a lecturer who taught 'Reading'. She would ask the students to turn to a text, which, as yet, had not been introduced or discussed. The lecturer would then step out from the classroom and ask the students to work on the task (Nola, Interview, December 10, 2005).

Emi explains:

> I did not enjoy my learning experience at the IPSTE. I thought I learned a lot more about English after I became a teacher than when I was at the IPSTE. The teaching of English was delivered in more abstract ways! (Emi, Interview, December 15, 2005).

Widi recalls:

> Some of the lecturers, when doing their teaching, supplied only Indonesian texts for us to study. So the graduating students only learned a few little things (Widi, Interview, November 22, 2005).

Lian recalls:

> … there are lecturers who only came to organize us into groups and ask us to discuss some topics, and were never there when we were discussing the topics. So, the discussion was just going between us [students] (Lian, Interview, December 12, 2005).

These teachers' perceptions of their experiences seem to have influenced them negatively because they believed that the way English was taught was inadequate. This affected their motivation to learn English or to develop teaching skills. Moreover all of these teachers also showed their disappointment regarding the number of good role models at the IPSTE. For example, as Lian recounts:

> But to be honest, I think there were only three lecturers [at the IPSTE] whose methods and ways of teaching inspired me to teach (Lian, Interview, December 12, 2005).

This shows that although there were a few lecturers whom she classified as capable role models inspiring her to teach, it seems this was far below her expectations. Clearly, she expected that all the lecturers would be able to teach

well and thus encourage the students to learn. From Lian's perspective, both her learning experience as well as her beliefs about the lack of available role models during her IPSTE affected her motivation to English. The other three teachers (Widi, Nola and Emi) highlight similar perceptions of the lack of good role models and this seems to contribute to and affect their interest in English and in teaching. These teachers' negative experiences might be related to issues of resources and the quality of English teaching and learning at the IPSTE. They could also relate to the teacher candidates' perceptions of how English teaching and learning should be delivered based on their prior English learning experiences in high school. In other words, they had previously established positive attitudes to English in high school, yet discovered that the methodology of English teaching at the IPSTE was not interesting and, therefore, did not meet their expectations. In the literature, Freeman and Johnson (1998:401) suggest that when entering a teacher education program, a candidate brings his or her previous experiences, personal values, and beliefs that form the foundation of one's knowledge about teaching. This resonates with the interviewees' understandings about how language teaching, and, in particular, the teaching of English, should be undertaken.

In summary, consideration of the experiences of these four teachers has revealed that, even though a teacher may enter pre-service education with a positive attitude to learning English due to their positive learning experiences in high school, those beliefs and attitudes can change. It is possible that their positive experiences at high school augmented the predominantly external influences resulting in a high investment in English. At college their English shifted to low because they became disillusioned due to their perceptions of poor quality teaching in the institution. It is also good to remember that these teachers did not undertake the degree with the intention of becoming teachers, and these experiences also did not provide them any inspiration with regard to teaching English. Therefore, they lacked interest and a strong identification with and commitment to the prospect of becoming an English teacher. However, the shift in their investment in the English language appears to be largely the result of their negative experiences of the quality of English teaching and learning at the teacher training college, including the contrast between their high school English

learning experiences, and the uninspiring and demotivating approaches they experienced at the IPSTE. These teachers entered teachers' college with expectations based on their prior experience, values and beliefs and high investment, but due to experiences at college which did not match their expectations, their positive identification with the idea of studying English decreased and there was a change in their mode of investment from high to low.

Trajectory 3: Begins Low, Becomes High

The low $\Rightarrow$ high group consists of seven teachers (see Table 4.3). These seven teachers exhibited what is considered to be low investment in English throughout high school largely due to their views of English as a difficult and boring subject.

Table 4.3: Trajectory 3 – Begins Low, Becomes High

Respondents	Investment at school	Motivation to choose English teaching	Investment at college
Arifin, Ariyanto, Muna, Harun, Yusuf, Farida, Nina	Investment=low • Felt marginalized and unsupported by teachers. • Felt unhelped as learners • Viewed English as being difficult and unattractive	• English primarily valued as 'stepping stone' to enter a civil service job • English chosen primarily because of influence of a previous English teacher and/or other authority figures • Personal interest in learning English may be expressed • Personal interest in teaching may be expressed • No motivation for teaching may be expressed	Investment=high • A positive role model challenged them to change • Sense of agency developed with their new learning style

English Investment in High school

One may hold negative attitudes towards language learning and thus reduced interest in learning the language. Ariyanto, Farida, Harun, Muna, Nina and Yusuf are identified as having negative attitudes towards English learning and teaching in their high school learning experience. While most of them specifically pinpointed that the way their teachers taught English was not interesting; rather, it was difficult, strict and boring (Ariyanto, Farida, Harun, Yusuf, Nina, Muna), Ariyanto says that English teaching at the time was presented in an unclear way. As a result these teachers' investment in English at the time was low. I provide examples from Farida and Ariyanto respectively:

> In the beginning I did not like English. English for me was like an enemy because it was difficult and was hard to understand. At the time I just followed what we were learning without really paying much attention to it (Farida, Interview, December 17, 2005).

> My English mark at the time was only six [the minimum]. My teacher just gave me that much and I thought my competency in English was that much too … because at the time the teaching of English was that the teacher gave us a book [text book] and then we wrote something from the book, but there was no explanation from the teacher. That is what I remembered about learning English at the time … therefore I thought our knowledge regarding English was just right [meaning not enough] (Ariyanto, Interview, November 30, 2005).

The type of negative feeling that Farida expresses, reduces the chance of success in language learning. There is not much interest, thus the effort and commitment she put in to her English learning is reduced. The other five teachers (Ariyanto, Harun, Yusuf, Nina, Muna, give similar views of English as a difficult and boring subject, and, as a consequence, report not putting much effort into it. For Ariyanto, it is obvious that the teacher's teaching style did not meet with his preferences and expectations of how learning and teaching should be undertaken. Oxford (2001) suggests that if there is a mismatch between the expectations of students and their teacher's teaching, then rejection occurs derived from the students' disappointment. The students' rejection can be directed towards the teacher personally, the teaching methodology or even the subject itself. Seen in this light, it is not surprising that Ariyanto's investment in English was low.

Arifin's Story: Incidental Experience Affects Investment

Of the seven teachers, it was Arifin who reported his investment in English gradually starting to change from low to high during his high school years. This resulted from a classroom incident where he was marginalized by his teacher and felt 'shamed'. For some, such an experience may have further reinforced their low investment and disengagement, but it led Arifin to become a high investor through initial emotions of resentment and shame:

> When I was in high school, whenever my English teacher asked me a question, he would always use Indonesian because he knew I

could not answer in English. If he used English … like, "Arifin, could you help clean the blackboard? "I would ask my friend what it meant and he would translate it into Indonesian as, "Clean the blackboard." I would then reply, "Ok," to the teacher. One time my teacher said, "Arifin, would you help me to hang you on the blackboard?" I asked my friend as usual and he translated it into Indonesian as "Clean the blackboard." I began to clean the board. The teacher and my classmates who understood started to smile and I became suspicious about what was happening. From that time I became resentful towards studying English. Even though I didn't know anything I kept on trying to speak it whether it was appropriate or not (Arifin, Interview, January 11, 2006).

There are some interpretations I can draw from Arifin's recollection. The first regards Arifin's initial position before the incident in the classroom. He had low motivation in English which gave him the appearance of having limited English competency. This made him depend on his friends to translate simple classroom commands. As long as he could meet the teacher's expectations no conflict occurred and Arifin thought that everything was okay and continued to clean the blackboard as requested. When the incident described above took place, Arifin was devastated, embarrassed, humiliated and insulted in both the teacher's and his friends' eyes. Because of his limited understanding of English, he felt belittled. His feeling of being powerless due to his limited competency and to the feeling of being victimized turned into a resolve to face the struggle and prove that he could be a successful achiever in English. From that time, he always studied hard in order to succeed in English as reflected by his comments:

One night I soaked my feet in a basin to keep myself awake while studying. I was motivated by resentment towards my English teacher because I felt he was making a fool of me. I took notes about difficult unknown words and their meanings, which I then memorized. After that I added these new words to the list of those I already knew. I counted again and copied what I had memorized into my other notes so I would see how many words I actually knew. I was disciplined in doing this because I had a goal which I wanted to achieve. It turned out that with this desire to study, I began to get over the embarrassment I had previously experienced in front of my peers (Arifin, Interview, January 11, 2006).

This indicates that in order to achieve a successful outcome, a language learner may think of and work out an appropriate strategy for achieving their goal. In Arifin's description above, the feeling of being humiliated pushed him to put in

enormous amounts of effort so he could succeed. It is clear from the extracts above that during the process of investment in English, there was a lot of hardship and struggle on Arifin's side. In spite of this, Arifin was disciplined and believed he would succeed in proving himself capable in front of both his teacher and classmates. This he did, thus getting over his previous feeling of embarrassment in front of his peers.

Through successfully investing in English, Arifin gained acceptance and came to enjoy a close relationship with the teacher:

> … I even found that the teacher had started to use English when spoke to me and I was able to answer it and the teacher became proud of me. Then we were getting closer. I took this opportunity to borrow books and learned English from the teacher too … (Arifin, Interview, January 11, 2006).

Arifin's investment in English can be understood from Norton's notion of investment which refers to the relationship between power, identity and language learning. The patriarchal relations of power in the classroom incident above demonstrated that the teacher had great authority and therefore influenced the nature of the relationship between teacher and student. Another explanation of the notion of investment "conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires" (Norton 2000:10). In Arifin's case, his desire for recognition from his teacher and his friends (West 1992 cited in Norton 1997: 410) led to his desire to prove that he was able to succeed in English. This stimulated him to put in the hard work and effort necessary to achieve that goal. This is in line with Norton's argument that the concept of investment goes beyond the learner's motivation to provide a clear explanation of what are underlying conditions and factors that may influence motivation. In addition, Norton's notion of investment is formed and being influenced by West's (1992 cited in Norton 1997: 410) theory of identity which refers to an individual's desire for recognition from others. The feeling of humiliation and being marginalized blended with the desire to be recognized for his ability drove Arifin to be a highly motivated student of English. As a result of this motivation, he formulated a strategy and successfully achieved his goal of learning English.

Another concept that appears in Arifin's case is that during the investment process his intention in learning English 'changed over time' (Norton 2000). First, feeling humiliated and being offended by his teacher motivated him to learn English. However, during the process of investment he felt that he could learn through the challenge and use his recollections of his experiences to motivate his own students. Arifin recalls:

> In the end, I was truly happy and not resentful any more. I told my students that God did not make clever or foolish people and I told them of my experiences in order to motivate them (Arifin, Interview, January 11, 2006).

Arifin's experience was quite unusual. Among the twenty teachers interviewed, only Arifin, was faced with this chain of events which led him to become a successful English learner in high school, and also later a teacher (discussed further in other chapters of this study). These events eventually led him to, or at least influenced, his choice of English after graduating from high school. Arifin's perception and that of the other six teachers in this group regarding their motivation both in English and in teaching when entering teacher training college will be further considered in the following sections.

Motivation to choose English teaching

This section builds on the preceding section and examines how and why the seven teachers chose English when embarking on their IPSTE period. The aims are to explore what factors impacted on their decisions to choose English and to discover their motivation for teaching. Five teachers (Ariyanto, Farida, Harun, Muna, and Yusuf) with negative attitudes towards and low investment in English have described that choosing English as their major after finishing high school was not out of interest whereas Arifin and Nina wanted to seriously learn and to be skilled in English. All of these will be further discussed in detail below.

The value of English as a stepping stone to enter a civil service job also coloured the motivation of teachers with this trajectory. Three of the teachers (Muna, Harun and Yusuf) believed that graduating from the English department would

ensure that they could easily satisfy the selection criteria for a government civil service position:

> What we thought, was that when we finished our education we would be able to get a job as English was a good prospect at the time because there were a lot of English teachers still needed (Muna, Interview, March 3, 2006).

> I hated English actually but when I entered at IPSTE I thought what subject I should choose. There were two subjects actually in my mind, English or Indonesian and I chose English and I thought it would be easy for us to be appointed as government employee if we had an English language background (Harun, Interview, February 2, 2006).

> In the past, I thought my motivation to choose English was because I wanted to be appointed for a civil service job … (Yusuf, Interview, December, 15, 2005).

These narratives indicate that these teachers' motivation to major in English was because it was a stepping-stone to reach their main goal.

One other reason emerged in the narratives of teachers in the third trajectory. That reason for the teachers' choice of English is the decision to heed the voice of influential school figures (Farida and Ariyanto). Farida, for example, reported that her school principal in high school influenced her to choose English.

> I chose English because of my school principal. At the time I was receiving a scholarship from the school (Farida, Interview, December 17, 2005).

Under these conditions Farida felt she did not have a choice for her further study because she was a scholarship student and felt obliged to the school. It is possible that this was linked with the school's needs for an English teacher. An expectation had been placed on Farida and, seemingly, there was no room for Farida to refuse the request from the school principal. Farida was learning English, although she did not have any internal motivation to either learn or to be proficient in English and she was not given a choice. Another issue appears in this context in that Farida did not have the power to refuse this decision which had been made for her because her school principal positioned her/himself as the one who had the cultural capital to speak (Soucy 2000). S/he exercised power

over Farida by virtue of the fact that Farida received a scholarship from the school.

Ariyanto also recalled that his choice of English was strongly influenced by his previous female school principal who was also an English teacher. Ariyanto recalls:

> It was my high school teacher who insisted that I take English. My teacher said that the chance to be able to go abroad is greater. She was my English teacher and also the school principal. When I was going to university, she said, "I don't mind if you take a Civics major (a subject on morality), but your view would just be in that area. But if you take English, you can go abroad. Take me as an example, I've been to Canada (Ariyanto, Interview, November 30, 2005).

There are some significant points that need to be noted here. First, English was not Ariyanto's preferred subject for his tertiary study because he said that he was initially interested in choosing Civics, yet he changed his mind because of the teacher's strong influence. The next is Ariyanto's expectation regarding English after he was given the explanation of its benefits, namely that he could have a chance to go overseas if he took English as a major rather than Civics. Ariyanto's reason to choose English appears to be due either to the strong opinion espoused by the school principal categorized as an authority figure within a society which emphasizes high respect to the seniors including the authority figures (Joseph 1993, 1996; Setiadi 2006; Niode 2007) and/or the advantages of learning English, as explained by the school principal.

Moving from their motivation for learning English to their motivation for becoming a teacher, both Farida and Ariyanto said they did not have any orientation in that direction:

> Actually I did not have any interest in becoming an English teacher. I just wanted to master English – that was my aim; not to be a teacher! But because I entered the IPSTE, automatically I would become a teacher (Ariyanto, Interview, November 30, 2005).

> I did not think much at the time whether I would like to be a teacher or not. I just did not have much choice as I had to study

English and then go back to the school to teach that subject (Farida, Interview, December 17, 2005).

Both shared no interest in teaching; both were influenced by school figures in their choice of English. However, there is a quite significant difference regarding the issue of agency across their two decisions in favour of English. While for Farida, it is apparent that she had lack of agency in her position and situation at the time, Ariyanto did have agency in making the decision to either continue with his original interest in Civics or follow the influential advice from his school principal the latter being what he did.

Of the seven teachers, only Arifin and Nina were motivated from personal interest to choose English as their subject at teachers' college due to their inherent interest in learning the subject. As Arifin's case shows previous learning experience may impact on one's decision to choose English for higher education. Arifin's choice of majoring in English resulted from his previously established motivation in learning English:

> I chose English after high school because I already liked English as I have already told you. I had attained a high achievement in English that I think was different to my initial intention of learning English as a kind to revenge for what had happened to me. That was different. I realized I did not have that feeling anymore (Arifin, Interview, January 11, 2006).

What initially drove his motivation to invest in English was that he wanted to be recognized as 'a competent learner'. This changed over time within the process of investment. Possibly, during the process, he found that his feeling and desire to learn English had changed to be strongly, naturally grounded in learning and, therefore, he started to like English. However, when discussing his motivation to become a teacher, Arifin said that at the time he just chose English because it was the subject he already liked. He chose the English department at the teacher training institute in Gorontalo because that was what was available. He says:

> I thought that since I had begun to like English and there was an English department in the Institute for[IPSTE]. I would choose English I did not think about whether I would become a teacher or something else (Arifin, Interview, January 11, 2006).

As this extract shows, Arifin had no intentional plan to become a teacher. The choice of English as a major was because of subject availability in the IPSTE at the time. Whilst there was no further explanation as to why he chose English in the IPSTE and not in any other tertiary institution, it needs to be noted that in Gorontalo in the mid 1980s (at the time when Arifin entered tertiary education) the IPSTE was the biggest institution in Gorontalo, the most favourable place for high school graduates to go to if they could not undertake their higher education out of the Gorontalo region. In short, that despite his desire to learn English, Arifin showed no interest in teaching when entering his pre-service teacher education.

A learner can shift from a negative attitude to English to enthusiastic motivation towards it due to coincidental observation of another's English communication skills. This happened to Nina. Nina disliked English while in high school, but this changed enormously when she was amazed to overhear her neighbour communicating in English. She said that she wanted to be like her old lady neighbour who was soundly fluent in English when engaging in English conversation with one of the lady's friends. From that time Nina reported that she decided to choose English after finishing high school and started to learn English seriously:

> I did not like English before but after graduating from high school I had one year absent before I entered college [IPSTE] and choosing English. There was my old lady neighbour; I was not aware that she was skilled when communicating in English until I found out one day when she had a visit from her friend from other town. I was impressed when I heard their communication (Nina, Interview, February 6, 2006).

Observing another's communication facility can inspire one to think positively about a second or foreign language and to work to acquire expertise in it. This kind of feeling greatly influenced Nina's positive attitude towards English. Since then she has perceived English differently. She tried to take every opportunity to improve her English by learning independently through books or posters, if there were any available and extended her decision into choosing English as her long-term career when entering higher study at IPSTE. When I asked her about her motivation to teach English, Nina said that she entered PSTE with an

understanding that she might have to become a teacher one day and she thought it was suitable for her, although not perfect. Another motivation for Nina to be able to communicate in English was that, if possible, one day she might get a chance to work in a foreign company where she would have the opportunity to practice her English communication skills:

> I knew that my tertiary education was at an institution for teacher training and when I graduated from there, it would be a great possibility that I would become a teacher. I am okay with that though I have thought about the possibility of working in foreign company (Nina, Interview, February 6, 2006).

In summary, of the seven teachers in the low to high trajectory, only Arifin and Nina illustrated a great interest in the study of English. For Nina, in particular, her previously negative attitudes towards English in high school changed because of social identification. She reported becoming interested in being able to communicate in English after overhearing her female neighbour communicating in English and deciding she wanted to have the same opportunities for social interaction. Arifin choose English because after being humiliated by his high school teacher he excelled in the subject due to his motivation. His desire to continue learning English affected his decision to choose English as his major when he entered the teacher training college even though he lacked motivation to be a teacher. In contrast, the majority of the teachers in this group (five out of the seven) have indicated that their motivation to choose English as their major for higher education was not due to their intention to learn English for its own sake. It was rather for a variety of reasons revolving around the external benefits of English, such as access to a government civil service job. In addition, there are two teachers whose motivation to choose English was "encouraged" (almost forced) by the influence of important high school figures. In the following section, I will discuss the seven teachers' perceptions of when they were pre-service teachers, which led to the change in their mode of investment at college.

English Investment in Pre-Service Teacher Education

Although most of seven teachers in this group did not have personal interest in either English or teaching when they entered IPSTE, their previously low

investment in English did not remain low. Their investment in English changed from low to high stemming from the issue of agency embodied in themselves towards learning, and the influence of an inspirational role model. In addition, two teachers, Arifin and Nina, seem able to face the challenges and limitations as pre-service teachers due to their evolving emotional attachment to English before entering the IPSTE. All of these factors I consider in the following section.

The issue of agency for an adult learner seems to be a factor that can influence a learner's attitudes towards their learning experiences as pre-service teachers. While realizing there are some limitations that needed to be improved at IPSTE in order to achieve better quality, these teachers view these matters in more positive ways than those in the two groups I have already discussed:

> I think I could cope well in learning English at the time when I was there [attending the IPSTE]. It was hard for me at first because of my level of English in high school was not strong enough but I tried and I adjusted well … of course, there were some limitations such as resources books. I mean English teaching materials were not as good as we could get now but this was in the past (Harun, Interview, May 14, 2007).

> What I had learned from IPSTE has been useful for me. Because I had chosen English, although I did not like English before, I had to change because that was my decision. So I started to learn English seriously and became more confident in learning English. Of course there were some limitations for example the number of English teachers at the time was still minimal compared to what the IPSTE has now (Muna, Interview, May 15, 2007).

> I thought that there are some factors which we did miss when we were at IPSTE, for example learning through contextual methods which I am doing now with my students. While I did understood that at the time it was hard to apply this because to do that a lecturer needed support not only in thinking deeply but they also needed to invest a lot of their time and energy because they have to be creative, looking for adequate materials. I mean for example to teach reading, a lecturer has to look for adequate journals and articles, as well as delivering the teaching well, appropriate to the general objectives of a subject ['reading subject']. Another example, for Listening [the name of the subject taught at IPSTE], a lecturer has to find a certain adequate listening materials, for example providing a cassette player, if they cannot, they should buy it which I thought could become a problem as we knew that lecturer's remuneration/ salary was far from sufficient. So even though the lecturers would like to provide best teaching, it would

118

be difficult. As a result our knowledge base was not quite promising, but I thought we had to realize that we should learning independently and do not just depend on what was being taught to us … (Yusuf, Interview, December, 15, 2005).

These recollections from the teachers show that whilst they all are aware of the limitations relating to learning and teaching during their time in the IPSTE, they came up with a solution of independent learning and on-going self-development. Of the five teachers, Yusuf was the most outspoken, believing that some factors such as limited facilities and resources and the teacher's low income had become challenges for the IPSTE in providing the best quality learning outcome, despite his believing that autonomous learning, which should be embraced by a language learner, could become one of the solutions to the problem. The awareness of self-limitations in English and the need to improve has also been recognized in the comments of these teachers. This awareness might have been the impetus, which created more opportunities and motivation for them to fill the gap through self-development.

The presentation of a role model can contribute to the formation of advanced learners' positive beliefs and attitudes in learning. It appears that the positive views of two of the teachers, Farida and Ariyanto, were influenced by the presence of a strong, determined role model. I identify this teacher/role model by the pseudonym, Mrs. Santika. She appears to have been a positive influential factor, having changed their feelings of dislike towards English itself, as well as creating positive feelings towards teaching as a job:

> Mrs Santika was just a great person and she was also so strict in teaching … she is an interesting figure. She did tell me that she always practiced her English skills and learning not just for young people but for everybody. She was an amazing and dynamic teacher. The ways she taught were so creative and were inspiring for us … I have learned a lot through her guidance and support. She also told us sometimes a teacher can be like an actor in their teaching and not to hesitate to do that for your students. All these I cannot forget for the rest of my life (Farida, Interview, December 17, 2005).

Farida's account clearly illustrates that her attitude to English had changed positively compared to her previous attitudes during high school, due to an inspirational and influential figure. During high school Farida was identified as

learner with negative attitudes and a low investor in English. She chose to major in English due to the power of her school principal. Her motivation towards English as well as her motivation to teach changed positively because of the relatedness and bonding she experienced with Mrs. Santika:

> I became interested in learning English and did not feel like I was being forced to learn it anymore. I always try to improve my English and learning. I also started to think that after graduating I would be ready to teach (Farida, Interview, April 27, 2007).

Ariyanto was also influenced by Mrs. Santika, but in a different way, and due to an incidental event at the beginning of his days at IPSTE in Mrs. Santika's classroom, as Ariyanto recalls:

> During the first days I studied at IPSTE, I met Mrs Santika, who was lecturing. She asked us, "Who among you here entered this program [English program] with a score of 6 [minimum grade]. Please raise your hand." I was the only person who raised his hand. I was very embarrassed at the time because she said that "I suggest a move to other study program" and when I went home I told this story to my landlady [coincidentally also his previous school principal who had influenced Ariyanto to choose English]. My landlady asked me, "How come you haven't started to study hard in English yet? You have given up." Then in the next day I told Mrs Santika that I wanted to try for one semester! From that time I studied English very hard. At home I also learned from my landlady. In the first semester there were daily and sometimes weekly exams and my grades in some English subjects were low still, but I kept trying and waited until the mid-semester exams finished. After mid-semester, I checked my overall grade which was not bad because I had high grades for other general subjects. My grades in English subjects were not too bad. Then I told Mrs. Santika, as well as other lecturers that I still wanted to keep trying. "Give me time and I will change". As the time passed, my English grades had started to increased and eventually I ended up as a scholarship student in the study program. I had been highly motivated to learn and improve my English ability and I did it. I could compete and went above the other friends whose English scores were initially high (Ariyanto, Interview, November 30, 2005).

There are several interpretations which can be drawn from Ariyanto's recollections above. First, his limited academic grade in English placed him into the position of being marginalized and embarrassed in front of the teacher and classmates. Second, the role of his landlady/previous school principal, whom I

pseudonymously identify as Mrs Tasan, had driven him to face the challenge and start working hard at learning English. His embarrassment in the class and the encouragement from Mrs. Tasan fuelled Ariyanto's desire for recognition of his identity (West 1992 cited in Norton 1997:410) transforming him into a hardworking, fully committed person, dedicated to achieving success in English. What had happened in the class appears to have become a crucial starting point for him to invest in the language.

Despite his feeling of being humiliated by what had happened in the classroom, Ariyanto said that he felt grateful for what had happened which greatly motivated him to want others, including Mrs. Santika, to recognize that he could do it. In addition Ariyanto expressed his impression of Mrs. Santika's teaching methods. Ariyanto recalls:

> I think that I have been motivated a lot by Mrs. Santika. She was amazing in her old age. She was very energetic and committed to her job. Her teaching approach was very interesting. For example sometimes she did not hesitate to give some examples during her classroom teaching by mimicking and did it with her body language, which was funny and impressed us a lot. She told us if you want to be a real English teacher you have to be ready with a lot of examples in English words and sentences and also sometimes you could act as a clown in front of your students as long as it does not break your integrity and your self-confidence because it is your job to be able to create situations in which the students can understand well what you are teaching. She was such an inspiration for me. I am now happy to be an English teacher (Ariyanto, Interview, May 1, 2007).

Mrs. Santika's approach in teaching clearly motivated Ariyanto not only to invest in English, but also to be a teacher. This is the opposite of his previous recollection regarding teaching in which there was no intention of teaching. It appears that Ariyanto's previously negative beliefs and attitudes towards English and learning and teaching while studying in high school had been effectively changed and turned to positive beliefs because of the formative factors described above.

Of the seven teachers, Nina's and Arifin's previous motivational beliefs towards English had been slightly different. As was discussed earlier Nina previously held negative attitudes towards learning English in high school, but prior to her

entering IPSTE her lack of interest in English changed because of her observation of her old female neighbour speaking English. While a student-teacher in her IPSTE program, Nina is likely to have held positive beliefs and attitudes towards learning English because of her strong intention to grasp the language and become fluent. This has strongly fuelled her desire to invest in the language though she pointed out some difficulties she had to face not only because of her lack of basic skills in English from high school, but also because of the a difficult challenge of her learning environment:

> When I entered my English diploma [equivalent to undergraduate + honour study at IPSTE] I knew nothing. I think I started to learn English seriously at that time. This was different to my experience in high school. I always practiced and practiced to speak English even though sometimes I talked to myself. A lot of my friends in the same department were shy and did not want to try to speak even simple English. I tried not to be influenced by their behaviour. My grades changed. I was doing well enough (Nina, Interview, February 2, 2006).

Nina's motivational belief in learning English within a formal context underwent an enormous change. As her focus was achieving fluency in speaking English, the best way to do that was to continuously practice English no matter what challenge she faced, including the reluctant cooperation from her friends. It appears that she was able to position herself between being judged by peers in her socio-cultural context and her desire to be fluent in English communication. In the process of investing English, it appears that her desire to be able to communicate in English also motivated her in becoming a teacher:

> I told you before that I did not have a single idea to be a teacher, but after some time at the IPSTE, I changed my mind because I thought to be an English teacher was not a bad job. Why not? And even you know to be a teacher is something that is very good for us because we could transfer what we learn and what we are capable of to our students … yes, I thought I also might have been inspired by some lecturers there whom I thought were interesting in the way they taught (Nina, Interview, May 1, 2007).

Through Arifin's recollections I have revealed some points. Firstly, he was aware that there were a few things that needed to be improved in relation to English learning and teaching at the IPSTE. For example, the limited number of resources for English teaching needed to be addressed. In addition, the need for a

student teacher of English to learn about methods of teaching English was considered crucial to help new teachers to be mentally prepared for their teaching practice in a school context. It is also worth noting that there was no clear indication of Arifin's motivation to be a teacher, yet Arifin was able to confidently face the challenges of the IPSTE. This translated into his confidence in being a teacher and in teaching English. This is manifested through Arifin's beliefs about learning English and being a teacher:

> Actually when we were student teachers, it was our big opportunity to learn English seriously because we were competing with others [meaning to be the best]. When we became teachers, we often feel lazy because there is no more competition which I thought was a wrong thought. There is even a teacher who thinks that the most stupid teacher is still above the most stupid student therefore they are lazy to improve themselves. I think this thought was wrong because as a teacher we should improving our capability and expertise, we also have to change our teaching styles if necessary so our students would have more enjoyment in their learning (Arifin, Interview, January 11, 2006).

In short, Arifin's perspective about his learning experience at the IPSTE reflects his positive views towards English and learning. His recollections signal some factors that are influential in forming his positive beliefs while he was an advanced learner during that stage of learning. First, the issue of agency embodied in himself about learning, in general, and learning English, in particular. This appears to have become a formative factor in shaping his positive view in the sense that, although aware there were some limitations in the context of the IPSTE, he could successfully invest in learning and was able to exercise agency. It is clear from these data that Arifin's success in the past was an essential link for his future as the success of his desire to highly invest in English in the past meant a lot to Arifin. It is clear that the incident in high school has changed him. Since that time, he had continuously invested in English and worked hard to improve himself as a successful English learner.

In summary, the low $\Rightarrow$ high group consists of seven teachers: Arifin, Ariyanto, Muna, Harun, Yusuf, Farida and Nina. Six of them exhibited what we considered to be low investment in English throughout high school, in contrast to Arifin, who only had low investment for part of high school. The other six continued

throughout high school not to like English, and, as a consequence, did not put much effort into it. However, although most of them did not have personal interest in either English or teaching when entering the IPSTE, their investment mode changed from low to high. This appears to have been due to a range of factors, the first being the sense of agency and empowerment they developed as adult learners needing to adjust to a new learning circumstance upon leaving high school and entering tertiary learning (Yusuf, Muna and Harun). A second important factor is the influence some reported of a single strong English teacher role model who became an inspiring figure for two in the group, Ariyanto and Farida, and fostered their identification with English and their strong motivation to perform better. Finally, for Nina, in particular, her previously negative attitudes towards English in high school changed because of social identification. She reported becoming personally interested in being able to communicate in English after overhearing her female neighbour communicating in English and deciding she wanted to have the same opportunities for social interaction. All these teachers' recollections suggest that their motivations and engagement in learning English changed positively in teachers' college. Like those in Trajectories 1 and 2 they were all aware of the limitations in their English learning and teaching context during their time at the IPSTE. However, the way they viewed and dealt with these deficiencies was quite different from the first two groups. They were more likely to come up with a solution to the barriers they were facing in developing themselves in English and as English teachers through becoming more independent learners and taking responsibility for their own on-going skill development.

Trajectory 4: Begins High, Remains High

This group consists of three teachers (Lisa, Rima and Ray) who have been characterized as exhibiting Trajectory 4, high $\Rightarrow$ high. Two of the teachers, Lisa and Rima, maintained their high level of investment in English because of their positions as high achievers in school, while Ray maintained his high level of investment because of his love of English (see Table 4.4). These teachers' recollections of learning English through their two learning stages, in high school and in teacher training college will be further discussed below.

124

Table 4.4: Trajectory 4 – Begins High, Remains High

Respondents	Investment at school	Motivation to choose English teaching	Investment at college
Lisa, Rima and Ray	Investment=high • Initially had negative attitude but as high achievers in class developed high motivation to invest (Lisa and Rima) • Enjoyed studying because school teacher impressed with effective teaching techniques (Ray)	• Limited evidence of strong personal motivation for English and teaching: • English as second or parents' choice. • Initially not motivated to be a teacher	Investment=high • A positive role model inspired emotional connection to English • Sense of agency and desire to learn English from school maintained

English Investment in High school

Although both Rima and Lisa describe some feelings of disinterest towards English, they still felt that they should put effort into learning it because they were recognized at school as the best students and this pushed them to invest in English.

> I did not like English but I still did study English as I always did with other subjects. I did get a good mark in English but it did not mean that I liked English (Rima, Interview, December 10, 2005).

> Truthfully, in my Senior High School I didn't like English … It was difficult but I had to learn that subject. I did not want my rank in the class to be affected because of English, I always achieved first or second place [class rank] in my class at the time, therefore I had to study (Lisa, Interview, December 15, 2005).

Even though they personally did not like English, their recollections clearly show that their positions as high achievers motivated them to invest in English

alongside their other subjects. They felt that they should learn it. For Rima, her position placed her in a predicament she had to learn English because she was obligated as one of the best students to achieve success both in general subjects and in English. For Lisa, her ability as a high achiever in her class pushed her to study English although she thought English to be a difficult subject. This signals that the position of an individual within a space of learning (in this context, the class grouping) influences a learner to negotiate how s/he will deal with a negative attitude towards learning. In summary, because of their position as high achievers, both Lisa and Rima have shown that they were successfully stimulated to invest in English, though emotionally they did not like the subject.

Unlike Lisa and Rima, Ray had always enjoyed studying English in high school because of the positive and enjoyable learning atmosphere created by his high school teacher:

> While I was still in Senior High School, I had a teacher who taught well. The teacher's way of teaching was not strict (Ray, Interview, November 24, 2005).

Ray's recollection indicates that he was motivated in learning the language because of his teacher's methods which he appreciated as 'not strict'. This may have been because in the Indonesian teaching tradition a teacher usually acts as a strict 'authority figure'. Such a manner may become a hindrance for students to be genuinely interested in studying. When Ray found that his teacher's way of teaching was interesting and engaging, he was able to enjoy his learning experience in high school.

Motivation to choose English teaching

This section builds on the preceding section and examines how and why the three teachers chose English when embarking on their IPSTE period. The aims are to explore what factors impacted on their decisions to choose English and to discover their motivation for teaching. While Lisa and Rima only chose English as their major because they could not achieve their first choice – to be a secretary

126

(Lisa) and to be an archaeologist (Rima), Ray, on the other hand, chose English because his parents directed him to study it:

> … in the end I chose to study English. I wanted to be a secretary but in the end I chose English (Lisa, Interview, December 15, 2005).

> I wanted to be an archaeologist but I could not do so I chose English and at the time my English grade was good (Rima, Interview, December 10, 2005).

> I chose to study English because that was what my parents wanted. In fact, I would have liked to have studied Law (Ray, Interview, November 24, 2005).

The accounts of Lisa and Rima show that both had chosen English because they could not attain their main interests. Although I do not have more details about their reasons, my speculation, based on my knowledge and understanding of Gorontalo's learning condition, culture and beliefs is that it is possible that there was no archaeology major or special program for secretarial studies available in any tertiary institution in Gorontalo. In Ray's case, it appears that he is strongly influenced by his parents' desire for this as his educational choice. The question is whether his decision to follow his parents' desire would affect his learning experience as student teacher and thus affect his ongoing English investment? This will be further discussed in the following section together with Lisa and Rima's investment mode.

English Investment in Pre-Service Teacher Education

This section builds on the previous section and aims to examine the three teachers' investment during their studies in the teacher training college. Agency, autonomous learning and powerful role models have been influential formative factors influencing the investment process of the three teachers resulting in them maintaining a high level of investment in English during their learning experiences at the IPSTE.

A good role model could be influential in changing the ambivalent feelings of a learner experienced in English in their past learning stage. Lisa and Rima

described this, reporting that the influence of a role model became pivotal in changing their emotional connection to English:

> I thought that I have been motivated a lot by Mrs Santika when I was learning at the IPSTE. She has been an inspirational figure for me because of her energetic ways of teaching. I imitate and incorporate her ways of teaching a lot in my own teaching today. I feel that I have been in love in English learning and teaching since then (Rima, Interview, December 10, 2005).

> There are some figures that I think have greatly influenced my ability, particularly my family and my previous lecturer, Mrs. Santika. I liked the way she taught English because her teaching materials were always complete, her teaching was detailed and the mark she gave us was very objective. Her teaching method was great as well so I felt motivated to learn. For example, if she taught structure, she always gave patterns and a lot of examples which would develop our understanding of what we were learning. In reading, she covered a lot of new vocabulary so we were interested in learning it (Lisa, Interview, December15, 2005).

These narratives make it apparent that a role model can motivate through teaching methodology, as well through personality. For these two teachers Mrs. Santika's ways of teaching and her personality were inspirational and stimulated their interest in learning. She developed their passions for English and for imparting their knowledge of English. It is clear that the nature of their classroom interaction with Mrs. Santika created a difference in their feeling towards English resulting in a connection, a bonding which deepened their investment in English and teaching.

Another factor that influences investment is the sense of agency and autonomous learning embodied in an English learner. This occurred in all of the three teachers (Ray, Lisa and Rima). Their recollections showed that agency and autonomous learning were influential in them maintaining their high investment, despite not having chosen English teaching as his first preference:

> The material that I got from college supports me in my profession as a teacher today, [but] it is still not sufficient … I read a lot of books and I learned by myself to improve my English competency (Ray, Interview, November 24, 2005).

At the IPSTE there were things that we did not learn while we were student teachers. For example, I thought that tenses were fundamentally needed to be learned. In addition the teaching of how to deliver a lesson was less taught but I did understand that we could not expect everything would come from there [IPSTE]. I learned a lot of things there especially what I thought was very important as English teachers. We could not just expect everything to be perfect. For me at the time, I did do a lot of learning by reading other related sources that were a part of what we were being taught (Rima, Interview, December 12, 2005).

Actually the materials I gained during my studies still help me greatly in my everyday activities as an English teacher although I did modify and further develop what I learned from the IPSTE, as well as from other training I undertook. There are some things that I did not get when I was student teacher and I was faced with all those things when I was a beginning teacher; problems which I thought were because of my limited ability. Nevertheless these things can be overcome through continued study, sharing with friends, taking part in seminars, attending training (Lisa, Interview, December15, 2005).

These recollections of the teachers indicate that whilst they all are aware of the limitations relating to learning and teaching during their time in the IPSTE, they solved them through independent learning and on-going self-development. It appears that for all of these teachers, their position as advanced and adult learners caused them to be able to fill in the gap exercising their agency in facing the constraints and limitations during their learning experience. Ray, since high school, had always enjoyed studying English due to his high school teacher's ability in creating and facilitating an enjoyable atmosphere for him to learn English. In college it seems that Ray's existing sense of agency in learning English from high school continued during his study as a pre-service teacher at college, whereas for Lisa and Rima their position as high achievers from high school and the influence of a role model can be both associated with the sense of agency they exercised at college.

In particular, for Lisa, it is interesting to note that although she did not clarify further what she meant by the 'things' she did not learn in the IPSTE, she did not blame the institution, but rather put the blame onto herself, describing herself as having 'limited ability'. The awareness of self-limitation in English ability and the need to improve also have been recognized in the comments of Rima and

Ray. This awareness might have been the impetus, which created more opportunities and motivation for them to fill the gap through self-development

In summary, this high $\Rightarrow$ high group consists of three teachers: Lisa, Rima and Ray. Lisa and Rima maintained their high level of investment in English because of their positions as high achievers in school. Although both describe some feelings of disinterest towards English, they still felt that they should put effort into learning it because they were recognized at school as the best students and this pushed them to invest in English. Even though entering the teacher training college and choosing English as their major was not their first choice of courses, any ambivalent feelings they had experienced towards English when they were at high school changed due to an influential role model figure (Mrs Santika), who, as for some in the Trajectory 3 group, was an inspiring figure. This role model led them to develop quite a different feeling towards English, so that their investment was not just based on its association with academic achievement, but rather on a sense of personal connection and bonding with the language, imparting in them a desire to teach the language to others. Unlike Lisa and Rima, Ray had always enjoyed studying English in high school. However, despite not having chosen English teaching as his first preference, Ray's existing sense of agency in learning English from high school continued during his studies as a student teacher.

Conclusion

This chapter draws on Norton's (1995, 1997, 2000) notion of investment in language learning, a concept which goes beyond the learners' motivation to provide a framework which considers underlying conditions and factors that impact on motivation. The discussion has covered the formation of twenty teachers as professionals through examining two stages of their learning development: as English learners themselves in high school, and as advanced learners and pre-service teachers in teacher training college (IPSTE). Through this analysis some conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the nature of teachers' investment in English is dynamic and changes over time. Initial negative experiences of learning English and low investment in English at high school do

not destine that person to remain with low investment and engagement. Similarly, initially positive learning experiences and high investment in English do not guarantee that the person will maintain this approach and attitude as they enter tertiary studies and then the teaching profession.

Two important, possibly critical, factors can be drawn from the experiences of teachers in Trajectories 3 and 4. These are those whose investment in English at the IPSTE continued to be or became high. First, in their tertiary studies, they all describe realizing that they needed to take responsibility for their own learning, rather than expecting it to be something that was the responsibility of their college lecturers. This enabled them to overcome the limitations of their learning environment at college. These two groups managed their own learning and sought out the resources and support they needed both to develop their own skills in English and their competence as English learners. Second, for many, one pivotal role model, an inspirational lecturer, was able to imbue in them a passion for English and English teaching that sustained them, despite the limitations and constraints they had to deal with as student teachers.

This chapter also discovered that a learner's sense of their position in the classroom can become a formative factor for the learner to highly invest in English despite his/her negative attitudes towards English. Incidental experiences occurred and caused the feeling of humiliation and being marginalized (Arifin's story) highlighting how the hierarchical relationship between teacher and student can also stimulate one's motivation to learn and to invest in language learning. These experiences enable the learner to take the opportunities and advantages in learning and achieve language success.

Despite differences in their investment in English at school and college, the extent of similarities across all four groups was noted. These particularly pertained to their transitional experiences and the decision-making processes related to entry to the IPSTE. Overwhelmingly, the choice to attend teachers' college and to train as a teacher was not motivated by the personal desire or 'vocation' for teaching. Less than a quarter of the teachers had any expressed interest in becoming teachers at the time they entered their teacher training course. The primary motivation for most was to become a government civil

servant, a position that can be accessed through gaining a teaching position. Secondary to this, for some was the broader employment opportunities that could be opened up through knowledge of English. Parents and other influential older people played a critical role in determining course and career choices, with personal preferences generally being overridden by family desires and needs. Whether and how the teachers' investment in English through these experiences impacts on their professional identities, attitudes and approaches as English teachers will be the focus of discussion in the following chapters.

Chapter 5

Teachers and Societal Pressures

Whilst the previous chapter explored the twenty teachers' investment in English as learners in their two learning stages, this chapter will examine broader contextual factors that may contribute to the shaping of the teachers' identities as professionals. There appear to be two factors that are critical for understanding how teachers understand themselves as professionals. The first is the issue of teachers' remuneration, and this chapter is going to explore a range of responses from teachers regarding their income. The second factor is the issue of gender role differences in their work and the community. This factor affects male and female teachers, both married and single, and may contribute to an understanding of teachers' professional identity.

The issue of remuneration: teachers' perspectives

It appears that the issue of teachers' remuneration is critical with regard to the degree of motivation teachers feel for their jobs. It also contributes to an understanding of how teachers perceive their roles learning and teaching English. Eight teachers, Widi, Amir, Ani, Nola, Deni, Hendro, Emi and Harun, express negative attitudes about teacher remuneration, while five teachers, Ariyanto, Yusuf, Arifin, Lisa and Rima, although aware of the limitations a teacher has to deal with financially, are more likely to be uninfluenced by the matter. The others, Ray, Maryam, Yeni, Nina, Muna, Lian, Farida, appear to express no clear views in this regard, although they said that if there was any increase in teachers' remuneration in the future, they would be pleased.

Teachers' attitudes towards their remuneration influence their motivation to teach. Many interviewees indicate that their earnings from teaching are not sufficient to cover their monthly expenses. Widi, Amir, Ani, Nola, Deni, Hendro, Emi and Harun stated that a teacher's extrinsic rewards are far below their expectations and this appears to have had an impact on their motivation in their

profession. All of these teachers expressed their views independently, they questioned how a teacher could be expected to teach well in English if they have to constantly worry about filling the gap between their limited income and their expenses. For example, Amir expressed his disappointment regarding teacher wages:

> … I have heard from some friends overseas that a teacher in Singapore, for example, can earn about fifteen times more than what we are earning here. Therefore, you know, teachers in Indonesia are being hailed overseas as great people because we can live with such a small amount of money. In fact it is far from enough! … The problem here is just too complex and I think the first priority to be solved concerns teacher welfare! We are expected to do our job well but how we can do it if we also have to think how to get extra money to survive? (Amir, Interview December 2, 2005).

Despite what is not necessarily a realistic comparison between the income of teachers in Singapore and the income of teachers in Indonesia (the cost of living in Singapore is much higher), this comment clearly shows Amir's dissatisfaction. He feels that a teacher in his context is underpaid. In Amir's understanding a teacher's income is low, and the expectation of quality or improved achievement from a teacher should not be considered without first ensuring that the teachers' salary is satisfactory. The seven other teachers similarly expressed their dissatisfaction regarding their income, which they believe to be low and affecting their motivation in teaching. Moreover, there are two teachers, Harun and Emi who state that the situation is even worse for teachers who need to deal with their children's further education:

> I think teachers have to be highly appreciated in terms of our job. You know that a teacher is one who is called a 'knight without a medal,' because our duty is thought of as something that has meaningful value – 'teaching' or transferring knowledge to our students. But what do we get? The government must think about this issue and not just make promises without delivering them. I have three older kids in university right now and my wife is only a housewife … I have to work extra jobs, not just teaching … (Harun, Interview February 2, 2006).

> I feel sorry for the lack of attention that the government pays to a teacher's future concerning what remuneration would be enough and this I think impacts on teachers' motivation in doing their job … luckily my position is only to support my husband, otherwise it

is not enough, especially for teachers who have kids that have to go to school … the cost of education is very expensive! (Emi, Interview December 15, 2005).

The issue of gender roles within the family emerges in the comments of these teachers, but this will be discussed later under the heading: 'The intersection of gender roles with Teaching.' Meanwhile, there are some issues that need to be taken into account concerning these views. Firstly, it appears that in Harun's understanding a teacher is someone who is expected to sacrifice. Secondly, if a teacher solely depends on his/her teaching salary as the family's source of income, the income is not enough for a family's needs. The situation is different if a family has a double income from both husband and wife, as indicated by Emi in her comments above. According to the views expressed above, families with children seem to experience more difficulties when their children reach higher education. The number of the children in a teacher's family also appears to be critical in influencing a teacher's attitudes towards the issue.

A teacher's limited remuneration can also affect a teacher's self-development. Some of the teachers appear to show less enthusiasm regarding self-development and attribute this to their low salary and the associated low level of government support. It is difficult for them to further develop their skills as English teachers if there is additional financial obligation required (Amir, Widi, Hendro, Emi, Nola, Ani, Emi, and Harun). For example, Widi believes that because of low income, teachers do not feel motivated to deal with challenges in relation to their role as teachers.

… and because of the lack of support, for instance, our low salary, teachers just do not feel motivated to implement changes … and this is getting worse without support from the government … (Widi, Interview, November 22, 2005).

In addition, low income may leave teachers less motivated to provide themselves with better resources for their professional practice. Ani raised the issue that it is difficult for teachers to spend money out of their own pockets to buy English books for their own professional development. This is an issue in Indonesia, because English books are very expensive. It appears that purchasing English books, even basic ones for teaching, is something teachers are obliged to do. As Ani emphasized in her words:

> … even text books for teaching, we have to buy by ourselves.
> There is no support at all, so although we cannot afford to buy
> them, we must because that is our main duty as teacher! (Ani,
> Interview, November 29, 2005).

The disappointment of being lowly -paid and feeling unvalued can also reduce an English teacher's aspiration to be genuinely involved in their professional development activities. Three of the teachers, Amir, Harun and Nola, raised this matter, showing their reluctance to attend seminars, workshops or other teacher development opportunities when the cost is to be borne personally. For example, Amir has clearly emphasized this in the following recollection:

> … I only attend training sessions which are arranged for us, such
> as training programs for English teachers … it's okay if the
> training is arranged by the government but not for other events
> which we have to pay for … (Amir, Interview, December 2,
> 2005).

Being lowly-paid has also been associated with limiting teacher creativity. Some teachers (Amir, Widi, Harun, Emi and Nola) believe that it is difficult, if not impossible, for teachers to be creative in their teaching because of the high costs involved (e.g. the use of games as teaching resources). For example, as Amir recollects:

> … if we are expecting to teach students by using games, we have
> to provide the materials for the games ourselves … and the
> problem here is that we have to spend our own money … the
> school has a lot of needs so it cannot cover such costs … (Amir,
> Interview, December 2, 2005).

In Amir's recollection, being creative in English teaching is 'costly' so he is caught between the ideal of being creative and the realistic costs of this creativity on his limited salary. It appears that Amir has imposed a 'financial limit' upon his professional aspiration as a teacher to deliver his teaching in more interesting ways, such as through the use of games and other supportive media. The other four teachers (except for Widi described below) agreed there were high costs that effected them financially, believing that being creative in teaching is associated with providing resources adversely affects their low incomes as teachers.

Of the five teachers, Widi differs slightly in her remarks. While agreeing that teachers need media in teaching and hence need financial support to provide resources, her recollections show that at least she was trying to provide materials:

> … sometimes we try our best as teachers and prepare our teaching to the best of our ability but it is still not enough. To help my students I always try to provide charts, pictures or other media that can help them in learning English and I always try to give opportunities for them to tell what they can see and learn from the pictures but still I think this is not enough. We especially need to improve supporting facilities which all comes down to the financial support teachers need! (Widi, Interview, November 22, 2005).

In Widi's statement it appears that she has made a concerted attempt, (despite her low salary) to be creative through the use of media such as charts, pictures. Yet she also believes that it is difficult if a teacher has to depend on his/her own financial resources.

In addition, teachers' dissatisfaction regarding their poor remuneration can also create negative attitudes towards both the government and the school. Of the twenty teachers interviewed, some (Harun, Emi, Widi, Amir and Ani) appeared to hold a negative attitude towards the government, believing that the government authorities were not only responsible for teachers being lowly paid, but felt that they should also come up with a solution to this problem. This is highlighted in comments from both Emi and Widi:

> … It is said that 20% of the budget is for improving education but what have we got?,.. the government should consider this issue seriously so that there would be inducement for teachers to teach! (Emi, Interview December 15, 2005).

> … and because of the lack of support, for instance our low salary, teachers just do not feel motivated to implement changes … and this is getting worse without support from the government … they're always trying to say this and that … (Widi, Interview, November 22, 2005).

From the accounts above it may be assumed that Emi and Widi are inferring that if the welfare of teachers is poor, the quality of the learning outcome is hardly their fault. In addition, teacher dissatisfaction may also extend to the school. The

teacher may feel that the situation at school makes the dissatisfaction even worse. This is described by one of the interviewees in the following way:

> It is not good, and even though a lot of projects occur in the school which I thought would become an opportunity, not only to support school activities but also at the same time be a way to support teachers' welfare, as you know, they in fact, did not. I mean the goal of the money was to help teachers to develop teaching practices but rather than that, the budget was always used to expand school infrastructure or expand the physical facilities of the school (Ani, Interview November 30, 2005).

It seems that Ani had an expectation regarding funds which she believed should have been designated for supporting teaching. She saw these funds as an opportunity for a teacher to get some additional benefits. For example, if a teacher proposed the running of a special program or session to help students in their learning, it might be possible for that teacher to get benefit by either being paid for teaching the course, or being the one who planned/ran the program. It is possible to say that in Ani's view this could serve as compensation for teachers who receive such limited pay for their normal teaching duties. However, the budget was used for other things and in her view, it was wasted. From the nature of Ani's non-verbal communication in the interview and the negative views she expressed about the government, it appeared she had strong negative feelings for the school. While there are some differences between individual teachers, there is a high degree of commonality in the perceptions of teachers' remuneration. Their perceptions indicate that they hold negative attitudes concerning their income as teachers. Overall, they think their income is minimal. Their recollections in this regard indicate that they are more likely to believe that their extrinsic rewards are minimal and this has affected them in many ways. The pressure of daily living costs and family needs, as well as the cost of educating their own children appear to have become formative factors influencing their negative attitudes towards teachers' remuneration. In addition, some of them have highlighted the limited attention they receive from the government, and disappointment in school decisions to use funds allocated for teaching for other needs. These incidences have added to the teachers' dissatisfaction and, thus, have also contributed to the shaping of their negative attitudes. As a result, these teachers are more likely to demonstrate diminished motivation regarding their own career and professional

development. This includes their lack of motivation to enhance their teaching with resources, such as books or the use of interesting teaching methodology to enhance class activities because of the financial cost.

In contrast to the teachers discussed above, five teachers, Ariyanto, Yusuf, Arifin, Lisa, Rima, perceived poor teacher remuneration from a different perspective, as these excerpts indicate:

> Living costs now are very expensive and even though sometimes there is an increase in pay, it is only a small percentage … So who says that is enough for us? It is not enough! But the question here is, do we love our job or not? To find that our students show an interest to learn and are highly enthusiastic to ask what else they can learn, is really something that cannot paid for with money … (Ariyanto, Interview November 30, 2005)

> … but I believe that our dissatisfaction shouldn't affect our teaching. I mean that we love our job and we should first think of how to motivate our students to learn! (Yusuf, Interview, November 19, 2005).

> Enough or not enough we should feel grateful because that's what we got. We have to accept this (Arifin, Interview January 11, 2005).

> … but it does not mean that because of this problem, our responsibilities as teachers should be affected; we have to separate our feelings … (Lisa Interview, December 15, 2005).

> After teaching, I felt that I was in love with that job … of course if we consider financial gain, what we earn is not much … (Rima, Interview December 10 2005).

These recollections indicate that all of the above teachers are obviously aware of their limited income, but this does not appear to have negatively affected their attitudes and feelings towards their job. Their emotional connection to their job alleviates their feeling of dissatisfaction concerning their limited income so that their professional motivation remains strong. This dissatisfaction is not perceived by these teachers as a barrier because it appears that they would rather give priority to their teaching and their students' needs, rather than let themselves become disappointed with something that they cannot change, at least in the short term. It is the sense of a vocation that drives them to be highly positive in

their work, so that their satisfaction from teaching becomes a form of compensation for their low salary.

Their positive feelings, however, do not always help when facing constraints within their teaching practice. Of these five teachers, Ariyanto and Yusuf pinpointed that being lowly-paid to some extent restricted their greater creativity and ability to enhance learning and provide better teaching. For example, they mentioned constraints upon providing teaching materials, for which, sometimes, there is cost involved.

> Let's take photocopying as an example. You need to copy some pages to give to the students. We can start to talk about it but there is a cost in doing that and we have to pay that ourselves. Once in a while, to do things like that it would be okay, but if it happens many times … it is difficult for us! (Yusuf, Interview November 19, 2005).

> I sometimes felt frustrated with that … I want to prepare the best for my class; to accommodate their needs with appropriate materials. So I can save time for example, materials need to be copied. It would be difficult if you expect the student to pay and also remember that many of the students just cannot afford to pay money back (Ariyanto, Interview November 30, 2005).

Despite the economic difficulties they face in their teaching, it is obvious these teachers are highly committed teachers who are strongly motivated to invest their best efforts into providing better teaching. Through their recollections, we can see that they have had to face the fact that the lack of financial support for teachers can become a constraint on better learning. In recent English language teaching literature, the lack of financial supports for ELT in Indonesia has been widely recognized and assumed as one cause of on-going hindrances to success in English learning (Dardjowidjojo 1997; Mukminatien 2004; Nur 2004). However, it is evident that these teachers, along the way, have spent their own money to cover the cost of photocopying or to provide better resources for their students. A teacher's individual capacity to keep this up, however, is insufficient as they themselves have a limited income. Unfortunately it is the purchase of such resources which may well be the way to increase student motivation in learning English, especially considering the nature of teaching English as a foreign language.

An inner drive towards teaching may also be influenced by one's conception of values from religious teaching. It is interesting to note that of the five teachers, Arifin has linked the issue of teachers' remuneration and his religious belief. He says:

> … remember this is our *rezeqi* [that which has been given by God] we have to feel lucky and feel grateful because of this …
> (Arifin, Interview January 11, 2006).

Arifin has been strongly influenced by his understanding of Islamic teaching values, emphasizing his belief about the Islamic concept of *rezeqi*. When translated, *rezeqi* means something (money, children, blessing and so forth) that has been provided by God. Therefore, because of its divine source, you need to feel grateful for it. In Islamic teaching, as long as one has tried his best to make money in order to support his life on this earth, what he has is his *rezeqi*, or in other words, his portion or lot in life. This value seems to have become integrated within Arifin's ideology of life, influencing his attitude to things. This apparently includes his beliefs about his income as a teacher, that it is his *rezeqi* which he should accept with gratitude. Resolving to be positive in life, including the way he perceives his job, drives Arifin to give his best for his students.

This section has centred on the discussion of teachers' views regarding the issue of their remuneration. While it was revealed that teachers' income is regarded as low, there were differences in how the teachers reacted to this situation. For some, this issue seems to have been a crucial factor, encouraging their negative attitudes which in turn affected how they perceived their roles in English teaching. Others appeared to be more able to step up and deal with the challenges that a low salary posed. I argue that those teachers who possess negative attitudes and beliefs appear to lack 'a feeling of vocation.' It is the sense of vocation that the five teachers with positive attitudes had in common. For them, poor teacher remuneration does not necessarily prohibit a teacher from teaching well and attempting to stimulate the students to learn. Teachers' dissatisfaction with or awareness of their poor remuneration can be outweighed by the professional satisfaction they gain from teaching. In addition, it is also possible to argue that one's inner drive to teach may be influenced by one's religious perspective, as in Arifin's case, and this is discussed further in Chapter 9.

Indonesian scholars (Sadtono 1979; Dardjowidjojo 1997; Nur 2004) have pinpointed poor teacher remuneration as one factor which has caused the failure of English language teaching in Indonesia. This study provides support for poor remuneration being a contributing factor influencing teachers' attitudes and beliefs towards their jobs as English teachers. Arends, Winitzky and Tannenbaum (2001) emphasize that it is widely recognized that a teacher's wage is not classified as 'high' in many developed countries. However, in comparison, the income of a teacher in many developing countries is lower still, and perceived to be far from satisfactory. In Indonesia, there is no special consideration initiated by the government regarding teacher welfare because the salaries of all public servants, (including teachers), is generally equal including for all administrative and secretarial positions. Although some additional income is awarded above the basic salary, the amount is very small. This additional income is termed, 'functional salaries' (relating to the function performed – in this case, teaching) (Sadtono 1979; Dardjowijojo 1997; Jayadi 2004). However, whilst most teachers seemed to be weighed down by the constraint of a low income, and this appeared to be a contributing factor in their apparent lack of engagement with their profession, there were some teachers who appeared not to be weighed down by the limitation. There were six female teachers, and one male teacher (Ray, Maryam, Yeni, Nina, Muna, Lian, Farida) who reported no clear views on the issue of remuneration. They simply mentioned that they would be delighted to receive any increase in their income in the future.

Although at the time of interviewing I did not further explore this issue, the analysis in the next section sheds some light on why the issue of remuneration was less pivotal for some teachers. In this next section, I will discuss other contextual factors in teachers' lives that may contribute to how they understand themselves and impact upon their identities as professionals.

The intersection of gender roles with teaching

Drawing on insights from the analysis of teachers' perspectives on remuneration, this section examines why the male teachers in this study need to 'moonlight' while this is not the case for the female teachers. The aim is to explore other

factors that have influenced their decisions by considering how broader societal expectations and pressures impact upon the teachers' approaches to their careers and to their professional practice.

Two issues of position in the household and gender role expectations, emerge as critical factors contributing to male and female teachers' understanding of their professional identities and their motivations, including experience, beliefs and attitudes toward their practice. The first issue relates to societal expectations of the position of a man as the breadwinner – the head of the family and the one who is responsible for providing the family's financial support. The second relates to the position of women in the society and their multiple roles – as a wife and mother within the family context and as a teacher in the workforce, these have a critical influence upon married female English teachers' perceptions of their careers.

Males as breadwinners

Out of the eight male teachers interviewed, seven (Hendro, Harun, Deni, Amir, Ariyanto, Arifin and Yusuf) recounted that they were holding down extra jobs after school hours. Interestingly, not only did their extra jobs differ, but their perceptions regarding their teaching, differed as well. The remaining male teacher, Ray, verified that he was happy enough to only be teaching and that he was under no financial pressure because he was an only child (with no siblings to look after or compete with for family resources) and his wife was also working. This answer explains why he did not express any views about teacher remuneration, as he does not appear to be under the same financial pressures as the other male teachers.

Poor teacher remuneration and their position as breadwinners in the family were the major influences that forced four of the other male teachers to moonlight (the remaining three teachers will be discussed in the following section). In their reflections, Hendro, Harun, Deni and Amir clearly emphasized the importance of having an extra job after school hours in order to fill the gap between their low incomes and their expenses. They considered their salaries insufficient to cover

143

their family's financial needs and saw it as their duty to take on an extra job to make up the shortfall. For example, Hendro described how he spends time out of school hours in his rice field, which he received as an inheritance from his father. He admitted that he would rather not hire someone to farm for him because that would increase the operational costs involved and limit his capacity to generate additional income. He also added that his wife is a housewife, that they have two children, and he had an obligation as the eldest child to support his parents who also live with them. As Hendro says:

> It is my obligation to be with my parents and look after them. They are old now and I am the eldest and their only son. (Hendro, Interview, October 20, 2006).

This is a common belief system in the society in which Hendro is positioning himself in relation to a discourse of belonging and obligation as part of his position within the family structure (see Setiadi 2006 and Niode 2007 for this discussion) Within the extended family the obligation most often falls on the eldest to look after the parents as they age. However, regardless of the double responsibilities he has, it seems that Hendro enjoys his work. As he said, "I really like to do it [rice farming] because it not only helps me to cover family costs but it can also reduce stress!"

Harun argues that the importance of having additional income is primarily related to his children's education and his responsibility to come up with a solution.

> … I have three older children in university right now and my wife is only a housewife, so I have to work extra to solve the problem (Harun, Interview, February 2, 2006).

Harun's beliefs and attitudes are related to social cultural values in which there is a stereotypical gender/work division between him and his wife. A wife's job is related to 'household' duties, while the man is in the public sphere. If the income that he earns from his main job as a teacher is not enough, it is his responsibility as the breadwinner to meet his family's needs. Harun's use of the term, 'only a housewife' suggests his awareness that presently, not all women are restricted to domestic duties, even though this is the case for his wife. He accepts this and the implications for him.

144

While their interviews do not uncover what influenced these four teachers (Hendro, Harun, Deni and Amir) to choose their particular moonlighting jobs, it is interesting to note that their extra jobs have no relationship to their profession. Whilst Hendro's extra job is in his rice fields, Harun and Deni admitted that they attempt to make any money they can by being brokers or business partners with friends. Amir reported that late every afternoon he is a *bentor* driver. A bentor is a three-wheeled vehicle which has seat spaces for two passengers in the front of a motorcycle and has recently become a popular form of public transport in Gorontalo.

Hendro, Deni or Amir did not mention their wives working. This suggests that they have the same opinion as Harun, that as husbands, it is their role as head of the family to support their family financially. All four teachers appear to hold negative attitudes towards their low pay as reflected in their comments about how the respective authorities need to give serious attention to the minimal income of teachers:

> At least, there is some prospect for teachers' average income. There is always debate on TV and in the newspapers about teachers' remuneration – that it needs to be given priority as our job is not an easy one, but what until now? I think the government has to put it on their agenda to pay attention to this matter (Deni, Interview, January 16 2006).

> … in fact it is far from enough but we have to make it enough! … the problem here is just too complex and I think the first priority for a solution is the teachers' welfare! (Amir, Interview, December 2, 2005).

> … but what have we got? The government must think about teacher's low income not just make promises without following through on them. (Harun, Interview, February 2, 2006).

> Our salary is small but the two things are inseparable, I mean professionalism and teachers' welfare. I get confused as to which one has to be the priority even though I know that theoretically we have to make attaining professionalism our first priority rather than thinking about whether we earn enough or not, but it is difficult … (Hendro, Interview, February 9, 2006).

It is quite apparent that this section shows that the need for the male teachers to moonlight is connected to their position as economic providers for their family.

Whilst it is probably true that their income as teachers would not be enough to satisfy their families' needs, especially when providing for their children's higher education (Harun) or, looking after parents and other extended family (Hendro), their socio-economic and cultural context and the pressure these impose contribute to the teachers' lack of engagement (that is, their lack of attraction to, and involvement with) and bonding feelings towards their main profession as English teachers. In addition, the kind of moonlighting job the male teachers chose provides insight into their engagement and attitudes toward their profession, as is evident in comparing these four teachers with the other male moonlighting teachers' recollections.

Moonlighting as teachers

Unlike the four male teachers I have just discussed and who have been moonlighting in unskilled jobs, the other three male moonlighting teachers, Arifin, Ariyanto and Yusuf, undertook additional teaching work after school. Their choice of moonlighting work is related to their profession. Two of the teachers, Ariyanto and Arifin, describe their after school activities as helping students by facilitating study groups (Arifin), and conducting private courses (Ariyanto):

> I make time available for my students to have study group discussions. They come every night and study in my house under my supervision for about one and a half hours from 6.30 pm to 8.00 (Arifin, Interview, January 16, 2006).

> The students ask me for private courses and they are so enthusiastic to learn English. I find this really satisfies me a lot … (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

These comments show that these two teachers have strong feelings towards English and teaching which have influenced them to take part in their particular after-school activities. Both of these teachers indicate their willingness to accommodate their students' needs in English. It also seems that these teachers have been successful in building rapport and developing harmonious relationships with their students. In addition, they argue that they do not do these activities for the money (though they are paid). Both of them appear to be fully

focused on their students' needs rather than regarding the financial benefit involved in those activities. Ariyanto further emphasizes this when he talks about his students' poor socio-economic background:

> This is not about money; I am concerned about their motivation to develop what they are learning in the classroom with me. They themselves have asked me for the courses and they are so enthusiastic which I find more rewarding than the money I get from them … .and it is not much [meaning the payment he got from the activities] because they are not rich students but I am happy to do that. If I just considered the money, I could get more by teaching English in other private courses or institutions which are always offering me jobs (Ariyanto, Phone Interview, May 1, 2005).

Unlike Arifin and Ariyanto, Yusuf does not teach his students after school hours, but teaches private English classes for public figures instead:

> Three times a week, I give private courses for high profile persons in my area. They wanted to learn how to speak English as there is a requirement for English in their job and I enjoy it … (Yusuf, Interview, December 8, 2005).

All three of the teachers appear to display strong motivation as English teachers. Tracing back to the earlier section when teachers talked about their remuneration, it reveals that teachers who show more enthusiasm towards teaching than their dissatisfaction with their financial income are more likely to put in extra hours within the teaching field. However, their interview responses do not uncover the extent to which these three teachers' perceptions about the gender role division within the society has caused them to moonlight. Whilst they have material needs, I would like to argue here that their vocation for English learning and teaching, has been inspirational and has driven them to be more involved in it. From my cultural insider perspective, there are many available moonlighting activities that are easier in terms of effort and provide higher remuneration for that effort than teaching. So, their decision to moonlight in teaching as outside employment that is complementary to their main job as English teachers demonstrates that they have high professional motivation and engagement.

Between Career and Family: Married Female Teachers

A gendered belief system regarding women's double roles in society also emerged as critical in understanding how female teachers perceive themselves in relation to their family life and their careers as English teachers. Unlike the male teachers discussed in the previous section, who took on extra work in both teaching and non-teaching fields, only one female teacher out of twelve, Farida, (who was married), actually took on extra work. This work was in the field of education, teaching her students in the afternoon after school hours. Of the remaining eleven, there are ten married women and one single female, Muna. The ten married teachers (Lisa, Rima, Nola, Widi, Maryam, Emi, Nina, Yeni, Lian and Ani) all appeared to have an attitude of not taking school work home. However, the ways in which they approached this were quite different, revealing how they understand themselves in relation to their careers. Meanwhile, Muna's recollection shows that she was more than happy to spend time with her students outside of school hours. All of these I consider in detail in the following section.

The belief that school business must be separated from family business was overtly expressed by eight of the teachers (Nola, Lian, Maryam, Widi, Ani, Emi, Nina and Yeni). For example, Nola highlighted her feelings in the following comment:

> I do not like to bring schoolwork home. For me it should be finished at school. And besides, we have other things to do at home. (Nola, Interview, December 14, 2005).

In a follow up interview by phone Nola further clarified her position:

> I have other obligations for my family, as a wife and a mother, that I need to pay attention to … at home I am also busy with doing my household chores, but that does not mean I am not responsible in my job as a teacher! (Nola, Phone interview, April 27, 2005)

As Nola has highlighted, married female teachers juggle their multiple roles; as teacher, housewife and mother. This has caused her to create a definitive boundary between the two main spheres of her life, as she does not want her time at home to be mixed up with her teaching concerns. Secondly, as her last comment shows, Nola does not want to be judged badly as a teacher because of

148

how she organizes things to enable her to fulfill her multiple roles. She believes that she conducts herself responsibly as a teacher. The other seven female married teachers (Lian, Maryam, Nina, Ani, Emi, Widi and Yeni) also indicated that they have been juggling time between family and their teaching responsibilities. I highlight examples from the explanation of Ani, Nina and Maryam below.

Ani appears to have challenges juggling family and teaching responsibilities. During several of my visits to her school, I found that Ani was often late for her classes due to family matters. These included dropping or picking up her small daughter at school or taking her sick child to the doctor. The multiple roles that Ani played also intruded on our arranged interview times. Many times she was unable to keep our appointments because of family matters. Consequently, we would have to reschedule.

The preference not to bring schoolwork home due to family commitments also appears in Nina's recollections, though in a more indirect way. Nina had a strong family commitment as I discovered from informal conversations among the teachers, and in conversation with Nina herself. For example, during one of our conversations Nina said that regardless of her "strong feelings and personal interest in English and teaching," she preferred not to be involved with teaching matters at home. Sometimes, however, she could not avoid it, for example, when marking students' assignments or exams. One time I met her, she proudly admitted that she was a good cook and it was her duty to cook for her family every day. In addition, I discovered that every teacher in the staff room, including the school principal, understood that every Thursday was Nina's "special time" to go shopping at the local market near the school which caused her to arrive at school later than she usually did on other days. However, she argued that this did not interrupt her teaching hours as she had already adjusted her timetable to that routine.

Of the eight female teachers, Maryam's view of her multiple roles is connected to her understanding about religious teaching:

> That's my main duty as a wife and as a mother. I do not and will
> not ever change my mind about this thing. It is religious teaching

149

and you know that. I do not want to go too far. I have four kids now and I love them very much. I do not want to leave them because I am trying to further my career. For me what I have got now is more than enough. I am really grateful for every good thing I have from the name of God (Maryam, Interview, December 18, 2005).

This account shows that Maryam's view is shaped by her religious beliefs about her primary obligations, which are to her family. As a result, although there are opportunities open to her to develop her expertise in teaching by participating in professional development, she would refuse these if they crossed the boundaries of her family commitments. Maryam says:

Several times I have been asked to attend English training programs in other cities outside of Gorontalo but I have always refused because I do not want to leave my family … (Maryam, Interview, December 18, 2005).

This shows that Maryam knows where she stands when it concerns anything that threatens to interfere with her primary obligation to her family. Although she admits she is emotionally attached to her career, this takes second place and leaving her family for several days for her career advancement is incompatible with her Moslem beliefs. Maryam treats her career almost as a bonus, as indicated by her saying that, "For me what I have got now is more than enough" (Interview, December 18, 2005). For Maryam, to fulfill her concept of the role of a good wife and mother is the ultimate goal of her life, and this undoubtedly affects how she understands herself in relation to her profession.

From the female teachers' recollections it is evident that they hold strong opinions concerning their multiple roles. These clearly have been shaped by their adherence to the culturally sanctioned gendered belief system within Indonesian society, which is strongly influenced by religious values and how these apply to each person's life. All of these beliefs impact on how they see themselves as teachers and may impact and mould their identity as professionals. The influence of these socio-cultural factors on teachers and their identity development will be taken into account in the discussion of the concluding remarks of this chapter and later in Chapter 9.

Whilst the teachers' recollections discussed above show that they are likely to be strongly influenced by gender role expectations in how they differentiate and prioritize career and family, there were two teachers (Lisa and Rima) who felt that their teaching duties should not intrude into their time at home, but they based their arguments on the need to balance values and responsibilities. As Lisa and Rima explain:

> I often stay longer at school than my other friends, because I try to finish all my teaching responsibilities at school, because at home I also need time for myself, for my family and for other things. … so the point here is how we manage it! (Lisa, Interview, December 15, 2005)

> I prefer to not bring teaching stuff at home even though sometimes we cannot avoid that; we have to do it at home. For example, like students' homework that needs to be corrected or for teaching preparation but life is not just teaching and its stuff! There are also many other things that we need to do (Rima, Interview, December 10, 2005).

The above accounts show that these teachers are more likely to have developed different approaches to balancing their teaching and their personal lives compared to the other eight teachers mentioned earlier. Whilst their interview responses do not uncover details of their perspectives regarding gender role differences, these teachers are more likely to have high professional motivation towards their career and, at the same time have been able to deal with how best to integrate their personal lives.

Meanwhile, Farida is the only married female teacher who extended her teaching activities in the late afternoon after school hours, conducting private English courses for her students. She outlines her motivations for doing this. Firstly, her main goal is to help her students learn English and accommodate her students' own requests to learn English. In doing so she feels really happy with their enthusiasm towards their learning. Secondly, she also enjoys doing this as the late afternoon time slot suits her as she lives near the school (the site chosen for this activity with school permission). To teach for approximately two extra hours is something that does not bother her at all because she is childless and lives alone with her husband, who is happy for her to take on the extra teaching.

> I love doing that … and I do not have anything else to do in the afternoon … and there is no problem at all with my husband … sometimes if he has not arrived home I would feel lonely at home on my own … (Farida, Interview, December 17, 2005).

Notably, as a woman with no children, Farida has many fewer domestic demands. In the Indonesian context she is positioned as an outsider without the domestic responsibilities and role normally expected of a wife. Her attachment to her students is a substitute form of gendered role fulfillment, nurturing her students in lieu of children. This, however, would not have occurred if she did not have a strong attachment toward her profession. Whilst I do not have detailed information regarding the cost of her private courses and the resultant effect on her family's financial situation, it suggests that Farida has high motivation and professional commitment in doing her job as an English teacher.

I have discussed the recollections of the eleven married female teachers, and it is interesting to note the pattern that has emerged. Unlike the seven male teachers, none of the female married teachers with children took on extra jobs, unlike their male counterparts. Most of the female teachers seemed to be strongly influenced by their understanding of gender role differences. This was manifested through their reasons for their dislike of, or refusal to, bring work home, although they differed in their precise attributions for making this choice to separate the domains of career and family in their lives.

A single woman: What makes a difference?

This section aims to explore whether the beliefs and values regarding dual roles and their relationship to teaching held by the married majority of female teachers also exist in the recollection of Muna, the only single female teacher in this study.

What emerged from Muna's interviews and my observations of both Muna and the other female respondents, is that Muna appears to be highly engaged in her profession even outside school hours. Muna extends her teaching role to her home, making herself available to her students without time constraints:

152

> I told my students that they were welcome to visit me at home and I was quite happy to do that for them. (Muna, Interview, March 3, 2006).

During my second visit to Muna's house to return some paperwork I had borrowed from her, I observed that Muna was very dominant in her own house. She lives with her aunt who looks after her and the rest of the household. This could be seen as supportive evidence that there are no domestic expectations placed upon her as a single woman. She is totally supported by her aunt and as such is financially secure. As a result she has enough time for herself and is able to allow opportunities for her students to visit for guidance and consultation.

From her other recollections, I found that Muna is quite fond of reading, especially English novels. By her reading and other forms of self-development she has attained higher status and enjoys close relationships with her students. The result is that it seems that Muna feels closely attached to her career as a teacher, and her profession is very much at the centre of her daily life. The question of whether this will affect Muna's views of other aspects, such as her construction of her students and her approach to classroom teaching will be further explored elsewhere in this thesis.

Conclusion

I have discussed economic and social factors that appear to be critical in influencing the shaping of English teachers' beliefs and attitudes, and which may subsequently contribute to their understanding about themselves and hence influence the shape of their identities as professionals. It is revealed that most of the teachers felt that a teacher's remuneration was too low, even those who felt that low pay should not interfere with their attitude toward teaching felt that the lack of funds stifled their creativity in the classroom.

Interestingly, while inadequate remuneration was a factor for both sexes, patterns of moonlighting differed between male and female teachers. Male teachers tended to moonlight because they needed the extra money, and did not always moonlight as teachers; whereas female teachers, if they moonlighted at all, did it in a way that helped their students. Male teachers appeared to be strongly

influenced by socio-cultural and economic pressures (as providers for their families) to select additional employment outside teaching, those with a stronger professional 'vocation' preferred to moonlight as teachers. Female teachers felt the socio-cultural and economic pressures differently (as wives and mothers) thus prioritized care of the family over moonlighting for extra money, each of the married female teachers had their own process by which they set boundaries between work and home responsibilities. From the data it seems that the primary factor influencing a female teacher's decision to moonlight was whether or not she had children, as both the childless female teachers had time to moonlight as teachers, while none of the female teachers with children moonlighted.

In conclusion, economic return and gender roles are formative factors that influence the shaping of teachers' beliefs and attitudes about themselves. This consequently appears to influence how different teachers are constructing and positioning themselves differently in relation to the broader societal economic and gender role discourses, and this, in turn, seems to explain the teachers' different understandings of their profession and accounts for differences in their reported levels of commitment to their profession as a teacher. The question as to what extent these factors may potentially impact upon the way the teachers engage in their teaching will be further examined in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

Chapter 6

Teachers and School Context

The attitudes and responses of teachers to the school context they are working in are key factors to achieving success in student learning. This chapter explores two themes that emerged in the in-depth interviews regarding the teachers' experiences of collegial relationships and their perceptions of their students. Both themes are revealing in that they show differences in the teachers' engagement with English, detail possible affects on their confidence as English speakers, and unveil common threads with regard to their views of their students and the barriers they face as teachers. This chapter shows that there are significant differences on many levels between teachers who feel confident and empowered and those who do not. It provides important insight into which factors in the development of a teacher's identity may be vital to the formation of confident, successful teachers of English.

Two factors emerge as critical in distinguishing teachers' different responses to the school context, the first is collegial relationships and, the second, teachers' attitudes and beliefs regarding their students. In the first section, I will examine the collegial aspect of teacher-teacher relationships, considering the tensions and dilemmas experienced in creating opportunities for practising English communication, which subsequently may impact their teaching practice and influence their approach to change. In the second section, I will analyze teachers' understanding of their students examining different ways teachers perceive their students.

Tensions and dilemmas in creating opportunities for English communication practice

This section aims to discuss the collegial context and its relation to teachers' development of their English communication practice. The ability to practise English communication freely is a critical factor contributing to teachers'

155

understanding of themselves and their relationship to others. Gorontalo has its own set of traditional expectations. Those most relevant here are the sense of belonging, mentioned by Niode (2007), which is related to 'strong bonds' described by Setiadi (2006), and respect for seniors, which is rooted in the Indonesian patriarchal system (Setiadi 2006),and noted as a feature of Gorontalo culture (Niode 2007). These cultural influences may become constraints or barriers for the teachers' communicative development, depending upon the teachers' approach in positioning themselves in relation to these traditional expectations. This may ultimately affect their method of teaching within their classroom practice. Thus, it is important to examine how barriers are manifest and examine how some teachers have managed to overcome the constraints.

A teacher's motivation to communicate in English with English speaking colleagues can be influenced by their perception of their colleagues' attitudes toward it. The majority of the interviewees' experienced diminished motivation to speak English (Amir, Lian, Widi, Nola, Deni, and Maryam) due to beliefs about their colleagues' attitudes. In contrast, others (Lisa, Farida, Ariyanto, Arifin, Nina and Yusuf) although feeling pressure and tension in this regard, did not necessarily reduce their motivation to practise their English communication with other colleagues who could speak English.

It is difficult for an English teacher to engage in English communication where the teacher has to face negative responses of their non-English-speaking school colleagues and pressure to behave in a certain way in front of senior colleagues. Six teachers (Amir, Lian, Widi, Nola, Deni, and Maryam) raised this issue, claiming that it is difficult for them to speak English at school due to the discouraging responses from their school colleagues who did not have a knowledge of English. This difficulty is highlighted in three teachers' remarks below:

> … It is difficult, especially among English speaking colleagues …
> I felt bad because they are more senior than me … and the
> teachers from general subjects always say, "Don't speak English
> here, we don't understand you!" … (Lian, Interview, December
> 16, 2005).

In practising speaking, I do that with other English teacher colleagues but it depends on the situation. Many of my friends feel ashamed and I think they are worried to speak English … and also if we speak English in the staff room, many of them [teachers from general subjects] will say … "Hey! Hey! You cannot speak English here. We do not understand!" So it depends on the situation … (Widi, Interview, November 23, 2005).

I feel uncomfortable, they [teachers from general subjects] will look at me a bit strangely. Maybe they think I am showing off my English … Some were a bit cynical though a few will show their appreciation and say that I want to be like you … (Amir, Interview, December 7, 2005).

These recollections show that there are two aspects of relationships that influence the teachers' ability to freely speak English in the school context. These are the nature of their relationships with their school colleagues teaching other subjects, and the nature of their relationships with their senior English colleagues. With regard to the first aspect, it is clear that the teachers' beliefs about their opportunities to speak English have been influenced by responses they have received from non-English teaching colleagues; they could not practise English within their school context because of the negative responses from the broader group who could not understand what they were discussing. The other three teachers (Nola, Deni and Maryam) report being similarly uncomfortable speaking English near their non-English-speaking colleagues. In this context, I argue that dealing with the challenge of practising English in the college environment is strongly influenced by the English teachers' need to feel a sense of belonging, a major cultural value in Gorontalo society. For most of the non-English-speaking teachers, there is suspicion as to the context of what they can't understand together with the expectation that to be loyal and collegial you should speak in a way that is inclusive of all. As a result, when they see the English teachers practising among themselves their response is negative. This negative response is interpreted by the English speaking teacher as social refusal and can cause a teacher to become reserved and stop their efforts to practise. For those teachers, showing their solidarity as a group is more important than continuing their English practice. This resonates with Niode (2007) and Setiadi's (2006) concept of a sense of belonging within society (see Chapter 2 for further discussion) that results in teaching values that emphasize the needs of the group

rather than personal needs. These values influence many of the English teachers'
ways of understanding and locating their own experiences so that if their group
resents the use of English in the staff room, their refraining from speaking
English is part of showing their acceptance of group norms and thereby secures
group membership.

The second aspect concerns the nature of relationships with senior English
colleagues. In the case of Lian, she clearly described her uncomfortable feelings
when using English in the presence of her seniors. However, Widi and Amir are
less explicit. In Widi's recollection above, she described that she does practise
English among her English colleagues, though this does not always happen
because she feels shy and worried about her English ability. Such feelings appear
to interfere with and affect her motivation to speak English. I did not gather more
detail regarding this issue when interviewing Widi initially. But in a follow-up
phone interview, she stated that the English colleagues she was shy about
speaking with were her seniors:

> … not with the older ones; I prefer not to speak English with them
> as I feel uncomfortable, but if I am with my other friends for
> example … [name given] that's alright … we speak to each other
> using English … (Widi, Phone Interview, May 7, 2005)

The other three teachers (Maryam, Nola and Deni) highlight similar perceptions
of their discomfort when speaking in front of their English speaking colleagues
whom they consider senior in terms of age and teaching experience. As Deni
comments:

> … there is a bit of an uncomfortable feeling because they are
> senior than us. I am afraid we might be considered as one who
> showing off our English (Deni, Interview, December 18, 2005).

This gives the impression that the opportunity to speak English is more likely to
occur between English junior teachers than between junior colleagues and their
seniors. In relation to this, I argue that the issue of seniority within this society
affects teachers' confidence regarding speaking or practising English
communication within their school context. Also, their relationship with their
senior colleagues affects a teacher's motivation to speak English later on. Based
on the teachers' comments above, it is obvious that their attitudes towards

158

English practice are influenced by their beliefs about their position in comparison to their seniors. Such beliefs and attitudes, I argue, derive from the way they understand themselves in relation to their seniors as needing to show respect. In this instance, senior teachers would be seen as holding more power due to their seniority in terms of their ages, their English teaching experience, and their expertise in English. Niode (2007) has further explained within a society where respect for seniors has become the priority, power is seen as a basic fact and a senior is seen as one who holds more power than their junior. As a result, this would create a 'power distance' within the relationship (Hall 1997). So it seems that the junior teachers were not confident about speaking English in front of their seniors for two reasons: for fear of losing face if their English is flawed (Lian), or, concern that they may be too competent and make their senior lose face (Deni). These feelings can create barriers for junior English teachers trying to enhance their speaking ability. For example, Lian has described that her efforts are more likely to fail than be successful:

> … so even though I have tried, like … there was a certain day called as English day on which everybody, I mean English teachers, and even other teachers who were teaching general subjects can speak English. They, as well as students, specially give attention to the special day for having the English practice. I mean to practice communication skills … I feel weird and uncomfortable if we speak English because their responses [the non-English teachers and senior English teachers] caused me always turn to speak Indonesian instead! (Lian, Interview, December 16, 2005).

The teachers' recollections highlight that the nature of relationships between colleagues is vital to English communication practice. The problematic aspects of the collegial relationships are those between junior and senior English speaking colleagues and those with non-English speaking teachers. Feeling shy or not powerful enough in front of senior colleagues and the need to be part of the broader group of teachers in the school has an impact on an English teacher's motivation to develop their speaking ability. But this was not the case for all of the teachers interviewed, some teachers dealt with the issue of collegial context differently.

159

Lisa, Farida, Ariyanto, Arifin, Nina and Yusuf, give the impression that they are highly confident in speaking English. All six appear to believe that they have to frequently use English in order to improve their skills as English teachers. They further explained that it is common for English practice not to be supported in their school context. Yet, though they have been aware of discouraging responses experienced from colleagues, they are able to face the challenge. For example, Ariyanto has reported that most of the time, he gets the impression that his efforts to speak English in his school context are perceived adversely by his school colleagues:

> I can feel that they might have thought that I am arrogant because I always speak English at school but I do not care because I do not want to end up like them [his other English teaching colleagues] (Ariyanto, Interview, December 1, 2005).

Farida recounts her efforts to always encourage her other English colleagues to practise English together at school. She describes how she always tries to use English with her peers and juniors though she is often disappointed because of their unsupportive response. She says that they always reply to her in Indonesian or express their preference to speak in Indonesian rather than English. However, this does not decrease her motivation as she has realized the importance of English practice:

> For me language is communication … if we cannot use it, what's the point? That's why I always say to my colleagues, "Don't be shy or feel bad to practice it. Just think, it is not our own language so why should we have to be afraid if we make mistakes?" (Farida, Interview, December 19, 2005).

Whilst appearing very confident about expressing herself in English, Farida has often faced negative response from colleagues in the staff room because of English conversations with her peers. Many of her colleagues refuse to speak English around non-English speaking peers. Farida says that although she often felt that they would look at her and see her as different to them, she continued her attempts in order to be able to use her English. She appeared to succeed too, as she said, "I kept going, although they displayed their disapproval of what I was doing, I kept practising it and expressing it".

In addition, Lisa has explained that although she has been aware of the risk of friends' judgment because of her ongoing attempts to use English in her school environment, she believes that it is a part of the consequence of being an English teacher. She additionally states, "If you are not ready to face this, you will end up with failure". This example shows that some teachers are able to cope with the challenges of practising English at school despite disapproval from both English and non-English speaking colleagues. The remaining three teachers (Nina, Yusuf and Arifin) also show similar perceptions regarding their ability to face the challenge of speaking English in front of their non-English-speaking colleagues.

This section has dealt with the issue of collegial relations within the teachers' work context. It has revealed that some teachers are able to deal with the problems of their colleagues responses toward the use of English, this is not the case for other teachers. It seems that the experience of rejection by colleagues during their attempts to communicate using English has negatively affected the latter group's beliefs and responses. They avoided using English within the school context where they would be confronted with the uncomfortable feelings of either: being seen as not belonging to the group or being judged as one who is not cooperative. In addition, the nature of the relationship between junior and senior colleagues in a culture with traditional expectations about respect for elders may have influenced the way the teachers understand and locate themselves discursively, creating a gap of power. This gap acts as a constraint that limits communicative involvement in the language, and hence decreases their desire to speak the language in the work context.

In contrast, six teachers, have flaunted these pressures which derived from traditional expectations of society to its group member, to conform and have a very different discursive practice. They recognize how important English practice is for the development of their English communication skills, despite the risk of the negative judgment by others. They are excellent examples of the fluidity present in all cultures where there are individuals who are not as strongly/ heavily influence by their traditional society expectations. Compared to the other group, these teachers present as social risk takers. They will risk the

disapproval of the group or even rejection in order to be able to improve their English speaking skills and to model everyday language use for their students.

Empowered Versus Defeatist Views of Students

This section aims to explore teachers' views toward their students. Two broad categories of views emerged: 'the defeatist view' which reflects an attitude where a teacher finds barriers to action and 'the empowered view' which reflects an attitude where a teacher finds ways to help their students to learn. I will discuss these below.

A defeatist view can be characterized as one in which the teacher has a firm belief that there are obstacles to students unfettered learning, none of which are under the teacher's control. The obstacles may include: students' English skills are low, students' attitudes are not positive and impair the potential for learning for various reasons, resources are inadequate in Gorontalo, cultural values encourage satisfaction with one's lot, and peer pressure that discourages showing off is a disincentive. This view is dismissive of the capacity of students and defiant regarding the amount that the teacher can do to change the situation. An empowered view, however, has less focus on obstacles and more emphasis on finding ways to help the students learn despite any perceived barriers.

The majority of the teachers (Hendro, Nola, Ani, Widi, Harun, Emi, Lian, Yeni, Amir, Deni, and Maryam) expressed their belief that the students arrive in their classes with a low capacity in English and this makes it hard for the teacher to bring them up to the expectations of the curriculum. Some examples of such beliefs:

> The students' capacity in English here is low so we feel it is very difficult. I give them tasks but they do not always do the tasks and the result is just disappointing (Ani, Interview, November 30, 2005).

> Here students' ability in English and in learning averagely English is too low … I think what is expected in the curriculum is just too high for the students here … students have to be active in their learning. It is hard to them … how they can do it if their English capacity is low? (Amir, Interview, December 7, 2005).

162

> … they know nothing; their English vocabulary is very limited. So the situation is like this. How can you expect them to be able to speak even a little English? It is very difficult! On average they said that English is difficult for its spelling, its pronunciation and to write as well … most of them cannot write in English words, they just cannot do it! (Yeni, Interview, December 7, 2005).

These recollections make it quite clear that these teachers have firm beliefs regarding their students' capacity in English. These beliefs are substantiated by a further belief that the students' capacity to learn the language is also very low. In addition, half of the teachers (Hendro, Nola, Deni, Ani, Widi, Harun, Emi, Lian, Yeni and Amir) believe that the classroom setting alone is insufficient to learn English. All of the ten teachers conclude that only students who have additional private English courses are able to achieve an acceptable level of English skills, as Hendro comments:

> … It is very difficult because the students' capacity of English is very low. For example in speaking ability, among 30 students, there are only 5 students who can achieve optimal level of speaking skill and among them such level is achieved because they have private courses outside (Hendro, Interview, February 12, 2006).

This highlights another factor that influences teachers' beliefs and attitudes in teaching English, a perceived link between students' speaking ability and its relationship to private tuition in English, such that the assumption is that students are unable to communicate in English if they just depend on their learning in a formal classroom. Hendro believes that a high standard is not achievable in a classroom setting, and the other nine teachers reported similar perceptions.

Hendro's disparaging remark about the classroom setting may be influenced by beliefs regarding students' attitudes toward learning and English. Just over half of the interviewees (Hendro, Nola, Ani, Widi, Harun, Emi, Lian, Yeni, Amir, Deni, and Maryam) identified negative aspects of students' attitudes and commitment including feeling afraid to speak, making mistakes, being lazy, and being uncooperative or disobedient in the classroom. I highlight some of the examples below:

> … they are lazy; they just do not want to study hard! (Ani, Interview, November 30, 2005).

> … what influences them is that they are lazy to learn. There is no motivational interest in learning English. There are only a few students, perhaps one or two students, for every class who have motivation to learn … (Yeni, Interview, December 7, 2005).

> The students always feel worried and afraid of making mistakes … They also feel shy to speak! Every time I speak English they always refuse and say, "Ma'am, don't speak English but speak Indonesian!" … so I become stuck. I do not know what I have to do … even though I know there are a few students who could speak English. They would be quiet and refuse to cooperate (Lian, Interview, December 16, 2005).

These recollections demonstrate the teachers' understanding of the psychological attitudes of their students. In their understanding there is not much they can do as teachers to help their students because the deficiency is on the part of the students.

Viewing students as being uncooperative or disobedient in the classroom has also contributed to teachers' overall perceptions of their students. Some teachers (Ani, Maryam, Amir and Yeni) reported such views, stating that many of the television programs available are full of negative values and this encourages young people to behave inappropriately and lack obedience, negatively influencing their ability to learn in an appropriate manner. This may suggest that for those teachers it is more important for strict, teacher directed class management and control to be incorporated into their teaching prior to concentrating on the actual course content. I highlight an example in Ani's recollection:

> … many of them now are so stubborn and disobedient in the classroom. I believe that the external influences such as what they watch on TV and at the movies causes the students to be like that. They just wanted to create problems in classes, talking, chatting and interrupting with no manners, so different to the students in the past! (Ani, Interview, November 30, 2005).

Another aspect of a defeatist view of students held by teachers is that low motivation to learn is derived from their poor socio-economic backgrounds. A few teachers (Muna, Emi and Yeni) perceived this issue. They relate the issue of students' lack of motivation to a range of factors including a perception that their economic circumstances mean they will not be able to afford higher education. For example, Yeni pinpoints:

> Students' motivation in learning in general I think is very low …
> and they are coming from low socio-economic backgrounds …
> usually just small number of students can do their further study or
> tertiary learning so they do not have any hope for their future …
> so that influences how they perceive their learning challenge …
> (Yeni, Interview, December 7, 2005).

Contributing to teachers' negative perceptions of their students is their perception of limited parental support due to ignorance of the importance of English in the community. Some respondents (Amir, Ani, Nola, Maryam and Deni) emphasized this issue, believing that, in general, parents in Gorontalo do not have a high awareness of the importance of learning English for their children. These teachers think that it is an obligation for students to learn English but consider parents likely have little thought to the benefits of learning English, and so are not interested in supporting and facilitating their children's learning.

Among the teachers who have a defeatist view of their students, there are a few teachers who recognize that some parents are keen to support their children in learning. These parent are normally from minority groups such as the well-educated or those with Chinese family backgrounds, who are more aware of the importance of English in today's world (Ani, Amir and Maryam). They believe that such parents have a greater concern for their children's learning achievements in school and always send them to have private courses, English and Mathematics, in particular. As a result their children are categorized as highly competitive students at school and display desirable attitudes toward their subjects including English. As Ani emphasized: "… there were only few in the class and they were just excellent."

Another factor that can shape the teachers' defeatist view toward their students is derived from their view of learning conditions in Gorontalo. All the eleven teachers (Hendro, Nola, Ani, Widi, Harun, Emi, Lian, Yeni, Amir, Deni, and Maryam) perceived that unsupportive learning conditions diminished students' motivation. This group of teachers have all pinpointed this, wondering how students can be highly motivated toward English when the learning conditions in Gorontalo are so minimally supportive. Yeni, Amir and Deni commented on the lack of internet, private English courses and English books in Gorontalo. While others, Harun and Nola, believe that the limited number of western people who

speak English visiting and staying in Gorontalo is a crucial deficiency, because people, do not have opportunities to interact in English and, therefore, have no desire to learn English.

Teachers holding the defeatist view also consider cultural values as barriers to effective English learning in Gorontalo. Half of the interviewees raised this (Hendro, Nola, Ani, Widi, Harun, Emi, Lian, Yeni, Amir and Deni, Maryam). For example, Lian describes the cultural value that people should feel grateful for what they have reached in life, or what they earn on this earth. They believe that, on the one hand, this value assists in teaching people to be positive in life and to avoid greediness. On the other hand, it may become a problem in that it can hinder a drive for success, negatively influencing the students' attitude in learning because it discourages competitive values. As a result, students can be passive and not ready to deal with learning challenges. The other ten teachers have a similar understanding of the negative impact of these life values on the student, as Hendro puts it: "a lack of sense to be a fighter".

Another conviction for defeatist teachers is that social factors such as peer pressure, can be a hurdle for students in learning English. This is because 'good learners [can be] stigmatized'. All eleven teachers (Hendro, Nola, Ani, Widi, Harun, Emi, Lian, Yeni, Amir, Deni, and Maryam) verify this matter. They explain that in Gorontalo it is rare for people to communicate in English, so students who want to practice their English skills, particularly speaking aloud, may be judged by their peers as intentionally showing off. Consequently, the students feel embarrassed and this can reduce their motivation. In the words of Ani (November 30, 2005), "they would feel shy and back off." Widi backs this up with the following comment, "This kind of attitude is also influenced by a judgment of those who speak English in public – that they are intending to 'show off'." (Widi, Interview, November 23, 2005).

I have discussed teachers who seem to hold defeatist views and attitudes in the ways they construct their students. I argue that a teacher who holds this view could be said to be finding excuses; citing barriers or giving reasons not to improvise and innovate in order to solve their problems. One may argue that all of these teacher beliefs are harmless if held in isolation, but, if a number of these

negative beliefs are held by the one teacher, the result is a defeatist attitude toward the students and a tendency to blame others, particularly the students themselves, for the poor results in the classroom. If a teacher's problems can be conveyed as too big and out of their control, then the teacher can hardly be blamed for poor outcomes. This blaming of others will consequently influence any efforts a teacher makes to facilitate better learning and achieve success in their practice. It is probably fair to say that this view toward their students has become a barrier for them and influences the way they understand themselves. This in turn influences their engagement and approach to practice, a theme that I will examine further in the next chapter.

In contrast, some teachers (Ariyanto, Ray, Yusuf, Lisa, Farida, Nina and Arifin) have quite positive constructions of their students' motivations and attitudes. They all described their students as highly motivated and enthusiastic in learning English. They explained that they think students are actually keen to learn English, depending on how the teacher approaches their students. Ariyanto, for example, thinks that teachers' attitudes toward their students can become influential in encouraging students' positive attitudes in English.. Yusuf states that if a teacher's approach is to deliver their practice in fascinating ways, it can positively influence students to learn:

> Teachers should be friendly in their teaching, so the students do not feel afraid to learn. Particularly when teaching English, a teacher should be creative. I found students are so enthusiastic in learning English. They have asked me for private courses and asked a lot of questions. Some other teachers told me that they felt frustrated with their students because their English ability was too low … .so the teachers seemingly gave up. In my heart I just laughed. I think they have not tried enough! When there was an opportunity for me to teach those classes I found the students actually wanted to learn (Ariyanto, Interview, December 1, 2005).

> We have to adjust to the learning and teaching conditions and teach the students in more fascinating and interesting ways in order to increase students' motivation in learning English. This is what teachers do! I believe that they actually want to study and to be capable in English! (Yusuf, Interview, December 8, 2005).

These accounts clearly indicate that unlike the other teachers in the previous discussion, these two teachers viewed their students in positive and optimistic

ways. It seems these teachers are more likely to show a high level of agency and empowerment as teachers. They hold a strong and empowered view that it is their role as teachers to be there, both facilitating and accommodating their students learning. They can accommodate students and be there for them as good educators. They present as manifesting strong ownership of the English language and a clear vision of how they should play their role. The other four teachers also demonstrate similar views, understanding their students in an optimistic, positive way, and thus displaying an empowered view of their students.

Another factor that demonstrates empowerment is the way they view students in terms of their limitations. Empowered teachers are more empathetic to the limitations they face. In their understanding, it is their role to motivate their students to learn despite student limitations and a minimally resourced teaching environment. This is highlighted in the remarks of four teachers:

> … students have multiple intelligences because not everybody is the same. There are a few students that show a lack of interest in learning English and if they come from low-socio economic background, their motivation to learn is low. But I always try to motivate them by saying that you can learn through your mistakes and we have a lot of practising in English – you would be able to do it (Nina, Interview, February 10, 2006).

> … if we can make them realize that learning English is not like something that they always think is difficult, they will finally be involved in learning, but of course it needs effort to do that! … a teacher should be able to create an enjoyable atmosphere for the students to learn. I told them they should be able to love it! … I told them that there are a lot of things that you can gain through learning English (Rima, Interview, December 12, 2005).

> I think the important factor is that a teacher should be able to help students to realize how important English is for them. I told them that now there are a lot opportunities for one who has ability in English. For example, there is the chance to go overseas and read other literatures in English to increase their knowledge. But I told them this would never happen if they don't try to take English seriously from now. I think they listen to this. After teaching, some students always visit me at my desk, curious to know more about English, showing their high motivation to learn. (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

> … learning English for the students is a bit different from other subjects because English is not their language. But I always try to encourage them and suggest to them to put effort into learning English because if one does something seriously, one should be able to do it! I suggest three ways to them: working hard to learn it by as many different methods as they can, such as by enriching their vocabulary, then reworking what they have learn from school and trying to facilitate themselves with good dictionary. It is very important that the teacher realizes that if students' achievement is lacking, the teacher can do something about it by doing things such as giving additional hours or remedial teaching (Ray, Interview, November 29, 2005).

The accounts above show several things. First these teachers demonstrate optimism toward their students and they have a positive attitude toward them. Also, they are aware that learning English for students is a challenge, both due to it being foreign, and to the complexity of English itself. Despite this awareness they do not cease to attempt to motivate their students' interest and facilitate their learning. Their recollections show that they are actively exercising agency in supporting and facilitating the students to learn. This is in distinct contrast to the defeatist view of students held by the other group, which inhibits their action.

Conclusion

Through the analysis of two factors: relationships in a collegial context and teachers' perception of their students, some conclusions can be drawn. First, the way in which teachers deal with the challenges of collegial relationships are not the same across the twenty teachers. The majority of the teachers seem to perceive the negative response from their non-English-speaking colleagues as a constraint which inhibits their willingness to practise English. Also, this group's motivation to practice English was reduced by the discomfort felt when using English in the presence of their seniors.

The remaining teachers seemed to be able to face these tensions and dilemmas within the collegial context. They show a greater level of empowerment and high sense of agency. The first group of teachers let their self-concepts and their collegial relationships impact negatively upon their identity as teachers. These teachers were more likely to present as 'conformists', whereas the second group

was able to challenge the constraints, presenting as 'risk takers'. The cultural value of the 'sense of belonging' and 'hierarchical relationship' in terms of seniority, discussed by Setiadi (2006) and Niode (2007) seemed to have a negative impact for those teachers whom I characterized as 'conformists' in a way they understand about themselves in relation to the traditional expectation put upon them and as a result of this can created constraints and barriers for them to practice English within the school context. Yet the second group of teachers showed that these barriers could be overcome.

Secondly, despite some fluidity from one teacher to the others in terms of the nature of their views toward their students, teachers shared similar characteristics in their attitude toward their students. Two broad categories emerged: teachers with a defeatist view and teachers with an empowered view. Many of the interviewees expressed negative and pessimistic views toward their students' capacity, motivation and attitudes toward learning English. This culminated in a defeatist view toward students. However, the empowered category of teachers demonstrated positive attitudes toward their students, culminating in an empowering view of their students.

Thirdly, the relationship of the teachers' perception of their collegial relationships and their perceptions toward their students is quite significant. Teachers whom I characterized as 'conformists' in terms of collegial relationships are also those who have defeatist views of their students, whereas teachers whom I characterized as 'risk takers' in collegial relationships demonstrate positive and empowered views of their students. That the four aspects (conformist-defeatist and risk takers-empowered) were congruent in this precise way gives rise to an interesting question, namely: Do the way teachers perceive barriers and construct their students impact upon the way they engage with and approach their teaching practice? I will address this question in the following chapter.

Chapter 7

From context to practice:
Coping with educational challenges

This chapter aims to analyze what teachers said about their classroom practice by examining their attitudes, beliefs and experiences. In particular, this chapter considers how their views on factors related to their teaching context impacted upon the approaches they employed in their classroom practice.

The responses of the teachers varied considerably, but their responses can be broadly categorized into two broad groups. Teachers in the first group have been grouped together because they generally expressed negative attitudes in their approach to teaching or were pessimistic in how they perceived the constraints and limitations of their teaching contexts. Within this group, teachers' attitudes varied from extremely negative to less negative. In contrast to these teachers, teachers in the second group have been grouped together because they generally expressed positive attitudes in their approaches to teaching or were optimistic in how they perceived the constraints and limitations of their teaching contexts. Similar to the first group, teachers within this group varied in the strength of their attitudes from extreme to milder ones.

I outline this continuum of attitudes by first discussing the negative attitudes and then the positive attitudes. The chapter is organized into several interrelated sections. The first section analyses the responses of the eleven teachers who expressed negative attitudes (Amir, Ani, Hendro, Yeni, Emi, Deni, Lian, Nola, Maryam, Widi and Harun). Within this section, I consider a number of factors that appear to have impacted on the teachers' attitudes and highlight how their attitudes are manifested in their teaching practice. Factors include class size, resources, facilities and lesson plans. Their resulting classroom practice centres on teacher-directed approaches, heavy use of L1 and beliefs that certain students are less capable of achieving competence in English communication. The second section analyses the responses of the eight teachers who expressed positive

attitudes (Lisa, Rima, Farida, Ariyanto, Ray, Yusuf, Arifin and Nina). Within this section, I also outline the underlying factors that appear to have impacted on the teachers' attitudes and their teaching practice, including class size, resources, and facilities. Having outlined the two groups, the third section focuses on one of the twenty teachers, Muna, who was far more equivocal in her attitudes and whose approach differed from the teachers in the other two main groups. Muna's attitudes varied depending on the issues. She expressed negative attitudes about the limited conditions of her school context and the limited abilities of her students, yet at the same she also expressed positive attitudes to student learning by providing extra time for students outside class and accepting criticism from them of her performance.

Throughout the chapter, the discussion is embellished with data gathered from classroom observations of the four teachers' teaching practice. The four teachers include Yusuf – who had a generally positive attitude – and Emi and Ani – who both had generally negative attitudes, and Muna who did not express a clearly negative or clearly positive attitude. This data is incorporated into the analysis to provide a practical contextualization of the teachers' attitudes.

Previous chapters discussed teachers' investment as learners, teachers' views of economic and social issues in their living contexts, and teachers' constructions of their students. This chapter builds on the picture of teacher formation by introducing how teachers coped with educational challenges through an analysis of their attitudes to issues in ELT in their individual contexts. Through this, it is possible to make a connection between teachers' attitudes and their classroom practice in order to develop an understanding of which factors contributed to the shaping of their professional identities and to the ways they approach their practice. In the synthesis chapter, which follows the next chapter on responses to curriculum change, I draw together the issues presented in this chapter with issues from the other chapters, including teachers' learning investment trajectories discussed in Chapter 4, as well as the influences of economic and social factors discussed in Chapter 5.

Teachers with negative attitudes

Issues for teachers with negative attitudes

Among the twenty participants in the study, I characterized eleven teachers (Amir, Ani, Hendro, Yeni, Emi, Deni, Lian, Nola, Maryam, Widi and Harun) as expressing negative or pessimistic attitudes. Their expressions included complaining, blaming others, failing to respond to challenges faced, easily giving up in difficult situations, and a lack of action to change a situation. Among the teachers expressing negative or pessimistic attitudes, several issues featured prominently in their responses. Five of them identified their large class size as a problem, eight identified facilities and resources, and nine identified the disparity between lesson plans and teaching activities. The following discussion explores how critical these common issues have become in influencing these teachers' attitudes towards their teaching practice. The three common issues are outlined in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1: An outline of common issues that impact on practice for teachers expressing negative attitudes to ELT in Gorontalo

Teachers	Views on issues of ELT context	Impact on engagement and approach to practice
Amir, Ani, Hendro, Yeni, Emi, Deni, Lian, Nola, Maryam, Widi and Harun	• See constraints as a burden on teachers: • Large classes involve more work for teachers • Lack of facilities and resources create insurmountable barriers to better teaching • Students' low capacities contribute to the failure of the planned lesson	• Approach teaching with teacher-directed styles • Heavy use of L1

One of the main issues for this group of teachers was class size, with dealing with large classes being reported as one of the major constraints they face in teaching English by Deni, Lian, Emi, Maryam and Amir. They felt that dealing with 30 – 40 students in one class was too difficult as it created an additional burden for the English teacher to manage. Deni and Lian each describe their frustration by explaining how large classes were a problem due to restrictions on time, not only for managing students of differing abilities, but in the additional demands created by marking outside class. Deni, for example, complains about limited time for giving practice opportunities to each member of the class:

> The classes here consist of 35- 45 students, sometimes we have 58 students. Even though you have arranged them to do role playing, you cannot just ask them to come up the front and practice. You have to pay attention to each one, to their fluency and accuracy, and then give them feedback. The time just goes! (Deni, Interview December 18, 2005).

Like Deni, Lian finds large classes difficult to manage and highlights the difficulties she faces:

> One of the main problems is the number of students in one class which makes it crazy [*kelabakan*] for the teacher. For example, when we are teaching or when we are checking their assignments, it is overwhelmingly busy! (Lian, Interview December 16, 2005).

Further, Emi suggests that large classes are problematic in terms of class control and guidance:

> I believe that if we could deal with small classes, it would be easier for teachers because the smaller the class size, the easier it would be for the teacher to control the students and to guide them fairly. But, in reality, we have to deal with large number of students – for every class there is a minimum of about 30, but it can be over 40 (Emi, Interview December 21, 2005).

Deni, Lian and Emi each regard class size to be one of the most significant problems for teachers in achieving success in their teaching. Even though they give different reasons for why large class sizes are a problem, such comments from the teachers suggest that their attitudes have been negatively influenced by their experiences in dealing with large classes. This appears to have caused them

to set limits regarding what they can and cannot do within their classroom practice:

> Having to deal with larger classes makes our work harder! (Maryam, Interview December 14, 2005).

> The communicative language teaching approach requires a teacher to be able to make the students become active and highly expressive in their English communication, but I believe this is more suitable to a context where we have just a few students in the classroom, so then the teacher could have enough time to improve their learning (Amir, Interview December 7, 2005).

Besides large classes, a lack of facilities and resources to support English teaching and learning in Gorontalo high schools seems to have resulted in pessimistic attitudes regarding the challenges they faced as teachers. Two thirds of the teachers with negative attitudes (Emi, Nola, Yeni, Maryam, Widi, Deni, Lian and Amir) perceive that facilities and resources – such as language labs, tape players and internet access – in their schools are crucial for English language teaching. In their schools, when the facilities are not available or are not in a condition to be used, the impact on these teachers is clear as they cite these limitations as one of the reasons why they cannot teach their students effectively.

The lack of facilities influences the effectiveness of teaching and this was specifically commented on by six of the teachers (Nola, Yeni, Amir, Widi, Deni, and Lian). Yeni, Amir, Widi and Nola each gave examples of their problems teaching listening skills. Often, even after they had prepared their tapes, the tapes could not be used because the school tape player was broken, or another teacher was using it.

> The facilities are important if you are teaching and more so if you are teaching listening. Imagine if we need the students to listen to the tape and the tape player is broken, or if there is only one in the school (Yeni, Interview December 7, 2005).

> I think having complete facilities is very important for teaching. For us, there is no option. If the tape player battery is low or if it is being used by a colleague, then we just have to accept this situation (Amir, Interview December 7, 2005).

My school has a language lab but only one. There are a lot of classes that need to use it so sometimes some of us have to step back [*mengalah*] and not use the lab to give someone else an opportunity. So it may be that the lab is not available and our 2 or 3 tape players are not working… (Widi, Interview November 23, 2005).

Without a language lab, your teaching will be weak (Nola, Interview December 14, 2005).

Resource issues from the perspective of the negative teachers seem to depend on the location and status of the schools where they are employed. While the rural teachers perceive an inequality between rural and city schools, teachers in city schools believe there are inequalities between different city schools. City teachers believe that low-status city schools, usually located in the suburbs rather than the city centre, have fewer resources and limited facilities in comparison to high-status city schools, which are usually located in the city centre. The high-status schools usually have more financial resources to provide teaching resources and facilities as a result of public donations from alumni members and other benefactors. These city schools are also the schools which are selected for government pilot programs. The students at these city schools are generally from wealthier families so the schools are able to provide additional programs and extra-curricula activities for students, such as a school marching band, English speaking contest, and sporting (volleyball, tennis, *takraw*) competitions.

The most striking examples of this negative comparison come from three teachers from rural schools (Nola, Deni and Yeni). Each of them express very negative attitudes and reports similar conditions in their schools. The feelings of dissatisfaction appear to be more pronounced for those teaching in rural schools fuelled by the perception of inequality in the distribution of resources and facilities:

Facilities to teach English here are minimal. Ideally to teach English you need good resources and facilities, such as a language laboratory and a tape player if you want to teach listening skills for example. But we do not have them. Usually schools in the city have better facilities. They are more complete I think... We have a tape player but it is kept in the principal's office. Sometimes you can use it and sometimes you cannot, because other teachers also want to use it... (Deni, Interview December 18, 2005).

176

It is quite apparent that, in Deni's understanding, if a school has better facilities then the teachers are able to provide better teaching. Knowing that their schools do not have such facilities leads these teachers to view their contexts as barriers to providing better quality teaching:

> Student outcomes from city schools are better in their English achievements. Of course we should admit that in terms of resources the schools in the city have complete facilities and resources for learning and teaching… Last year, for instance, the [named] school got a donation of a complete language laboratory from [name of company and person]… If there is an English contest within the province, the students from [the high-status (names removed)] schools would perform better! (Yeni, Interview December 7, 2005).

While rural teachers perceive their schools to be less well equipped than city schools, city teachers differentiate between different city schools based on their different status. Emi, Maryam and Hendro each highlight the different facilities available in city schools of different status:

> Regarding facilities, here [low-status city school], we don't have a lab but we do have tape players. We have to share them. For me, it appears that there is a difference between our school and other schools [names of high-status city schools mentioned]. Their facilities are more complete so it's more comfortable for you to teach there (Emi, Interview November 21, 2005).

> Now we have a language lab [at her low-status school]. We didn't have one before. Only the best [high-status] schools had them. So now it's ok for us now, but we still lack other facilities (Maryam, Interview December 14, 2005).

> We still have a lack of facilities [at a low-status school]. It's not really suitable for teaching English. We still don't have a language lab or other facilities we need, such as books and video for teaching (Hendro, February 12, 2006).

Access to resources is an issue for all the ELT teachers in Gorontalo. While rural teachers perceive themselves to be the most disadvantaged, city teachers also complain about a lack of access to resources. The availability of books and other ELT aids for the EFL context is an area of deficiency for teachers in Gorontalo. All eleven teachers expressing negative attitudes raised access to books as a problem. The negative teachers suggested that in big cities in Indonesia, such as Jakarta or Surabaya, they believed it would be easier to find English books and

materials than in Gorontalo. In Indonesia, Javanese culture is associated with the seat of government as a centre of power, culture, and economy. Indonesian people regard Java to be the most prestigious location offering the best access to resources and facilities in general (Mantiri 2004). In contrast, Gorontalo is seen as remaining provincial in its outlook and lifestyle, with most shops even in the city closing during the middle of the day. There are few bookshops in Gorontalo and none have a complete range of ELT books. Most ELT titles need to be ordered in or purchased by the teacher on a trip to Java. Lian, a teacher in a high-status city school:

> Even here we have a lack of resources to teach English. For example, I've ordered books and I've had to wait weeks and weeks, even months, for them to arrive from the publisher in Jakarta and they still haven't arrived yet! (Lian, Interview December 16, 2005).

The difficulty accessing resources appears to have reinforced Lian's pessimistic attitude towards teaching English.

Another factor that has become critical in teachers' pessimistic views in their classroom contexts is the teachers' perception of the disparity between their lesson plans and their teaching activities. Nine of the negative teachers (Amir, Ani, Yeni, Emi, Deni, Lian, Nola, Maryam, and Harun) explained that their lesson plans are only prepared to meet administrative requirements, rather than for actual use in the classroom. For example, like the other eight negative teachers, Emi highlights:

 We must make it [the lesson plan] but in teaching we cannot use it because it depends on having the actual teaching materials and on the students, so we have to adjust it for the class conditions and our situation (Emi, Interview December 21, 2005).

It is widely recognized that competent teachers in all disciplines take into account the nature of the classroom where they teach, and adjust their lesson plans accordingly (Nunan 1990; Arends et al 2001). However, in the perspective of these negative teachers, the core problem lies with the students or the

materials. This may strengthen their beliefs that the lesson plans they prepare do not bear much resemblance to the actual classroom practice.

The teachers regard their workload as EFL teachers to be higher than that of teachers in other areas or disciplines. This issue was raised by seven of the teachers expressing negative attitudes (Nola, Widi, Lian, Emi, Deni, Amir and Maryam). They each complained that teaching EFL creates extra work, reporting that they need to prepare teaching materials in both written and oral forms as English is not their native tongue. For them, it means double the workload. Deni exemplifies what a non-native EFL teacher has to deal with when teaching vocabulary:

> If you want to teach vocabulary, you have a list of vocabulary that you want your students learn and you yourself have to spend extra time to learn the meanings of the words and how they all are used... It differs from other [non-EFL] teachers. We need more time than them for teaching preparation (Deni, Interview December 18, 2005).

In addition, all of the teachers in this group state the importance of a teacher's responsibility to prepare well before delivering their teaching seeing this critical for being respected and valued by their students. Amir sums up the negative feelings of these teachers about the heavy preparation workload:

> We have to prepare modules, lesson plans and complete students' assessment forms. It is about 3 hours minimum every day just on preparation…sometimes we are just too busy to do those things and do not have enough time to be well prepared in our teaching! (Amir Interview December 7, 2005).

The heavy preparation workload is one of several issues related to curriculum that I discuss in more depth in Chapter 8.

Based on the teachers' reflections about their heavy workload, it seems that their resentment relates to concerns about their students' respect for them as teachers. The expectation of a teacher in Indonesia is an expectation of a professional who is knowledgeable in their field. Culturally, in the Indonesian context, a teacher is viewed as an expert who is responsible for the transfer of knowledge. Due to the status associated with this role, teachers should not make mistakes and should not admit or show a lack of knowledge in their field (Rudiyanto 1988; Hamied

1993; Mukminatien 2004). A teacher is also seen as a person who is to be given respect because of their position of knowledge. In a study of teachers and their perspectives on the 1984 curriculum implementation in Java, Rudiyanto (1988) argued that this expectation stems from a cultural value that is strong among teachers. In Gorontalo, as across Indonesia, this cultural value remains strong. English teachers especially feel the burden of this cultural value in their classroom performance because English is not their native language and they may make mistakes. Teachers need to maintain their high position as professionals who have faultless knowledge and expertise and ELT places particular great demands on them in relation to this.

In this section, I have discussed several issues that appear to have become critical in shaping the teachers' negative attitudes and beliefs. These issues have been instrumental in some of the teachers developing pessimistic attitudes towards teaching English. Factors such as class size, a lack of resources and facilities, the location of their schools, and different statuses between schools are all factors that have contributed to teachers developing these negative attitudes. The perceived constraints are viewed as limiting and restricting their abilities to teach effectively, and influence their classroom practice.

Teaching Approaches: from negative attitude to action

Despite differences between individual teachers' teaching approaches, all eleven teachers expressing pessimistic attitudes are more likely than the remaining nine to employ a teacher-directed approach, a conventional method of teaching where there is unidirectional communication from the teacher to the student (Yates 2003), reflecting a 'transmission model' of teaching (Dana, McLoughin and Freeman 1998; Mallete, Kyle, Smith, McKinney and Readance 2000; Yates 2003). A teacher-directed approach reflects not only a belief in a traditional way of transmitting knowledge, but also reflects a rigid and structured style of teaching. The eleven negative teachers all give the impression that they have difficulty embracing the more recent conceptualization of the role of the teacher as facilitator or mediator in the classroom. Their inflexibility is evident in their constructions of their roles and responsibilities towards their students. All of the

negative teachers independently report that they are aware of the ideal model of teaching and learning English where teaching is student-centred and involves students actively in learning. Yet they also report their students' inabilities to participate in this learning style. While these teachers report that they try to create activities and learning situations that enable their students to be actively engaged and more independent, they report that their students remain passive and only attempt tasks or exercises when the teacher directs them to do so. Widi highlights the students' dependence on their teachers:

> They [students] prefer to learn with the teacher beside them. Teachers here [in Gorontalo] always need to direct because the students are passive. A teacher can be a facilitator if the students are diligent and study hard… and are willing to read books. But [in fact] they expect we as teachers to direct! (Widi, Interview November 23, 2005).

Further, Hendro understands that there should be multi-channel communication and interaction between teacher and student, but he explains that this does not work in his teaching practice:

> I have tried. I gave them materials to discuss. After 20 minutes nobody had tried to speak. So, I had to take control in order to liven up the class. Otherwise nothing would happen and the class is over (Hendro, Interview February 12, 2006).

In addition, Harun and Nola each described that whatever efforts they made to liven up their classroom, they still had not achieved their goals:

> If I ask some questions which need to be answered by the students, it ends up with me answering. I have to guide them first in order to get an answer from them (Harun, Interview February 8, 2006).

> We as teachers are the ones who have to be active. It's like when you ask someone to take medicine, you have to make them open their mouth. Otherwise they can't take the medicine (Nola, Interview December 14, 2005).

Widi, Hendro, Harun and Nola suggest their students are only able to learn in a teacher-directed style, which suggests that they regard learning difficulties to stem from the students' capacities, rather than from their approaches. Their classroom experiences lead them to revert to their old teaching styles in

preference to trying more interactive approaches. What can be drawn from these examples is that their approaches are related to two underlying factors. Firstly, they view their students' capacities as below what they consider a minimum required for a more interactive approach. Secondly, their classroom experiences are reinforced by their responses to the constraints they face. These experiences have caused them to create barriers between themselves and interactive teaching. Teaching in a more controlled, teacher-directed style enables them to achieve some English practice during the class. Yeni reflects on the perceived failure of the new student-centred method, commenting that "at the end of the day, we will always come back to classical method."

Besides the style of teaching, these teachers also revealed that they rely quite heavily on L1 in the L2 classroom. The most prevalent reason given by them for the infrequent use of English in their classrooms is because they believe their students' English skills are limited. All of the negative teachers (Yeni, Lian, Hendro, Nola, Deni, Ani, Widi, Amir, Maryam, Harun and Emi) believe that it is difficult to use English in their classroom because their students' capacities in English are so minimal that they cannot understand or become engaged in learning. Like the other teachers, Yeni explains that she feels frustration because of her students' passive responses in the classroom. She claims to have tried her best to approach the students in a friendly way, indicating her intention to help them with their English, but their responses have been discouraging. Yeni's students have even asked her not to use English when she is teaching unless she translates it for them:

> They beg me not to use English and they look terrified when I speak English even it's a just a few words. So what then? Of course this is difficult. Some of them even ask me to translate the meaning of the questions and then they compose their answers in Indonesian! (Yeni, Interview December 7, 2005).

Similarly, Widi believes that her students' communication skills are generally low. She recounts that, although she has tried her best to encourage her students to speak English, it is not really effective because only a few of her students are able to give responses in English while most remain quiet. She additionally claims that the few students who are able to interact in English can do so because

they also study in private English classes out of school. As a result of her attitude towards her students' capacities, Widi tends to only use English in the first 15 minutes of her classes. She explains:

> I think it's more tiring to teach English than other subjects because we have to repeat our teaching many times. It's difficult to make the students understand. That's why a lot of us use Indonesian. I only use English for 15 minutes at the beginning for warming up and after that I just use Indonesian (Widi, Interview November 23, 2005).

Five other teachers (Lian, Hendro, Emi, Deni and Amir) also believe that there are only a small number of students in their classrooms who are able to speak English. In their teaching, it is difficult for them to conceptualize that the class could be more dynamic if English were to be used. They often feel frustrated. For example Lian says:

> Every time I come to class and try to encourage the students to speak, they always refuse and say "Ma'am, don't speak English but speak Indonesian!"... So I'm stuck. I don't know what I have to do now… Even when I had a few students who could speak English, they were quiet and refused to co-operate (Lian, Interview December 16, 2005).

Emi also recalls that she has encouraged her students to speak English by motivating them to use English on a daily basis. But even then there has been little success:

> Even in the classroom when I used English, they looked at each other and then waited until I had finished. When I asked the class "Do you understand what I just said?" The class would chorus "No Ma'am!" (Emi, Interview December 21, 2005).

These situations discouraged the teachers into accepting that using English in teaching was not appropriate in their contexts as they understood that only minimal interaction could take place in the classroom.

In addition to the issue of teaching style and use of L1 in the L2 classroom, another issue that influences the use of English in the classroom is the disciplinary background of the students in the class. Indonesian high school students study in one of three streams: Science, Social Studies or Language. Nine of the eleven negative teachers (Lian, Harun, Widi, Deni, Hendro, Ani, Nola,

Maryam and Emi) explained that the type of class is critical for success in using English. They each believe that Science students – who are selected on the basis on their academic achievement – are more able to use English than Social Studies or Language students. Lian describes a correlation between the type of class and the amount of English or Indonesian used in the EFL classroom.

> The percentage of English used in the Science class is about 50 percent but for Social Studies or Language students I predominantly use Indonesian (Lian, Interview December 16, 2005).

In Science classes, greater student participation contributes to a livelier and more dynamic learning environment. Ani suggests that, although it is still possible, it is difficult to expect Social Studies or Language students to perform at the same level as Science students. It seems to Ani that if her students appear to have low capacities in English, it would be too difficult, or even impossible, for her to facilitate L2 in such classrooms:

> The capacity of the students here is very low, so they don't want to speak English. That's why I use Indonesian a lot (Ani, Interview November 30, 2005).

Ani further explains that students in her Science classes are usually smarter and have higher competency in English. Most of the students from a Chinese background in her school are usually selected for the Science class. Many of them come from wealthier families where the parents value education, so they are encouraged to attend extra English classes. The result is that the Chinese students Ani teaches in her Science classes all seem to be highly competent in English communication:

> In Science classes they are smart. They always participate in the [Province or City English] competitions, especially the Chinese students. They are excellent! (Ani, Interview November 30, 2005).

Other teachers, such as Lian and Widi, have also commented on the ethnic background of their students in relation to their capacity to study:

The kids from Chinese backgrounds are usually smarter than the other kids. You can understand that because they are diligent, hard-working and they usually undertake private English courses (Lian, Interview December 16, 2005).

Teaching English to Science students [who are smarter students] is easier than Social Studies students and they are even easier than Language students! Chinese students are usually in the Science classes (Widi, Interview November 23, 2005).

The teachers' perceptions of their students' capacities to learn influences their teaching practice. From the recollections of the eleven negative teachers, it is evident that they prefer to use L1 rather than L2 in their classroom practice. In classroom observations I made in Ani's and Emi's EFL classes, I found that the teachers used Indonesian most of the time. When I was observing, they only used English in greeting and farewelling their students and occasionally in managing their students' responses. For example, Ani invited her students to speak in turn in English by saying "You" and gesturing with her hand toward the student. Emi gave her students compliments in English for correct responses by saying "Good" or "Excellent". The rest of the time during the classes both teachers used Indonesian. In contrast, classroom observation with a teacher expressing a positive attitude, discussed in the following section of this chapter, indicates a much higher use of English in the classroom.

The preceding discussion has revealed that the eleven negative teachers share an understanding that low student capacity negatively influences classroom interaction and that there is a disparity between the general ability of Science students and Social Studies or Language students in communication practice. Although there is some variation between teachers on the issue, the teachers share similar beliefs about limitations in their teaching contexts, and this then appears to influence the ways they approach their classroom practice by preferring teacher-directed styles and reliance on L1 rather than L2.

The beliefs and classroom practice of the eleven teachers suggest that they tend to have a low sense of agency and empowerment to deal with constraints and limitations they encounter in their teaching contexts. Subsequently, this influences the ways they understand their teaching practice and this, in turn,

appears to impact on their identities as professionals (explored further in Chapter 9).

The following section deals with the responses of the eight other teachers, all of whom expressed positive or optimistic attitudes about their teaching practice and students' capacities.

Teachers with positive attitudes

Issues for teachers with positive attitudes

In this section I will explore issues for teachers expressing positive or optimistic attitudes towards their teaching practice in order to determine how their attitudes towards teaching influence the ways they approach their classroom practice.

In the group of twenty participating EFL teachers, eight teachers (Lisa, Rima, Nina, Arifin, Ray, Farida, Yusuf and Ariyanto) expressed positive or optimistic attitudes to the constraints and limitations of their teaching contexts. I have characterized them as expressing positive or optimistic attitudes because they were keen to face challenges and to empathize with the limitations of their contexts. Among the responses of these teachers, several issues featured prominently. All eight of the teachers identified class size as well as resources and facilities, the same issues identified by the teachers expressing negative or pessimistic attitudes. However, the positive teachers responded to these issues differently (see Table 7.2 below).

Table 7.2: An outline of common issues that impact on practice for teachers expressing positive attitudes to ELT in Gorontalo

Respondents' names	Views on issues of ELT context	Impact on engagement and approach to practice
Lisa, Rima, Farida, Ariyanto, Ray, Yusuf, Arifin, Nina	• View constraints as challenges not barriers • Empathetic to limitations • Able to maximize limited resources	• Approach teaching with student-centred approaches • Use of L2 high, with minimal use of L1 by some for clarity • Foster independent learning • Able to facilitate large classes • Influence of role model on teaching style (Lisa, Rima and Farida) • Apply 'reflective practice' to enhance teaching performance

Large classes, a lack of resources and limited access to facilities also emerged as issues in the interviews with these teachers. The eight teachers each explained that whilst it was true that there are these constraints on English teaching, all talked optimistically about these issues, believing that there are ways that a teacher can deal with challenges. Concerning the issue of large classes, they tended to believe that although large classes are quite difficult for them to teach and require additional preparation by the teachers, they do not regard this as a burden in teaching. Lisa and Arifin both see teaching classes effectively as the responsibility of the teacher:

> To deal with larger classes is not an easy job for us as teachers of English. In learning English, students should be practising communicating in English, so our responsibility as teachers is not easy when dealing with class sizes that usually consist of 40-50 students. But this does not mean that we just give up [*pasrah*]… (Lisa, Interview December 16, 2005).

> Our students are diverse in terms of their motivations to learn English. This influences their learning in the subject… The numbers of students in the classes are usually large. It should be

understood as the teacher's duty, it's not easy,… but there are ways that we can do it… (Arifin, Interview January 16, 2006).

These eight teachers were also optimistic towards the issues of lack of teaching resources and limited access to facilities in their classrooms. All showed awareness of the minimal resources and facilities available in their schools in Gorontalo. They compared their situations to an ideal model for English learning and teaching that included internet access, a language laboratory, English books and also the availability of native speakers for oral/aural practice. Yet they did not believe limited resources and facilities should restrict a teacher's motivation. In particular, four teachers (Yusuf, Ariyanto, Arifin and Farida) suggested ways of dealing with the resource challenge. Their suggestions included visiting an internet café (Yusuf, Ariyanto), sharing information and resources with other teachers (Yusuf, Ariyanto, Arifin), using their own tape players to teach listening (Yusuf, Arifin, Ariyanto, Farida), and simply changing the media used or swapping classrooms (Farida). Yusuf explains:

> It is true there are some difficulties because we are living in Gorontalo. In Jakarta it is easy to find English books in Gramedia [a large chain bookstore]. Here we can also get them, but we have to order them... Also if the language laboratory is not available, we can just use a tape player instead. Just in case, I always bring my own tape player from home. It is better like that rather than just hoping you can get one from school (Yusuf, Interview December, 2005).

Like Yusuf, Farida regards constraints in the teaching context as challenges rather than barriers:

> When I am teaching, if there is a technical problem, if the media equipment breaks for example, or if there was a blackout, if that happens, then I just use whatever I do have available, or I move to another room (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

Two other teachers (Ariyanto and Arifin) express similarly positive attitudes towards the constraints and limitations they face in their teaching contexts by viewing them as challenges which can be overcome:

> We can't deny there are some limitations, such as the lack of media teaching facilities, but actually if we really want to we can find many solutions. For example, using the Internet [at an Internet café]. I always suggest to my students that they should

188

familiarize themselves with the Internet. That is very important so we will not be left behind and we get access to information. There are a lot of English materials we can access through the Internet (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

In my school I work together with my colleagues. For example, with English teaching materials, we share materials with each other. It is good when a colleague has a new English book and we can all borrow it. We also discuss classroom issues together to work out ways to deal with problems for our teaching. I think that all of this is useful (Arifin, Interview January 16, 2005).

This section introduced some of the views of teachers expressing optimistic attitudes towards their teaching. Unlike the group of teachers with negative attitudes, teachers with positive attitudes demonstrate that they are more likely to view constraints as challenges to be overcome creatively by using resources at hand. The discussion of positive teachers continues in the next section to explore these teachers' views about their learning and teaching contexts and their approaches to teaching.

Teaching approach: from positive attitude to action

The term 'student-centred approach' has been adopted to describe a teacher's approach which integrates multiple methods of communicative interaction and uses multi-media in the teaching to focus on active learning by students. This approach has guided most of the development of constructivist pedagogies (Richardson 2003a). Richardson pinpoints that a student-centred approach is part of a constructivist pedagogy in teaching that includes a holistic understanding through which a teacher can take into account the needs of their students when teaching. The following section draws on these themes to analyze the reflections of the eight positive teachers' teaching practice, representing this constructivist pedagogy and student-centred approaches.

All the positive teachers (Ariyanto, Yusuf, Arifin, Rima, Lisa, Nina, Farida and Ray) reported that they have implemented a student-centred approach and use multi-directed communication in their classrooms. They make use of a wide range of activities, such as discussions, games, songs and visual aids, in order to encourage their students to be actively engaged in learning, which helps to create

a communicative learning atmosphere (Senior 2006). These teachers described ways they encourage their students to be active and show more initiative in learning. Among the positive teachers, three teachers (Nina, Farida and Ray) report that they sometimes have to take control of their classes, although they tried to use a student-centred style most of the time. The change of teaching style depends on the type of class they were teaching, as will be discussed in detail below.

There is a range of ways that the positive teachers apply a student-centred learning approach. Five of the teachers (Ariyanto, Yusuf, Arifin, Rima and Lisa) shared detailed stories of they use student-centred learning in their classrooms. For example, Lisa often presented her teaching through pictures to motivate her students to participate in speaking. She also interrupted her teaching with English songs and games as a break for the students. Her aims were to keep the classes dynamic and entertain the students with interesting learning activities, so they were more motivated and keen to learn:

> They look enthusiastic and I believe that they feel that they are
> part of the activity (Lisa, Interview December 16, 2005).

Like Lisa, Rima found that her students were more motivated and enthusiastic to learn since she introduced student-centred techniques:

> As a teacher teaching English we have to be creative so the
> students will not get bored. So I use methods where the students
> can participate actively. For example, using small class
> discussions, pair work, and using interesting visuals in the
> teaching presentation. The students seem very motivated,
> enthusiastic and I believe that they feel a part of the activity
> (Rima, Interview December 12, 2005).

Student directed-approaches include a range of creative activities. Arifin, who has artistic talent, incorporated pictures and drawings into his teaching. For example, he taught vocabulary using sketches or media images and introduced reading topics through sketched storyboards or sequenced pictures. He stressed that as a teacher it is his main role to facilitate learning in an interesting way so that his students feel engaged in the process of learning:

> Teaching with my own drawings, which I either bring from home or I do directly in the class, can make the students really get into [*mampu merasa dekat*] what they learn so it's easier for them to absorb it. That technique is my own invention! (Arifin, Interview January 16, 2006).

When learning vocabulary Arifin believed that his students found it easier to remember words through the pictures he draws during the practice.

Among the positives teachers, both Yusuf and Ariyanto consistently applied student-centred styles in their teaching and learning activities. They each demonstrated keen motivation to incorporate both communicative approaches and contextual learning, characteristics which are associated with a student-centred style (Richardson 2003b; Senior 2006). Yusuf reflected that when he was a student at teacher training college the methods taught centred on teacher-directed approaches, rather than student-centred styles. Aside from learning about the theories of contextual teaching, Yusuf felt that college did not prepare him for modern teaching practice as he lacked a practical understanding of the in-depth skills and knowledge required:

> I think that all the [in-service] training I have done has been very useful because in the past my teaching focused more on using the grammar-translation method, as I learned at teacher training college. But after I attended the training I started to change my own teaching style and to integrate skills rather than teach each skill separately (Yusuf, Interview December 8, 2005).

One student-centred approach involves integrating language skills within every EFL lesson. Yusuf demonstrated his creativity by applying his own active and integrated teaching techniques. For example, to teach speaking, he created an activity called 'continue information' [*melanjutkan percakapan*], which is based on a game similar to 'My Grandmother Went to Market' to practise vocabulary, substitution and pronunciation. To teach reading, he employed a technique that he called the 'exploring footprint information' approach [*mencari jejak informasi*]. He described one class when, first, he took a reading text and split it up, then spread it around a tree in the school yard. Second, he gave the students random questions on slips of paper. To answer the questions, the students had to find certain information. To find it, they needed to run about and explore the pieces of text around the tree. Yusuf described these activities as integrative as

191

during the process of learning the target skill, the students can also learn other skills such as listening, speaking and writing:

> In these programs I am able to make the students communicate in English based on their abilities. I encourage them not to be afraid of making grammar mistakes. I tell them that we can learn through a process. The important thing is to express what they need and to want to express it. So the communication is not only in one direction but in multi-directions when we help each other – Teacher and students and vice versa and between the students themselves. The students do not feel intimidated and they are happy! (Yusuf, Interview December 18, 2005).

Yusuf's teaching style has enabled him to actively engage his students in their learning. Ariyanto also believes that the students are able to become actively involved in learning if the teacher plays a role as both a motivator and a facilitator. He explained that he always tried to make it interesting for the students by using body language, gestures and acting, so that his students became active learners:

> I think teaching with this method where we can utilize our body, such as by using body language…, I think it's great and it can help the students to learn. It can help them to interact with each other and to communicate in English. Otherwise they will only memorize and this will sound like a machine (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

While all of the positive teachers applied student-centred approaches in their classes, these are not the only teaching styles they use. Three of the positive teachers (Farida, Nina and Ray) described how class type influences their teaching methodologies. Depending on their students' abilities to respond to their teaching, they applied interactive and student-centred approaches, yet they occasionally modified their teaching delivery to a more controlled teacher-directed style as the need arose particularly for students in Social Studies and Language streams.

The type of class – Science, Social Studies or Language – also can have an influence on these teachers' perceptions of their students' capacities to learn English. However, in contrast to the negative teachers who regarded the students' capacities as a constraint on their classroom practice and teaching style, the positive teachers did not share this understanding and they generally did not

regard the type of class to be a constraint, even though some viewed the class type to indicate the students' capacities. Farida, Nina and Ray each recognized that they could rely on students in Science classes to be more engaged in interactive learning approaches than students in Social Studies or Language classes. However, this did not mean that they could not apply student-centred approaches in teaching students in Social Studies and Language classes. Nina explains:

> Unlike the students in Science classes, who more easily participate in class discussions and other activities, such as debating or playing quiz, students in Social Studies and Language classes are generally not like this. Sometimes I am faced with classes where it is difficult for them to take the initiative. It depends on the situation and class conditions that we have to think what we can do in the class in order to accommodate the students. If I am in a situation like that, I am more likely to give them a lot of explanation (Nina, Interview February 10, 2006).

Like Nina, Farida and Ray perceived that Social Studies and Language students were less competent in English. The result is that they sometimes had to be more realistic or practical in terms of their choice of teaching style if they wanted to meet their students' needs. They explain:

> It's not really the same. In the Science classes they are a bit better than the students in other classes – the Language classes, we think of them as "cast out kids" [*anak anak buangan*], but this doesn't mean we are defeated by the situation. We have to give them spirit [*semangat*] and look for ways to deal with this limitation (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

> There is a bit of difference between students in Science and the other two types of classes. It can influence the approaches we use, but not always. When there are a few students that need more attention, we can give them special attention while we are teaching the class. For example, giving them more opportunity to be involved in the discussion and encouraging them to be more engaged. Especially for the Language students. Everybody knows they are the "cast out kids" [*anak anak buangan*] (Ray, Interview November 29, 2005).

It is interesting to note that this belief is widespread and most often applied to students in Language classes, whom one would assume from their stream name to be more proficient in language learning. Yet, this does not seem to be the case. Most of the positive teachers, for example, raise the same issue that Language

students are often described as *anak anak buangan* ['lowest rank', literally 'abandoned children']. This belief impacts on the ways the teachers approach their teaching of different classes and how they meet the constraints of their teaching contexts creatively and optimistically.

One of the constraints faced by both negative and positive teachers is class size, although positive teachers deal with this constraint differently. Despite variations in how they deal with larger classes, all eight positive teachers revealed that they foster independent learning and employ creative strategies to deal with limitations in their teaching contexts, especially in dealing with large classes. Among the positive teachers, Ray, Nina and Farida – the three teachers who sometimes use a teacher-directed approach – all try to use creative strategies for teaching large classes. Ray explains his method:

> Using pair work and small groups so they can interact each other …they would have more chance to interact with each other while I am still guiding them (Ray, Interview November 29, 2005).

Like Ray, Nina uses small group discussion for managing larger classes, but she has an additional strategy:

> I divide them into small groups consisting of 5 to 7 students… We also use a *tutor sebaya* system [where stronger students help weaker students]… (Nina, Interview February 10, 2006).

Farida also tries to deal with large classes creatively by using a cooperative learning approach in her classroom:

> In teaching I think that the 'cooperative learning approach' [in English] is suitable because this can accommodate the students' needs. Because the students' abilities in learning English are not the same, I think that cooperative learning is suitable. The students can also learn from each other. Of course I am there with them to guide them, but I think it is better because the stronger students can become tutors for their friends and this is very helpful in large classes (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

Ray, Nina and Farida each deal with large classes as a challenge rather than a constraint. The other five positive teachers highlighted similar strategies which they employed in dealing with teaching constraints. These teachers use recognized strategies to handle class size, strategies that Rahman (2004) argued

are critical in dealing with large classes. In particular, Rahman described the practice of dividing students into small groups as a form of cooperative learning which is particularly helpful for English language teachers in an EFL context. The positive teachers' reflections indicated that they were aware of the constraints they faced and had come up with helpful, effective solutions.

Another way of dealing with large classes is to foster independent learning in the students. Four of the positive teachers (Lisa, Ariyanto, Yusuf and Rima) suggested that they were able to foster independent learning because their students looked up to them as role models. These teachers believed that if they were able to act as good role models for their students, the students would not only be more motivated to learn English in class, but would also seek new ways to learn English outside class. For example, Lisa explains:

> We have to be able to become a role model [*tauladan*, literally a good example] for our students or how will they be motivated if the teacher is not good enough? … If the students are motivated and want to learn by themselves without the teacher asking them to, it will be easier for the teacher to manage the class. I know they are motivated because every time I finish teaching they approach me after class. They are very enthusiastic. They want to borrow books to photocopy or they even ask questions related to the previous lesson. This is very satisfying. One cannot express in words how much it means to me (Lisa, Interview December 16, 2005).

Another example is Yusuf who has encouraged independent learning in large classes by creating a technique called 'Voucher' [in English]. The Voucher technique offers students accumulative credits when they actively participate in class activities. Individual vouchers are worth 5, 10, 15 or 20 points each. The more a student actively participates in learning, the more vouchers that they can win. At the end of the semester, if a student reaches 1000 points, that student will be given a prize. Yusuf believed that his Voucher technique has been a very helpful approach for motivating his students to learn English and also for him to manage larger sized classes. In this way he encouraged the students to learn by appreciating their hard work and efforts. His innovative approach shows another solution to dealing with the constraint of class size.

Aside from strategies that divide students into small groups, organize them into peer tutoring, foster independent learning, or extrinsically reward them with prize vouchers, positive teachers also imitate teaching methods they first encountered at teacher training college. Of the eight positive teachers, three teachers (Lisa, Rima and Farida) reported that they have been strongly influenced in their teaching by their college role model Mrs Santika, who was introduced in Chapter 4. Mrs Santika's delivery of their college lessons inspired them to imitate her teaching style to facilitate students' active learning through an interactive classroom that motivated students and inspired them not only to learn the lesson but also to become independent learners:

> In teaching I often follow Mrs Santika's way because I think what she did was very interesting and made the students feel more engaged with what they were learning (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

Like Farida, Rima's approach to teaching was also strongly influenced by Mrs Santika:

> The method I use in teaching often follows Mrs Santika's way. For example, if I explain tenses I present with a lot of visuals, as Mrs Santika did. Another example, she always used a red pen when she was checking our assignments so it would be clear! (Rima, Interview December 12, 2005).

Like them, Lisa was inspired at college by Mrs Santika's approach to teaching:

> I cannot forget my assignments in the past. It would be in red and it would have a complete explanation of what I had done wrong. That is one example of something I imitate, even though it is tiring because I have a lot of students (Lisa, Interview December 16, 2005).

I have discussed the views of teachers who seem to have positive and optimistic attitudes towards some of the constraints that they had to deal with in their teaching. I argue that teachers with positive and optimistic attitudes (eight out of the twenty teachers) are more likely to view these constraints as challenges to be overcome with the resources at hand and this thus influences the ways they approach their classroom. Although there is some variation from one teacher to another in the nature of their accounts, this group of teachers is more likely to approach their classroom by facilitating and encouraging the students to be active

in learning English through incorporating student-centred style and integrating contextual learning, whilst also being able to integrate a teacher-centred approach depending on the class type. In the following section I will examine how the beliefs and attitudes towards L1 (Indonesian) and L2 (English) connect with their understanding of their teaching practice.

All eight of the positive teachers believe that the use of English is critical in influencing student motivation in learning the language. This belief influences the level of English used in the facilitation of their classroom practice. However, in practice there is variation occurred from one teacher to the other. Among the eight teachers, Ariyanto and Yusuf have been categorized as having a high level of English use, while Ray, Rima, Lisa, Nina, Arifin and Farida's reports suggest that L1 is used more in their teaching because of a wide range of reasons.

Ariyanto and Yusuf stressed their concerns about the importance of using English for communication, questioning how students can improve their speaking skills if a teacher often uses Indonesian. In their understanding the teachers' role is to facilitate English communication, which in this case means that oral exercises are extremely important. For example Ariyanto describes his beliefs that students want to learn and be able to communicate in English as long as a teacher is aware of and keen to facilitate this:

> I myself use English frequently in the class and the students are very enthusiastic though it needs hard work from us as teachers. I mix my teaching methods with antonyms, synonyms, body language, explanations, etc, so the students would be able to understand that. I think I use English in the class about 90% of the time (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

It appears that in the context where English is learnt as a foreign language and as an academic subject (Dornyei 2003) with little communicative function in the society (Littlewood 1984), an English teacher plays a crucial role in facilitating communication in English. Ariyanto completely realized his role as an EFL teacher and made his best attempt for his students. Moreover, through my classroom observation, I noted that Yusuf used English all through his teaching and approached his students through a constructivist teaching approach that

included creating and facilitating group discussions as well as successfully motivating his students to learn.

Yet, in the process of assisting and encouraging their students in their speaking skills, both these teachers were aware of the diversity in the students' capacity to do so and viewed and approached their tasks in ways that they believed were helpful for the students. For example, Ariyanto believes that although weak students cannot speak English in the initial stages, they can listen and learn through the interaction process before the next stage. As they proceed through the next stages in the language development process, they are able to use English though with limited vocabulary. Moreover, Yusuf has added that when the students make a mistake in their expression, he would encourage them to continuously speak by giving them support, which is a more natural way than focusing on correcting their mistakes. He argues that the students' efforts to be actively involved are central and need to be taken into account so they would remain motivated to practise.

Whilst Ariyanto and Yusuf demonstrated a high level of English use in their teaching, Arifin, Farida, Rima, Ray, Nina and Lisa believe in being flexible in their use of English because they see the role of L1 as essentially that of an aid to learning English in the EFL context. For example, Arifin states that despite the fact that the use of L2 is extremely important for the students' English language development, at the same time, he points out that the use of L1 to some extent is also crucial to help a teacher clarify information:

> I often use Indonesian if it is necessary, it depends on the context. For example when you want to deliver a very important meaning in the class, and if you use English, it sounds less clear and we have to be aware that not every student will be able to understand what we are talking about, so I will use Indonesian (Arifin, Interview January 16, 2006).

I have discussed the eight teachers' recollections regarding the use of L1 and L2. Whilst all the eight teachers expressed their enthusiasm for English use, there are differences in the level of how it is used and integrated within their classroom teaching. Ariyanto and Yusuf, for instance, demonstrated a higher use of L2 than the others in this group. The other six teachers (Rima, Lisa, Farida, Ray, Nina

and Arifin) considered that the frequency of L2 use needs to depend to some extent on the class type. This means that English was more frequently used in the classes with students from the science stream than the language and social science stream. Arifin, although having positive attitudes towards the use of English, strongly believed the use of L1 is also necessary to some extent for the sake of clarity for the students.

All eight teachers in this group apply reflective practice to enhance their classroom efficacy. In order to obtain a more reflective picture of their ability to teach, evaluation and feedback from students is seen as critical for the teachers with all mentioning using student evaluation forms to get insights and feedback from the students about how they can improve their teaching:

> I like to use evaluations to find out what they think about my ways of teaching. I think it is very important to do reflection. I told my students "Don't be shy to criticize me!" I think through this feedback we can develop ourselves (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

> Every so often I give questions out to my students to ask what they think about my performance. This is input for me to improve myself in the future (Lisa, Interview December 16, 2005).

> I use surveys and questionnaires to ask the students what they like or dislike about my teaching with explanations. I don't ask them to put their names so they will not be afraid to do this and to be objective (Yusuf, Interview December 8, 2005).

Testing self competency is another way to be self reflective. Of the eight, seven of the teachers (Ariyanto, Farida, Yusuf, Arifin, Rima, Farida and Ray) reported that they constantly tried to be reflective and examine their own competency as teachers by taking a range of tests, such as TOEFL and IELTS. They take the test themselves or via an institution which is in charge of that task in Gorontalo. They say that it is useful to know which skills are weak and which skills can be improved upon. For example, Arifin describes his effort to improve his listening skills by playing TOEFL tapes starting from a low level moving to harder ones. Through the test he can reflect upon his weakness and becomes motivated to develop himself:

> Whenever I have time I study to improve myself, including doing practice tests such as TOEFL test. I have the book and the tape. For example, I might do listening skills practice (Arifin, Interview January 16, 2006).

> I like to read books to improve myself. I like to buy a lot of books to evaluate myself and to study. For example, you know that TOEFL books have tapes so we can practice listening. You can also practice with other English packages like "English Exchange" (Rima, Interview December 12, 2005).

Muna's attitude and approach

Muna could not be categorized a falling into either the negative or positive attitude group. She expressed negative attitudes about the limited conditions of her school context and the limited abilities of her students and expressed the view that this impacted on the ways she approached her practice. Yet at the same she also expressed positive attitudes to student learning by providing extra time for students outside class and accepting criticism from them of her performance. These are outlined in Table 7.3 below.

Table 7.3: An outline of common issues that impact on practice for a teacher who did not express clearly negative or clearly positive attitudes to ELT in Gorontalo

Respondents	Views on issues of ELT context	Impact on engagement and approach to practice
Muna	• More likely to view school context as being a constraint on English teaching success	• Applies teacher-directed approaches • Heavy use of L1 • Uses translating approach in teaching • Provides extra time for students outside class • Applies small group discussion • Accepts criticism from students on her performance

As Muna explained:

> In the regional meeting I always raise the problem that my school needs more attention because its conditions are different to the others [names mentioned]. But they don't listen to me about the conditions. You know here we are already working hard teaching. Our school is seen as a low-status [*pinggirian*] school. The students are weak… There is no motivation and one important thing is that the facilities of the school are very minimal! (Muna, Interview March 1, 2006).

Like some teachers with negative attitudes discussed in the earlier section above, Muna's attitude to the issue of facilities incorporates the interaction of this with school status. From her perspective her school's status impacts on the type of

students entering the school (generally from low-economic status with less motivation to learn and minimal parental supports). This attitude and beliefs about her school context, then subsequently impacts on the ways she approaches her practice.

When reporting her teaching action, Muna argues that conditions are not yet ready for teaching by applying student-centred styles when dealing with students of limited English ability. She further adds that she has made great attempts to encourage students to take initiative in their learning activity in the classroom, but the students' response has been discouraging.

> It's difficult with the conditions of the students here. Their motivation is too low to learn English. So that I am the one who dominates in the class. So I think the implementation of student-centred learning will not work. I have tried it but it doesn't work, so I will go back to my own methods (Muna, Interview March 1, 2006).

Through my classroom observation I noted that Muna approached her students through a conventional way of teaching. In the first minutes, she asked the students to pray together prior to main lesson, followed by taking the position as a leader in front of the class giving explanations. While Muna was doing this, the students sat quietly in their role as knowledge receivers.

However, of the teachers who believe that a teacher directed approach is the appropriate and ideal approach for their learning and teaching context, Muna has shown a different dimension regarding classroom management. She incorporated small group discussion later in the class after taking the position initially as an expert. Following the small group work, Muna closed her lesson by giving the students homework tasks, which she would check at the beginning of the next class.

Compared to the group of teachers discussed above who had heavy use of L1, Muna's recollection appears to be more radical with her belief that using English is just complicated. She further argues about this concern, explaining that most of her students even have low literacy skills in Indonesian, and that this would make it even worse if the teacher pushed them to use English in the classroom. Muna's reasons for heavy use of L1 are more explicit than the heavy users of L1 in the

202

teachers who were placed in the 'negative attitudes' group. This latter group tended to complain that the students' English capacity was low, so there was little point in using it to teach. In contrast, Muna always incorporates the 'translation method', both in oral and written form, when delivering her teaching. She believes this is the best way to counter the situation. As she recalls:

> So I have some alternatives, for example in giving them tasks about myths. I try to relate myths of the Gorontalo people...I have prepared the materials, but I give them in Indonesian first, then I ask them to translate...or if I ask them to discover by themselves about the myths, first I ask them to their task in Indonesian, then they have the other version in English, so I would be able to check their expression in Indonesian and make the correction through it, so they can learn their mistakes in the Indonesian version as well (Muna, Interview March 1, 2006).

Yet at the same she also expressed positive attitudes to student learning by providing extra time for students outside class (see Chapter 5 for this discussion). Another theme emerged as critical in Muna's reported view is that she accepts criticism from her students about her performance:

> I have the principle that as teachers we don't need to know everything. For example, if there is a question from the student and I don't know the answer, I'll be honest rather than give a wrong answer. I also have the principle that we have to ready to accept criticism from our students because that is part of the process for us to develop ourselves (Muna, Interview March 1, 2006).

Despite Muna's beliefs that a teacher-directed style, high use of L1 and a translating approach are appropriate and fit with her students' class context her recollections show that she is reflective about her practice and has an open minded attitude to criticism.

Muna's case, shows that an English teacher in an EFL context can simultaneously hold some pessimistic attitudes and approach teaching with a teacher-directed style, but, at the same time, can make great attempts at being a motivator and facilitator in their teaching through building a strong personal relationship with students, and being open to their criticism.

Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed what teachers say about their classroom practice by examining their attitudes, beliefs and experiences. In particular, this chapter considers how teachers' views on factors related to the English teaching context impact on what approaches they employ in their classrooms. Despite the variation from one teacher to the other in the nature of their views towards the issue of English language teaching in their teaching context, this chapter argues that for the majority of the teachers (eleven out of the twenty), issues of English language teaching as well as the constraints they face in their teaching context are seen as barriers that later impact on the ways they approach their classroom, such as by applying a teacher directed approach, with high use of L1. In contrast, there were teachers (eight of the twenty) who viewed the constraints in their teaching in positive and optimistic ways despite being aware of the limitations of their classroom context. These latter teachers are more likely to see the constraints as challenges that impact differently on the ways they approach their teaching practice, including by applying student-directed approaches and exhibiting positive attitudes to the use of L2. In addition, this chapter has revealed how one teacher, Muna, shares some characteristics of the teachers across the two main groups, deliberately selecting a range of teaching approaches that are both traditional and more interactive, dependent on her professional judgment of her students' needs.

The question of why and what factors may have influenced these twenty teachers to have developed their approaches to classroom practice in such different ways will be discussed further and linked to other aspects of professional formation and identity in the final synthesis chapter. However, before considering this, I will examine the teachers' responses to curriculum reform in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Teachers' Responses to Change

The aim of this chapter is to examine the twenty teachers' perceptions concerning ELT curriculum reform, particularly their perceptions regarding the 2004 curriculum (the newest curriculum at that time I was collecting data during 2005 to 2006). This examination is based on the perspective that attitude and response of teachers are the key factors to achieving success in student learning. When I interviewed the twenty teachers, the 2004 curriculum was a recent innovation. It had been introduced throughout all high schools in Indonesia, including in Gorontalo, as a trial reform (Nur 2004; Rozimela 2004) (see Chapter 1 for detailed discussion). All the twenty teachers I interviewed are in the position to implement the new change in their practice.

The focus of the analysis will be the range of responses that are evident in the teachers' ways of thinking about the new curriculum. These can be seen as part of a continuum in terms of teachers' attitudes to change. At one extreme of the continuum there were some teachers I have categorized as adopting the change; six of these embracing the change with greater or lesser degrees of criticism, whilst two others were less enthusiastic in their adoption and have been characterized as partial and pragmatic adopters. In the other half of the continuum are those who were non-adopters, with nine of these being characterized as resisters and the remaining three as rejecters. I will consider these categories of teachers' responses to curriculum change in the following sections.

Teachers' response to an innovation: an introduction

Two broad approaches to two curriculum change have been identified: adopting and not adopting, with five groupings across these two approaches. Three sub-groups have been identified of teachers who have adopted the curriculum change: the critical embracers, a partial adopter and a pragmatic adopter.

Contrastingly, two non-adopting groups have been identified: the resisters and rejecters. The adopters have all incorporated the curriculum changes in their practice at least to some extent with the critical embracers having been most open to change, despite being somewhat critical. These embracing teachers are able to see both the positive and negative sides of the innovation. The partial and pragmatic adopters have been less fulsome in their embrace of the reforms with the partial adopter incorporating aspects of the new curriculum, but at the same time, retaining parts of the old curriculum that he believes provides for a better learning outcome. Similarly, but with a slight difference in emphasis, the pragmatic adopter has been willing to adopt the new curriculum reform because this is expected, but has not accepted it as being more effective and would not hesitate to move back to the old traditions if the new one presents too many challenges.

Within the second approach of not adopting the curriculum change, one sub-group of teachers have been characterized as resisters. They seem to look for reasons to not do things, not be very open to change, and see barriers in the way of achievement. The second sub-group of non-adopters are the rejecters. Whilst claiming to be open to innovative ideas, they are sceptical as to the success in their particular context, as shaped from their experience in trying to integrate elements of the reform on their teaching. Consequently, though they may like the curriculum in theory, they have rejected the reform as not being suitable to their teaching context.

Adopters			Non-adopters	
Critical Embracers (6)		**Partial Adopter** (1)	**Resisters** (9)	**Rejecters** (3)
Extremely Critical (1)	Critical (5)	**Pragmatic Adopter** (1)		
Ariyanto	Yusuf Ray Rima Lisa Farida	Arifin	Amir Deni Maryam Yeni Ani Lian Nola Widi Harun	Muna Hendro Emi

Adopters of Change

Critical Embracers

This sub-group consists of six teachers (Yusuf, Ray, Rima, Lisa, Farida and Ariyanto). Two sub-categories emerge within this group. First, there are five teachers (Yusuf, Ray, Rima, Lisa, Farida) who embrace the change and yet are critical. They appear to be open to change, whilst remaining critical, suggesting they are able to see both the positive and negative side of the reform. Second, is one teacher (Ariyanto) who embraces and yet his level of criticism is higher than that of the others.

Table 8.1: Summary of Characteristics of the Critical Embracers

Respondents	Positive	Criticisms
Yusuf, Ray, Rima, Lisa, Farida, Ariyanto	• Able to articulate differences between previous and newest innovations • Positive re. greater emphasis on communicative approach • See new curriculum as a challenge for the teacher, and as supportive of autonomous learning	• Pinpoint limitations of the innovation by: • articulating criticisms of the amount of administrative load • describing the limitation of the UAN but student needs to better cope with it • criticizing the content and quality of professional development training

As Farida, Lisa, Rima, Ray and Yusuf described their perception of the new change, several aspects of their approach show that these teachers are more open to change than the fourteen other teachers. The first is they demonstrate the capacity to analytically examine the benefits of the change by comparing it to the previous curriculum. For example, in terms of the greater use of the communicative language teaching (CLT) approach, they all pointed out that although the previous curricula claimed to use the communicative approach, they actually placed more emphasis on the traditional teaching of vocabulary and grammar. Though the use of the communicative approach is suggested for the teaching of English in both the 1984 and 1994 curricula (see Jayadi 2004; Djiwandono 2004), it seems to have greater emphasis in the current 2004 curriculum. For example, Lisa highlighted the following:

> I have implemented the 1984, 1994 and 2004 curricula. I think the last change is great particularly because the curriculum requires teachers to teach English in better way with more emphasis on the communicative approach and this enhances the students' interest to learn. The change is progressive (Lisa, Interview December 16, 2005)

The other four teachers demonstrated a similar positive perception of a higher emphasis on the communicative approach in the classroom compared to the previous curricula. For these teachers, the greater use of the communicative approach will inevitably develop English communication skills within their practice, and particularly will bring a positive effect on their students' learning via the greater use of L2:

> … we have to pay more attention to every student's communication competency which differs from the previous curricula, which was not based on competency (Yusuf, Interview December 8, 2005).

> The 1984 curriculum stressed more on teaching English vocabulary and grammatical learning. The negative side of the curriculum was that students had less opportunity to speak English. The 1994 curriculum was similar to that of 1984 with some changes but the result was not fundamentally different. It still stressed vocabulary and grammar yet the communicative application was still quite low whereas the 2004 curriculum focused more on students achieving competency both in spoken and written language and therefore the use of the communicative approach is quite high (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

> I think the 2004 curriculum is great because it stressed student competency based on actively encouraging the communicative function. A teacher needs to pay extra attention to the students' ability and competency to achieve this. This was so different from the previous curricula where the students' competency was perceived as identical (Ray, Interview December 29, 2005).

A perception shared by this group is that teachers should be more creative about the implementation of the new change. All reported that the encouragement of students' independent learning is more pronounced in this curriculum, with students being given modules to learn by themselves through various means such as peer learning, their tutor in the class, as well as through using a range of media. This change in focus means teachers need to be more creative, as Rima argues:

> If the facilitator only sits down passively and gives instructions for the students to learn, they will probably only go to sleep!" (Rima, Interview December 12, 2005).

And through this shows that she has a well-developed understanding about a teacher's role in facilitating directed learning, while accommodating autonomous

learning. Rima also appears to have understood that in a context where English is learnt only as an academic subject at school, and with limited English exposure in the society, the creativity of teachers in their role as facilitator is crucial, affecting student motivation to learn English. The other four teachers similarly stressed the need for teacher creativity in supporting their students' autonomous learning. For example, Farida recollects:

> This curriculum is of better quality than the previous ones … students are expected to be able to learn by themselves; but of course we have to facilitate this for them. We have to be more creative because as a teacher we have to be able, not only to become a facilitator in learning but also to be a motivator (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

This group of teachers seems to be able to recognize the value of the benefits of the reform such as the greater stress on the use of CLT, the greater level of teachers' creativity and the encouragement of student autonomous learning. They all have embraced the new ideas in the new curriculum. However, having shown positive attitudes towards the new change does not necessarily mean that these teachers will happily accept the new curriculum without questioning it. Whilst being able to recognize some benefits of the change, these teachers also exercise agency and demonstrate their empowerment in how they enunciate and discuss the difficulties that they perceive.

The first major issue they identified is the administrative load associated with the new change. All five teachers (Rima, Lisa, Ray, Yusuf and Farida) expressed their view that the administrative load of the new curriculum is extremely heavy and onerous in terms of the large number of forms a teacher is required to fill in. They argue that many of the forms are only suitable for small classes. In their view the forms need to be simplified so that a teacher still has time to study, read, prepare materials and appropriate support media for teaching:

> The forms like that are only for a class with 6-10 students not for those with 30 – 40 students … (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

> As a new curriculum, we need time to learn it but the assessment forms are just too much and I think they need to be reconsidered … (Ray, Interview November 29, 2005).

I do not agree with the admin load, which I think limits a teacher's creativity to teach – especially in the new one [curriculum]. There are a lot of forms that we need to fill out in terms of assessing students' competency but I think it is too much. I am not an admin person though I think that admin work is important in teaching, especially if it is used as a part of good teaching. But for me I think it is better for a teacher to spend more time in terms of how to do better teaching than completing the admin itself because I believe a teacher's action in the classroom is far more important! (Lisa, Interview December 16, 2005).

… this one [new curriculum] requires more detailed recording of the students' achievements. For example, we are expected to assess students in terms of their cognitive, psychomotor and affective abilities. Although it is good to do all these things, it is very complex and time consuming. I think it [the curriculum] needs to be reconsidered in terms of how to reduce the forms (Yusuf, Interview December 8, 2005).

None of the teachers like the idea of the extra amount of work required in the new curriculum. So, although there is an awareness of the importance of administration (Lisa) and the benefits of the forms in terms of assessing a range of student competencies (Yusuf), all of them think that the administrative burden of filling out these forms is too high, and impacts on their teaching efficiency and on the teacher's creativity in providing better teaching. This seems closely related to Lisa's beliefs that it is more valuable for teachers to devote their time to improving their teaching rather than on paperwork. Another factor here is the intersection of administrative record keeping with the large class sizes that have become a common phenomenon for English teachers in Indonesia (Jayadi 2004; Mantiri 2004; Priyono 2004).

The second major issue that all the teachers in this group addressed is their view of the national exam (hereafter called UAN). Despite their analysis of its limitation, they offered insights into how to better prepare their students for the UAN. They all believe that there is a discrepancy between what is assessed in the UAN and what actually should be tested. The UAN is focused on evaluating the students' ability in written language, especially reading and grammar skills, and it ignores the assessment of students' ability in oral language, such as speaking and listening skills. This discrepancy is more pronounced in the previous (1994) curriculum, though theoretically in the previous curriculum guidelines, it is stated

that the students' competency should be in all four English skills. Whilst, all the teachers in this group have recognized the attempt to incorporate a spoken language test within the UAN, it is limited to assessing listening skills only as highlighted by Ray in the following:

> … there has been an improvement [in the UAN] compared to the previous ones, because it [the UAN] has included the testing of listening." (Ray, Interview November 29, 2005).

In addition, the teachers in this group question the objectivity of the centrally designed UAN test, in taking into account student diversity. They believe the teachers' efforts to work out solutions to minimize discrepancies within the test are very critical, as their remarks show:

> To better prepare my students for the national Exam, I always begin by copying some tests from past exams and go through them. Sometimes I modify the tests and give them as practice to my students so they become familiar with the type of testing used in the UAN. I arrange time to discuss this in the classroom … it is helpful enough (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

> For this new curriculum, the test would be focused on certain types of texts, so I will try to choose texts which are essential to be learned by the students in terms of competency. I also always keep copies of previous UAN and I analyze them. In terms of teaching we cannot ignore what is in curriculum but it is also necessary to analyze what kinds of materials appeared/came out most in the UAN … (Yusuf, Interview December 8, 2005).

Another factor that emerged was the teachers' criticism of the several training programs which were part of the implementation process for the new curriculum. Four of the teachers (Lisa, Ray, Rima and Farida) said that whilst the stated aims of the in-service training sounded excellent and helpful for the teachers, in reality the programs did not achieve their aims:

> There has been a lot of funding from the government towards implementation [of the new curriculum] but I think it has not been efficient. Many times we attended training sessions; it appears the programs were just project oriented rather than quality oriented! (Rima,, Interview December 12 2005).

> The training sessions have been useful in terms of gaining some experience from being involved on such occasions … we could not deny it is a part of a big project from the central government.

It did not really match what we were expected to learn in the training sessions because so often these sessions are much more of a project in themselves. Therefore the organizers seem to want to finish the sessions as quickly as possible! (Ray, Interview, November 29, 2005).

… [the training sessions provided] some contributions but they were rather like a project goal … you are supposed to have 5 days of training, [but] they will make it shorter (Farida, Interview December 19, 2005).

These comments show an understanding that the government and curriculum makers have failed to address what actually should be done in training sessions, in terms of the teachers' needs in assisting them in implementing the change. It appears that for these teachers there is a perception that the training program is driven by the need to fulfill official project requirements, rather than by a serious desire to equip the teachers with the professional skills to implement the curriculum. Symptoms of this lack of commitment such as the shortened time and inflexibility in topics to cater to teacher needs mean that the training sessions failed to equip the teachers. The expectation of what they, as teachers, needed to learn and acquire in the training sessions was not understood by the trainers, as Lisa further elaborates:

I think in training sessions like that it would be better to pay attention to providing ways or giving alternative solutions for the teachers regarding what should be done and applied in their classrooms rather than focusing on how to, or not to, fill-in the paper work! (Lisa, Interview December 16, 2005).

There is a gap between the quality of the training and the expectations of the teachers for the sessions. Despite this, Yusuf acknowledged their value in terms of inspiring him to change his teaching approach from a grammatical focus and a teacher-directed approach to a student-directed approach emphasizing student competency.

This group of teachers demonstrated a greater level of power and authority in terms of how they deal with the changes and what they perceive they can do in their practice. They all recount that after studying the curriculum guidelines, they would select appropriate topics to be taught. In other words, they have not just

213

blindly followed what was stated in curriculum. Yusuf, for example, remarks as follows:

> … Looking at the curriculum, I realized there are a lot of things that we have to do in one semester … I brought this issue to my supervisor and asked whether we must finish all of the topics because it sounded impossible to achieve! He [the curriculum supervisor] agreed with me that if we just tried to teach all the content we would not be able to teach the students well and meet the expectation of competency required … (Yusuf, Interview, December 8, 2005).

Yusuf's comments show that he is able to negotiate as part of his process of dealing with the changes. He has been successful in expressing his ideas regarding what he could adapt based on his understanding and negotiating a workable compromise that he sees as likely to result in better learning for his students. The other four teachers (Ray, Farida, Rima and Lisa) showed their capacity to determine how they believe the implementation can work. Lisa remarks:

> But for me I think it is better for a teacher to spend more time in terms of how to teach better than completing the admin side of teaching because I believe a teacher's action in the classroom is far more important! (Lisa, Interview December 16, 2005).

To this point I have discussed five critically embracing teachers. The sixth critical embracer, Ariyanto, is even more critical than the others in the way he understands and approaches the curriculum change and its implementation. Like the other teachers, Ariyanto has also been able to see the positive side of the new curriculum and has made some analytical comparisons between old and new curricula in terms of student competency, the greater use of a communicative approach, and the creativity of teachers in facilitating and supporting autonomous learning. Notably though, his level of analysis is to a greater depth compared to the other five teachers.

Firstly, in terms of student competency as emphasized in the new change, Ariyanto has the most developed analysis:

> … after I read (the curriculum) I thought it was better than the previous one if I compared the two. The 1994 curriculum does not emphasize students' competency. Though there was a competency

element there, there was no clear emphasizes on that. However, for this one [2004 curriculum], it places a strong emphasis on it. [The 1994 curriculum] stressed grammar and the use of verbs so that students would be strong in their knowledge about the language but they were not able to express themselves and communicate in the language … I can see this direction as 'good thinking' [concerning the 2004 curriculum] (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

This recollection not only shows that Ariyanto has a greater knowledge about the different curricula, enabling him to point out the differences and the limitations, but it is also evident that he is very open to the idea that change is progressive and brings benefits.

The achievement of student competency is a great challenge for teachers. Ariyanto perceives this, believing that the professional development of teachers is central to better achieving the curriculum goal of students being able to communicate in English both in oral and written texts (Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi [KBK] 2001:8-9). He admits that to reach this goal is not an easy task.

… this is a big challenge for teachers because we have to be a good role model in this regard. How can we try to help students with their competency if we ourselves as teachers are not competent enough? So I think the implementation of this curriculum should be accompanied by human resources development [of English teachers] otherwise there would be a big gap between the expectation of the curriculum and the teachers as ones who will implement this change. I believe teachers are *ujung tombak* [translated literally as, 'the point of the arrow'] (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

His comment shows his greater level of sophistication in how he thinks about the central role of teachers in implementing the new curriculum. This belief subsequently impacts on Ariyanto's understanding of how much he can do in the process of embracing the change, positively influencing what he actually does.

Whilst recognizing what teachers should do to face the challenge of implementing the new changes, Ariyanto has pointed out the necessity of gaining support from curriculum authorities, such as government and policy makers, in this regard:

> The competency based aspect of the curriculum refers to the four English skills; it says that "students need to be able to achieve what in their written and spoken language" … so teachers have to be competent in these skills through [their own] schooling and various training sessions, and authorities should be closely involved to achieve this goal together with teachers … [they] should [provide] training and other formal education for teachers …. I think this could be developed and initiated by the provincial government. The training objective should be changed to include how to achieve teachers' competency (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

Ariyanto's recollections show that his sophisticated level of understanding of what factors have to be considered in achieving success for a new change, particularly in understanding the teacher's role and the need for teacher professional development. His reflections are in accordance with Fullan and Hargreaves' (1992:1-9) emphasis on the strong link between a teacher's professional development and successful implementation of an innovation.

Ariyanto's level of empowerment also can be understood through his perspective of the teacher's role as a curriculum interpreter (Hargreaves and Fullan 1992), which may affect what should be taught and what is actually taught. Ariyanto brought this issue into the discussion, believing that if teachers have a diminished ability to interpret what is expected by the curriculum, this will negatively influence the outcome. He gave an example of what happened regarding one of his colleagues' interpretation of the old curriculum:

> … because the theme is sport, this teacher ended up by discussing all things about sport though actually 'sport' was only the theme that can be used to facilitate discussion in order to practice speaking skill for example … (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

Ariyanto's perception of the importance of the teachers' ability to understand the curriculum accords with Hargreaves and Fullan's contention – that teachers are not only the key persons to apply the curriculum in the classroom but they also "develop, define and reinterpret" it (Hargreaves and Fullan 1992:ix).

Ariyanto's perceptions obviously indicate that not only does he have the broadest perspective about how well the change will work, but that he has been the most open to the new ideas of change. In addition, his perspectives about the crucial

role of the teacher in both understanding the curriculum as well as in being the implementer of it, plus his opinion of the role and responsibility of government in planning and implementing a successful innovation (Fullan and Hargreaves 1992; Hargreaves 1988; Sikes 1992), show that Ariyanto has a close engagement with his profession and is bounded by that.

Like the other five teachers in this group, Ariyanto was also critical of the training programs. However, he demonstrates a greater sense of empowerment and reports directly questioning their organization and content. Similar to the others teachers in the group, he notes that there is a discrepancy between the goal of training programs and their implementation:

> … the goals of the training sessions are good but their implementation is bad. For example, so often the training sessions were officially announced for 5 days, then would be a shortened to be 4 or even 3 days …. I have asked the committee who arranged the sessions, "Why are you in hurry to conclude the sessions?" They just simply answer that they want to save the time (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

Ariyanto has not only openly disagreed with the length of the training sessions being cut, but has criticized the content of the programs. He believes that the sessions should have two aims; firstly to develop teachers' competency in English and secondly to improve teachers' ability to teach. As he says:

> … the training sessions should focus on skills and practice. I mean, as this is about education, it must train teachers in how to enable their students to reach a higher level of ability. So there must be two things; firstly to improve teachers' skills and secondly to improve teachers ability to teach! (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

From his perspective the training sessions should help teachers develop their practical knowledge, subject and content knowledge, and pedagogical knowledge (see Connelly and Clandinin 1984; Clandinin and Connelly 1994; Woods 1996; Tsui 2003 for a range discussion of teachers' knowledge). Ariyanto recounts one his experiences in a training session:

> In listening skills, I found there are a lot of theories about listening … I told them that the theory [like they were speaking about] we could find in a book. … the same also for speaking, it

would be better if the teachers were expected to perform these skills in practical communicative ways, not just [hear about] the theory of speaking (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

and he was not deterred in challenging the trainers to rethink their approach.

Similarly, Ariyanto was more eloquent and developed in his criticism of the amount of administrative work. He sees this not only as being inefficient in terms of the large number of forms teachers are required to complete to assess students' competency, but also explains that the indicators used are not appropriate and representative enough to measure student competency:

> I do not understand. They just want to make it difficult by asking us to fill in all the various forms to measure students' competency, which I think is not right. According to the curriculum, the teaching objective should stress the student's competency in all the English skills but in the form we have to fill in the student's score on several [other] aspects. I think it is less relevant to measure the students' competency on such tasks as a quiz … and it is not only one quiz but there are a lot. For example, in writing skills what components need to be assessed, it is not clear and not relevant. I challenged the trainers at the time that this didn't indicate what we should measure on the students' ability in writing but they just said that it was based on the guidelines from the central government (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

Ariyanto exhibits a level of empowerment and professional engagement in the way he questions what should be done in his field of teaching that demonstrates his expertise in English teaching. He also demonstrates a highly developed awareness of how much power he has in approaching the change:

> I feel they just want to make it complicated for us …. I use my own assessment which I believe is more useful than theirs. If I am supervised, I show my own version and I explain my reasons for why I do what I do. Some of them accept and appreciate my work. Sometimes they just say to me something like this, "You just do what you think it is more comfortable for you, as long as it assesses the students' competency!" (Ariyanto, Interview December 1, 2005).

I have discussed six teachers who fall into the group of those who are embracing the change and yet are critical of it. These teachers seem to be open-minded to the ideas and perceive some complexities of the new change as challenges rather than barriers. In addition, these critically embracing teachers exhibit a sense of

empowerment and agency in their decision making to negotiate the implementation of new curricula. Although they have highlighted some limitations associated with the curriculum change, this group of teachers tend not to be weighed down by them. In other words, the limitations do not stop them from doing their work. Of the six teachers, it has been argued that Ariyanto is more analytical in how he perceives both the benefits and limitations of the change, showing the highest level of engagement, knowledge, agency and empowerment in his profession as an English teacher.

Partial Adopter

Arifin has been characterized as a partial adopter – a teacher who adopts the reformed curriculum but, at the same time, retains parts of the old curriculum still applicable for better learning outcomes. In terms of responding to change, Arifin seems to share similar characteristics to the six teachers in the previous group who were characterized as embracing change whilst being somewhat critical. Similar to the critical embracers Arifin has an open-minded attitude to aspects of the change that encourage teachers to be more creative in their practice. This seems to correspond with his personal beliefs and values that the teacher's role as an educator is to be accommodating of their students' learning. As he recalls:

> This curriculum expects that teachers have to be more creative and I strongly agree with that. The most important thing that we have to remember our duty as teachers is to educate our students, so we have to do our best to find out and develop adequate teaching materials as expected by curriculum (Arifin, Interview January 16, 2006).

In relation to this, Sikes (1992:38) says that the way a teacher responds to change is closely related to the teacher's ideology, their beliefs and values about several aspects, including education and their practice. Arifin's personal ideology of teacher as an educator to promote learning (Lortie 1975; Nunan 1994; Woods 1996) seems to have significantly impacted on Arifin's positively response to the idea of curriculum reform.

219

While Arifin was able to see the positive side of the 2004 curriculum innovation, this does not necessarily mean that he accepted all the ideas within the reform and fully implemented these in his teaching. He indicates that he has chosen to combine the 1994 and 2004 curricula, because he believes that the combination provides a better solution for students and teachers for a number of reasons. Firstly, Arifin identifies the freedom given to teachers in finding and selecting teaching material as posing for both students and teachers, particularly in relation to the possibility of student failure in the UAN. Arifin raised this issue, reporting that the UAN is more focused on testing students' grammatical ability and vocabulary, and explaining that, as a consequence, choosing teaching materials based on their own understanding may create more problems than solutions. Arifin drew on his experience from the previous UAN:

> … So, in relation to teaching materials which relate to Science and Technology, for example, we chose the topic "Computers" and taught about it and gave examples of computers and computing. So the reading materials talked about computers or computing. What happened after that? In the UAN, the test model that came out was related to technology as well but it was about "aircraft". The problem is all the vocabulary that students had learned and were familiar with was about computers and there was nothing about aircraft …. If many students fail in the UAN, society's trust in teachers would be broken … while in the previous curricula, all the materials and even the text books are there and available (Arifin, Interview January 16, 2006).

We can see from Arifin's recollection that he was aware of problems raised by the UAN and was consequently very concerned about the effects of selecting the wrong topic for reading materials as that decision would inevitably affect students who sat the exam. It is also interesting to note Arifin's awareness of society's high regard for and, therefore, high expectations placed upon the teacher. Arifin's view reflects society's tendency towards judgment of the teacher in relation to students' failure in exams. In Indonesia, the role of teachers is recognized as crucial in transmitting knowledge to students. Teachers have a high responsibility for students passing their exams (Rudiyanto 1988; Rahman 2004; Priyono 2004). The image of students' failure associated with bad teaching seems to strongly influence Arifin's beliefs and hence affects his responses to change.

Another factor that influences Arifin's conception of the combined curriculum is in relation to time wasted by teachers in the process of finding and selecting appropriate materials for teaching, which is heightened in Gorontalo where resources, such as books and internet, have limited availability and inevitably cost time and considerable money. Arifin believes it would be easier and helpful for teachers if there were already some standard materials and textbooks available, as was the case for the previous curriculum. However, he further emphasizes that, although materials should be readily provided, teachers should go through the process of interpreting and analyzing the materials in order to facilitate better teaching.

> In the 1994 curriculum, the materials and textbooks are provided and I think it is better for teachers so we can concentrate more on how to teach students well and therefore be interested in learning. Of course we have to learn and to understand the materials in depth, not just enter the classroom and give them directly to students. This would not work (Arifin, Interview January 16, 2006).

Another aspect embedded in his beliefs about the reform is how Arifin perceives teachers as individuals. The way each teacher deals with changes or challenges is different. Although he is likely to face the challenge of creativity in finding and selecting appropriate materials to teach, this does not mean that he considers that every teacher is so well-prepared or shares this view. As he says:

> I am always trying to find interesting materials from a wide range of sources that are adequate for the students' level because the teaching materials available are so minimal. But it is a big challenge for other teachers to be able to select them. For example, I always try to find materials, which make them, learn the language but also can trigger their motivation to learn! In addition, sometimes some teachers are lazy to find the materials by themselves. Some teachers do not even know what they have to choose. They might not meet the expectations of the curriculum (Arifin, Interview January 16, 2006).

It seems that Arifin's view about the possibilities for teachers' responses to the curriculum relates to Hargreaves' (1988) interpretation, which see teachers as persons whose personal qualities, may influence their attitudes to change. Sikes (1992:37) similarly says that teacher knowledge, skills and competencies as

teachers are crucial, and, hence, affect their views and the actions they take in their teaching.

I have discussed Arifin as an example of a partial adopter. Whilst he is open to the ideas of the new curriculum change, he believes that there are elements of the previous curriculum that need to be considered in order to overcome problems in UAN. In this section, it has been argued that Arifin's view of curriculum change represents his ability to have a sense of empowerment and agency in the way he negotiates change, incorporating what he sees as positive into his practice, whilst maintaining elements of the older curriculum that he viewed as superior and/or more supportive of his needs as a teacher.

Pragmatic adopter

Nina is also an adopter, but does this in an entirely pragmatic way. She is a teacher who reports adopting the reform, but without any evident commitment to the value of the approach. She would not hesitate to move back to the old tradition if the new one presents too many challenges.

In responding to change, Nina appears to be quite open to the idea of curriculum reform in terms of a teachers' role as a facilitator and motivator for her students:

> For me, English is communication. "I tell my students do not worry about grammar." You can learn it through the process of learning. It (the change) is a good one because it encourages students to actively learn and that's my principle in teaching – that students should be active in learning. Also the most important thing is that they are having fun in learning. That's what I always try to do for my class. I always try to enhance my teaching with pictures, games and other media so that they are not only learning but also feel motivated to learn! (Nina, Interview February 10, 2006).

There are several things I want to consider in terms of Nina's view towards the change. It is apparent that the curriculum expects teachers to be creative, including putting effort into facilitating and motivating their students to learn. This corresponds with Nina's view of how English teaching should occur in the classroom. For Nina it seems that successful English teaching is associated with

students' abilities in speaking, so that in her teaching approach she prioritizes speaking over grammar. It is interesting to note also that Nina's personal belief is that teaching should be fun, so that students can enjoy learning. All these priorities appear to have influenced Nina in understanding what she should do to present learning activities for the students, such as using a range of media and encouraging her students and providing opportunities for them to practise their speaking while still maintaining a fun learning atmosphere. Richards and Lockheart (1994:29) say that the underlying beliefs of a teacher influence what they do in their teaching. Nina's beliefs about how English should be taught and learned seem to correspond with the curriculum expectation put upon teachers to provide a dynamic and interesting atmosphere for learning.

However, while Nina has positive attitudes to curriculum reform, she easily reverts to her old method when she perceives that new approaches are difficult and her students struggle. She describes how she feels uncomfortable with the new ideas of change, especially if they are related to teaching composition. For her the idea of a 'genre-based approach' in teaching writing is complex and, therefore, she prefers her own way of teaching writing skills over what is expected by the new curriculum. As she says:

> … Every topic has its own text with a narrative and generative structure, tenses etc. I think it is just so difficult [to teach it] so I teach with my own method to cover the writing skills … (Nina, Interview February 10, 2006).

Despite Nina's positive attitudes and perceptions to change and adoption of the reform, she chose not to face all the challenges. If she was faced with a challenge, such as a genre based approach which she felt unfamiliar with or that she believed would not work for her students, she did not hesitate to revert back to her old teaching style as well as to using old teaching materials. Tsui (2003:276) has argued that one critical difference which distinguishes expert teachers and novice teachers is "their disposition to challenges". Expert teachers see curriculum challenges in their classroom as an opportunity to improve themselves, whilst the novice would rather "reduce their complexities" and in so doing reduce the opportunities to further explore what they are able to do in facing challenges. To understand which of the twenty teachers can be categorized

223

as expert teachers or novice teachers is beyond this study's main focus, however, it is evident that Nina appears to be 'pragmatic adopter' by the way she responds to change by adopting elements which suit her teaching style and resisting elements which overtly challenge her.

Non-Adopters of Change

The introduction to the analysis of the teachers' responses to change highlighted two broad approaches that emerged from the analysis of the teachers' narratives. These were of teachers who adopted the curriculum changes, and those who chose not to adopt the reforms. Within this second approach two sub-groups were identified: resisters and rejecters, and these will now be introduced and discussed in greater depth.

Resisters

This sub-group consists of nine teachers (see Table 8.2) who all appear to perceive that the reform has created more work for them and as being quite unreasonable in the demands it makes on them. As a consequence they strongly resist incorporating the curriculum changes into their practice.

Table 8.2: Summary of Characteristics of the Resisters

Respondents	Views of Change
Amir, Deni, Maryam, Yeni, Ani, Lian, Nola, Widi and Harun	Resisters see: • change as making unreasonable demands on them, across a range of areas: • student autonomous learning difficult to achieve • class size as a constraints • difficulties for UAN make the reform even more discouraging • 2004 reform more difficult than the previous curriculum

The first issue they identified is that of administrative load. All of the teachers in this group mentioned this, believing that the amount of administrative work has doubled with the newest change. From their recollections:

> …the administration side of this curriculum is too difficult. Why do the admin if we do not have enough time to learn the content of the curriculum that we must teach … Sometimes I am so tired I cannot complete it all … (Ani, Interview, November 30, 2005).

> We have to prepare modules, lesson plans and complete student assessment forms. It is about 3 hours minimum every day just on preparation … sometimes we are just too busy to do those things and do not have enough time to be well-prepared in our teaching! (Amir, Interview, December 7, 2005).

> … it is so often I found myself standing in front of the class without any preparation! (Maryam, Interview, December 14, 2005).

The above accounts show several things. First, that the administrative load has brought negative consequences in terms of the time needed for teachers to maintain their teaching performance. As far as the teachers are concerned, a teacher's performance in class is far more important than administration work, hence it might be better value for a teacher to be well-prepared to teach than to have paperwork completed. Second, it is also clear that the amount of administrative work in the newest curriculum is perceived as far higher than the previous one, and a consequence is the teachers' negative attitudes towards the reform. The other four teachers (Deni, Lian, Widi and Harun) also hold similar perceptions of the administrative load, which is perceived as a burden for the teacher and this has contributed to the shaping of their negative attitudes to the new innovation.

Another second issue is the perception that the reform has brought more work for teachers in terms of teachers' roles and responsibilities in their routines. All nine teachers in this group shared this view. They report that unlike the previous curriculum, for which the materials were readily available in text books, they are expected to find materials by themselves for this curriculum. This is because this curriculum only gives guidelines and a standard of competency that their students need to achieve.

> … To understand the curriculum we are only given some examples of materials and we have to find the rest from various sources for our teaching … and I found this difficult, for example, to find some types of texts for teaching (Harun, Interview February 8, 2006).

> … the role of the teacher in this curriculum is bigger because the teacher should be able to master various teaching materials in order to facilitate learning which differs from the 1994 curriculum for which we only needed to transfer what has been available in the text book…(Widi, Interview November 23, 2005).

> … we need to find by ourselves, example from books, media or the internet … and you know here internet is not widely used. We have to go to internet cafés and it costs … (Nola, Interview December 14, 2005).

These perceptions seem to show the teachers' disappointment and reluctance to embrace change. They are more likely to be weighed down by the challenge of providing appropriate materials, where previously these have been provided. Providing new materials takes time, dedication and money; not all teachers have extra time and money at their disposal and this would invariably affect their enthusiasm for the changes. In addition, a few teachers (Yeni, Maryam, Deni and Ani) similarly complain about the bigger role for them in terms of providing teaching materials to teach. They added that they are also expected to analyze materials and this has been difficult for them.

> This 2004 curriculum is more complicated … we have to be able to analyze teaching materials. For example, for reading material, we have to analyze and decide which kind of text that the material we found belongs to! (Lian, Interview December 16, 2005).

Another characteristic of this group is seeing something as difficult and even sometimes impossible to achieve. An example of this is in relation to the expectation in the curriculum that independent learning styles and students' autonomy need to be encouraged and developed. All of the teachers in this group share the belief that this is something difficult to achieve, as their students' ability both in learning and in English is far below expectations.

> … Here the students' competency in English is below standard. That's why if the students are expected to be active and independent it is difficult and there will be a contradiction between what is expected and reality! (Ani, Interview November 30, 2005).

> … If you expect students to be actively engaged and autonomous in their learning they would not do that. For example, if you asked them to find some supporting materials that they can read, or do their homework and learn from it they would not do that! (Widi, Interview November 23, 2005).

In addition, Widi, in particular, believes that the students are more likely to prefer learning being closely guided by a teacher than embracing autonomous learning, as she says:

> They [the students] prefer to learn with the teacher beside them. Teachers here always need to explain because the students are passive. Although a teacher can be a facilitator if the students are diligent and studying hard … willing to read books, for example, but they expect us as teachers to explain! (Widi, Interview November 23, 2005).

Widi's view is based on her understanding of cultural factors in her community that influence the students' attitude to learning in the classroom. In her case, the teacher is seen as the transmitter of knowledge to the children who are passive receivers. Autonomous learning is not well received in this cultural context since the children are seen as being unused to working on their own. So the accounts above clearly show how this group of teachers constructed learning independently as something hard to achieve but also as inappropriate in terms of the culture of learning in their context in which the teacher is called a 'guru' (literally meaning teacher) and is assumed to have responsibility to deliver the knowledge to their students.

Another factor to do with the change that is perceived as difficult is the size of a class. Class size has been considered to impose constraints affecting teachers and causing their negative perceptions towards the successful implementation of the current curriculum. All of the teachers in this sub-group raised this issue, believing that the new change is only appropriate for small class sizes, as these reflections illustrate:

> This curriculum has been adopted from overseas where they are more sophisticated [overseas schools] … this would only be suitable in a class with twenty students, but we have forty students so it would difficult to implement it (Widi, Interview November 23, 2005).

> How could it work as well as expected by the curriculum if we are busy dealing with a lot of students? (Harun, Interview February 8, 2006).

Another characteristic that is more likely to be associated with this group is a pessimistic attitude towards the national final examinations, UAN. All the teachers in this group believe that the UAN has created more difficulty for the current curriculum. They described the discrepancy between the standard of English competency required on the UAN and the Gorontalo students' capability creates more problems for the new curriculum. Some teachers (Harun, Deni and Maryam) have specifically compared the situation in Jakarta and other big cities with Gorontalo. They believe the test is based on the standard of competency of the students in Jakarta. In their understanding, this only can be suitable for students there, or in some other big cities in Indonesia such as Surabaya, Medan and Denpasar in Bali. The bigger cities have considerably more English resources and other supporting factors for learning English, and they believe the discrepancy has worsened with the newest curriculum change:

> … It is strange that the curriculum in Jakarta is the same as the curriculum in Gorontalo while the facilities and resources are so different. Yet, the national exam is the same. It is not surprising that the results of the exam for regional areas is low, and for this new curriculum there are even more problems (Harun, Interview February 8, 2006).

> … when the UAN was being conducted and students fail, there is nothing we can do, their capability is just that [low]! (Ani, Interview November 30, 2005).

Of the teachers, Ani and Amir seem to show the greatest resistance, manifested through their beliefs that the innovation does not bring any change for the better.

> It is still the same! (Ani, Interview November 30, 2005).

Amir expressed similar feeling:

> It is still the same. No matter how many changes happen, I think it would be still the same. I am getting so confused. I have not implemented the previous one properly yet, and it has been changed again. Complicated! (Amir, Interview, December 7, 2005).

I have discussed teachers who appear to have become resistors to change. Despite some differences of opinion amongst the teachers on the issues discussed above, this sub-group of teachers is more likely to perceive change as a barrier to success. For these teachers, the new curriculum is seen as something that brings more work and has no meaning. This view contributes to the shaping of their negative attitudes towards the change. It is likely that this pessimistic attitude has created a barrier to making an effort to change.

Rejecters

This section aims to explore Muna's, Hendro's and Emi's views to change. I have characterized them as 'rejecters' as whilst they seemed to have been open to the innovative ideas within the new curriculum, they are sceptical as to their success in their particular context. Despite their supportive attitudes towards the new reform in terms of their positive response towards the greater use of autonomous learning, they highlight some limitations that they believe hinder the success of the implementation of the curriculum and have largely rejected its relevance to their teaching context. One of the primary problems in their perspectives is the low socio-economic backgrounds of their students which affects their motivation in learning and, specifically, in learning English.

The school context may negatively influence teachers in how they respond to change. Muna, Emi and Hendro saw most of their students as having low socio-economic status, and saw this as inevitably influencing their motivation in learning. As a result these teachers felt the effective implementation of the new curriculum would not be possible:

> Actually this curriculum is great because it stresses students' independent learning so students would be more active … but the

229

problem is that the students, on average, come from low socio-economic backgrounds and they have low motivation – not only in English, which is often seen as the most difficult subject, but also in general, their motivation in learning is also low … (Muna, Interview March 12, 2006).

The curriculum is good … personally I really think it is great because it aims to achieve and develop students' competency. Do you know this school [rural school mentioned]. We only have students who are poor with low motivation in learning and therefore they would not be accepted in other schools, such as [city school mentioned]. They would then come to this school [his school]. The schools [urban schools] are more appropriate for implementation of this curriculum (Hendro, Interview February 12, 2006).

The aims of the curriculum, to enable students to become more independent in their learning, are good I think … They [Emi's students] are pessimistic. One of the reasons is their parents' socio-economic background is low. So for them the most important thing is that they are at school! They don't worry about the grades they could achieve; they just don't care! For them the most important thing is they are able to get a school certificate after graduating and this is not only for English but for all subjects! (Emi, Interview December 12, 2005).

Muna, Hendro and Emi believe that their working conditions affect the success of the change. In their understanding, no matter whatever attempts they make, the change would be difficult. Muna raised the issue that she tried her best to help her students. For example, she gave additional teaching after school hours for students but still their responses did not satisfy her:

I have anticipated conducting tutorials for them in my house but still some of them did not come either because they fell asleep in the afternoon or because they live quite far away… (Muna, Interview March 12, 2006).

These teachers' attempts to make their students involved in active learning are not successful. Hendro raised this issue, describing his attempt to make his classroom activities more dynamic. He implemented active English learning especially for speaking practice, but he claims that nothing happened unless he took control. It seems in his understanding, that the teacher's role in facilitating active learning is just impossible to attain. As he says:

> So to teach them [his students] based on the expectation of the curriculum that there should be student-centred styles is very difficult! In KBK [the 2004 curriculum] the teacher is only a mediator of learning but it could not happen … It is so often that the expectations of the curriculum do not match with the students' ability in learning English. For example, when I wanted to start teaching 'recount' etc [suggested by the curriculum] the students were not capable enough to do it! (Hendro, Interview February 12, 2006).

The account above shows that in Hendro's understanding he has tried his best to facilitate what is expected in the curriculum, a student-centred learning approach where students dominate the learning activities. However, his experience has been that this does not work. This appears to have instilled pessimistic attitudes in him about successful implementation. The other two teachers (Emi and Muna) also have similar perceptions of a student-centred approach and reported their attempts to do active learning failed. For example, Emi explained how she attempted to apply this when teaching her students listening skills for the new UAN:

> In the UAN for this new curriculum, there would be twenty questions so I tried my best to help them to learn and prepare them for the UAN. But I ended up playing the tape four times with very minimal attention from them. This is frustrating! (Emi, Interview December 21, 2005).

Another aspect of school learning that may have influenced their responses to the new curriculum is the availability of resources and facilities in the school. These three teachers perceived that the lack of facilities and resources at their schools adversely affected the implementation. Hendro, in particular, associated this with the adoption of the new curriculum from overseas schools. He believes this is only suitable in an international/foreign context and, therefore, not compatible to the school where he teaches:

> … It is more suitable for schools who are already ready for that [means with the higher quality students] … if I am not mistaken the curriculum has been adopted from overseas school, I heard America of course totally different to us with minimal resources and the low quality of our students … to make students' independent as expected by the curriculum is very difficult because their ability in English is far below the expectation (Hendro, Interview February 12, 2006).

Muna and Emi share similar perspectives:

> We do not have enough facilities in teaching and learning English here. For example, we do not have a language laboratory. This curriculum is great but I think it should be accompanied by better facilities and resources … (Muna, Interview March 12, 2006).

> This 2004 curriculum is more suitable if it is applied in the schools which have better resources and facilities such as a language laboratory which is needed for teaching listening and speaking skills. This is different to learning conditions we have now (Emi, Interview December 21, 2005).

These teachers' recollections show how attitudes to change can be influenced by their pessimistic perceptions of their school contexts. In literature on teachers' responses to change, the issue of teachers' interpretation of their school context accords with this finding. Teachers' beliefs about their working context negatively influence their understandings about their jobs and the success of what they are doing (Riseborough 1981; Hargreaves and Fullan 1992; see also Sikes 1992:42). It is argued that whilst there is a difference between teachers as resisters (discussed earlier) and these teachers as rejecters in terms of the nature of how they respond to curriculum reform, they were quite similar in their model of thinking towards the reform. The resisters are not doing implementing the reform at all basically because they have closed-minded attitudes to change. Without trying, they have decided it cannot work. Unlike the resisters who already set the barrier before they tried, the rejecters have actually tried to implement the reforms, but according to their experiences report finding that it cannot work and that it is not suitable for their context.

Both the resisters and the rejecters are still working within a 'deficit model' of their students and teaching context in the way they understand the reform. Similar to the 'deficit view' of the resisters, the rejecters consider their students as not being capable of doing things that other students can do. So despite their differences in terms of the actions they are willing to take, these two sub-groups have similar attitudes in the way they think about the 2004 reform.

Conclusion

Whilst the twenty teachers' responses to curriculum reform initiatives varied in terms of their attitudes to change and the extent of their adoption of change, they fell broadly into two broad approaches: adopters and non-adopters of change. Within those adopting change, there were six critical embracers, as well as a partial adopter and a pragmatic adopter. Despite some fluidity amongst them in terms of the extent of their adoption of change all these teachers were highly engaged in their commitment to their practice and exhibited this through their understanding of the curriculum. These 8 teachers (Rima, Lisa, Yusuf, Farida, Arifin, Ray, Ariyanto and Nina) despite their differences in the ways they adopt change as critical embracers, partial adopter and pragmatic adopter, all demonstrate a closer engagement with their profession than the other twelve through the way they think and respond to change. They are more likely to show a sense of ownership and empowerment in perceiving the rationale for the change, show a greater understanding of the curriculum, and their perceptions are more elaborated, rich and clearly articulated.

In contrast, this was not the case for the non-adopters, whether they be resisters and rejecters. In comparison with the adopters, the twelve teachers across these two sub-groups seem to show a lack of engagement with pedagogy and curriculum issues in ELT resulting in them having either a resistant view of change (resisters) or pessimistic views of the potential for and applicability of change (rejecters). It is argued that their deficit view of their students and their teaching contexts has caused them to have negative attitudes and pessimistic view towards curriculum reform These teachers seem to demonstrate a lack of emotional attachment and commitment seemingly having little motivation for achieving improvement in their students' learning through implementing changes in their practice. Hargreaves (1988 cited in Sikes 1992:38) claims that to expect a teacher to change in response to a reform is not that simple because teachers are persons and "changing the teacher … involves changing the person … (and, therefore) changing the life". The question of how the teachers respond to change in this study appears to have been shaped by the development of their professional identities and this will be discussed further in Chapter 9, in which I

will retrace the journey of teachers' formation as learners and then as teachers, and how this contributes to the shaping of their professional identities and their engagement in practice.

Chapter 9

Making Connections Between
Formation, Identity and Practice

The themes that emerged as critical to understanding factors contributing to the shaping of teachers' identities as professionals are explored in this chapter. These factors are important as the teachers' professional identities influence their approaches to practice, including their response toward curriculum change. In the first section, I will discuss the different teacher identity categories that emerged. My analysis revealed two overarching categories: teachers with 'empowered' identities and teachers with 'minimally engaged' identities. The second section aims to synthesize the characteristics that have emerged through the discussion of teachers' attitudes, beliefs and views in Chapters 4 to 8. When considered together, the teachers' attitudes, beliefs and views contribute to a deeper and broader understanding of their empowered and minimally engaged identities. After this, I will consider the different themes that seem to be associated with the shaping of teachers' identities as empowered or minimally engaged.

Empowered identity and minimally engaged identity: An overview

According to Ottensen (2007) the identity of a teacher is characterized by the way a teacher understands themselves through their own view and imagination of self. I demonstrated that the experiences of the teachers highlight how identity is not context-free, but is closely related to several factors: learning investment trajectories, individual religious beliefs and values, social expectations including attitudes to gender, cultural beliefs, and institutional factors. Also interrelated are two components of identity which emerge as critical in understanding the teachers' identities as professionals. As discussed in Chapter 2, Buzzelli and Johnston (2002) have distinguished these two aspects of identity in relation to an individual's understanding of themselves. The first is 'assigned identity', that is, the identity given and/or imposed by others, such as that given to the teachers due to their role as English teachers. The second is 'claimed identity', that is, the

identity claimed and/or understood by the teachers regarding themselves (see also Varghese et al 2005 for this discussion). The concepts of claimed and assigned teacher identities will be used to analyze their professional formations as learners and as professionals, and to consider their identity development, and how this impacts on their engagement and approach to practice, including their response to curriculum change. In this study I have distinguished two categories of claimed identity: empowered and minimally engaged, which will be detailed below. Whether a teacher has an empowered identity or a minimally engaged identity has implications for their approach to curriculum change.

The teacher, their identity, and teaching are interrelated. Varghese et al (2005) draws on Buzzelli and Johnston (2002) to discuss how the notion of teacher identity incorporates the integration of assigned and claimed components. Varghese et al suggest that to understand language teaching and learning, one needs to understand the teacher and have a clear understanding of who they are as individuals - an understanding that includes multiple layers of identity. "[T]he professional, cultural, political, and individual identities which [teachers] claim or which are assigned to them" (Varghese et al 2005: 22). I argue along the same lines in my study when I argue that a teacher's engagement in language teaching and learning cannot be separated from factors such as social, cultural, and educational experiences that influence their perspectives about themselves and later impact on their engagement on their practice.

All twenty teachers interviewed share the same assigned identity as English teachers. However, they do not share a common claimed identity. Two critical forms of claimed identity will be distinguished. The first type of claimed identity is what I have called an 'empowered' identity. This describes a teacher who appears to have a strong sense of agency and demonstrates empowerment via a strong level of engagement in their practice. The second type is what I have called a 'minimally-engaged' identity, which describes a teacher who appears to have a lack of engagement and professional motivation toward their practice. Teachers' professional identities are formed within their specific contexts so that their identity formations are not context-free. In this chapter, I will draw on Duff and Uchida (1997), among others, to explore how identity formation for English

teachers in Gorontalo reflects aspects of the contexts of their lives and professional employment.

Duff and Uchida interviewed four EFL teachers chosen for their reputation as good teachers and their willingness to participate in the study. Two were native speakers of English, and the other two were Japanese. The focus of the study was to determine how the teachers' social-cultural identities, understandings and practices changed over time, and what factors were involved in those changes. Data was collected via teacher questionnaires, journal entries, classroom observations, life history interviews, and a review of teaching materials and the teacher's research journal. They found that the teachers' own views of their socio-cultural identities were "deeply rooted in their personal histories, based on past educational, professional, and (cross-)cultural experiences" (Duff and Uchida 1997:460). Duff and Uchida focus on understanding the teachers' perceptions of the relationship of language and culture and how this affects their teaching practice, particularly with regard to culture transmission. Whereas the focus of Duff and Uchida's study was to understand what shapes the teachers' beliefs and attitudes and the factors that influence how they understand themselves - I focus on their past learning, history, religion and other broad factors that influence their view of themselves as professionals and which impacts on their engagement and approach to their practice and their responses to change. Duff and Uchida proposed that identity is not context free, but related to economic, cultural, political and institutional contexts (1997), so their study shares similarities with this study in that it finds that a teacher's self perception is related to their past learning experience. Most importantly, they emphasize context as a vital contributor to a teacher's identity. Thus, their work comes to some broadly comparable conclusions to those that have emerged from my analysis, in demonstrating that context is a large influence on teachers' claimed and assigned identities.

Claimed professional identities

Whilst all teachers share the same 'assigned' identity as teachers of English in government high schools, their 'claimed' identities are vastly different, and this impacts on their approach to their work as teachers of English.

There were eight teachers (Lisa, Rima, Farida, Ariyanto, Ray, Yusuf, Arifin, and Nina) who I classify as teachers with empowered identities, and twelve teachers (Amir, Nola, Ani, Deni, Widi, Emi, Hendro, Yeni, Harun, Maryam, Lian, and Muna) who I classify as teachers with minimally engaged identities. Although there is fluidity and no one teacher is exactly like another, they share certain characteristics (see Table 9.1 and Table 9.2) that have led to their assignment to one group or the other. These will be further discussed below.

Table 9.1: Teachers with 'empowered' identities

Respondents' names	Shared components
Lisa, Rima, Farida, Ariyanto, Ray, Yusuf, Arifin, Nina	• Demonstrate sense of agency and empowerment in dealing with a range of challenges in their teaching context • Empathetic to the limitations of their teaching context • High professional motivation • High self confidence • Student-centred view of the teaching process and adopt a teaching approach that fosters independent learning • Adopters of 2004 curriculum reform • Positive attitude towards learning English

Table 9.2: Teachers with 'minimally engaged' identities

Respondents' names	Shared components
Amir, Nola, Ani, Deni, Widi, Emi, Hendro, Harun, Yeni, Maryam, Lian, Muna	• Lack of motivation and sense of agency in their approach to work • View barriers as obstacles • Close minded attitudes to students • Close minded attitudes to curriculum reform • Often juxtapose Gorontalo to other parts of Indonesia, characterizing Gorontalo as being deficient or sub-standard • Non-adopters of 2004 curriculum reform • Though may have started with a positive attitude to English, final attitude appeared to be negative

The teachers with 'empowered' claimed identities are emotionally engaged with their profession and have a strong sense of agency in dealing with the challenges they face as teachers of English. One example of this is how they deal with the challenges and limitations of their poor remuneration. Teachers in this category are more likely to develop a high professional motivation in English learning because, despite admitting that their income as teachers is below standard, they do not see this as a barrier. Their dissatisfaction with their poor remuneration is outweighed by the professional satisfaction they gain from teaching. Another example is their ability to face the challenge of collegial relationships in their school environment. This can take the form of tension and dilemmas that occur as teachers face negative responses from their non-English speaking peers when they practise English. However, teachers in this group are able to tackle this challenge and hence I classify them as risk takers who exercise agency and show a greater level of empowerment. This gives an indication that they are highly confident and assertive in their capacity as English teachers (see Chapters 6 and 7 for the detailed discussion).

In the literature on English language teaching in Indonesia, experts such as Sadtono (1979) and Dardjowidjojo (1997) pinpoint that poor teacher remuneration is seen as one of the factors that caused the failure of English language curriculum implementation in Indonesian high school classrooms. However, I would like to argue here that this is not always the case. The teachers

with empowered identities have shown that although they are aware that their income as a government employee is quite low, their motivation for their profession is unaffected by this. Their recollections suggest that they would rather give priority to their teaching and their students' needs, rather than let themselves become disappointed with something they recognize they cannot change in the short term. This attitude results in teachers with a high professional motivation in their job. In addition, this group of teachers also shows high motivation toward their profession with regard to how they approach their on-going professional development. This is evident in their willingness and initiative to attend seminars, workshops or other activities, as well as making sure the purchase of English books or other media that supports their teaching is on the agenda when they visit other cities. Their attitude toward remuneration and teacher development indicates that they have a high professional motivation toward their career as English teachers.

Empathy to the limitations of the role is one of the characteristics that constitute a teacher with an empowered identity, and those eight teachers share this empathy. They have to work within their schools and seek ways of working with constraints in their situation such as lack of facilities and resources. Moreover, the empowered teachers think of the students from a student-centred view, holding positive perspectives regarding their students in the sense that their role as teachers is that of a motivator and facilitator. In their understanding, students are enthusiastic and highly driven to be engaged in English learning despite their limitations and it is the teacher's role to accommodate these needs. Being empathetic to the limitations, discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, creates teachers who are more likely to develop and exercise a sense of agency in dealing with the challenges and restrictions across a range of factors. Thus their claimed identities empower them and influence them positively in the ways they approach their practice.

The teachers within the empowered group are more likely to share characteristics in their engagement and approach to practice. As well as being are more likely to employ a student-directed approach, they also tend to be more likely to use L2 within their teaching, and incorporate multi-directed communication by

facilitating discussions, tasks, games, songs and pictures. These strategies and techniques are expected in the English learning classroom so that the students are actively engaged in learning. These teachers present as being highly motivated to use integrative communicative approaches, contextual learning and employ lively teaching activities. This could be in part due to their positive attitude to learning English. For example, Arifin's use of 'classroom picture drawing'; Yusuf's own creative work called '*mencari jejak informasi*' (literally translated as 'exploring footprint information') in teaching reading techniques integrated with other English skills, such as speaking and listening; and Ariyanto's incorporation of body language and gestures in order to encourage the learning of English (see Chapter 7). These are characteristics which are recognized as being student-centred, and using a constructivist approach in learning (Richardson 2003a). The empowered teachers are confident in their capacity to engage their students and instil in them enjoyment in learning English, possibly because they enjoy English themselves. Furthermore, they generally seek to foster independent learning in their students. Teachers in this group are also more likely to show that they are open to new ideas which can be of benefit to their professional development, such as being willing to approach ongoing development for themselves by attending seminars and workshops. They also show open-minded attitudes in their response to curriculum reform occurring within their practice, despite differences and fluidity within the continuum of the teachers' attitudes to curriculum 2004 reform with the eight teachers spanning the three subgroups of adopters in their approaches to curriculum reform (see Chapter 8). These teachers are more likely to embrace new innovation, as well as exercising agency in the way they negotiate and integrate new curriculum ideas into their teaching practice.

The antithetical identity to the empowered claimed identity is the 'minimally engaged' identity. Teachers who are minimally engaged have the following shared components. First, they tend to lack motivation and a sense of agency in their approach to their work. This is manifested in a number of ways. They tend to view barriers as immense hindrances and are not very open to finding new ways to enhance their practice or their students' learning of English. One example is the way they perceive teachers' low remuneration. They appear to

perceive this as a barrier rather than a challenge. In their understanding, if a teacher has difficulties in satisfying his/her financial needs, the teacher should not be expected to provide a good quality of teaching for his/her students. Moreover, their limited income also appears to be connected to their reluctance to better themselves in terms of their professional development. This is seen in their unwillingness to attend seminars or workshops, or to even provide themselves with good teaching resources, such as English books or other media that either directly or indirectly support their profession. It seems, in their understanding that professional development for a teacher can only work if the government or the school facilitates it. These examples provide evidence for the conclusion that these teachers have a low personal motivation toward their profession.

Like teachers with empowered identities, those with minimally engaged identities also face similar issues in terms of the collegial relationships, such as dealing with the negative response from their non-English colleagues, which discourages English practice, diminishing this group's motivation to practise English. For some of the teachers, feeling uncomfortable using English when seniors are around is seen as a barrier to enhancing their English communicative practice. Unlike the empowered teachers, this negative response from non-English colleagues and the seniority issue appears to be daunting for teachers within the minimally engaged group. Unlike the other group who present as risk takers, these teachers are more likely to present as conformists. This is shown in how they deal with tension and challenge – by accepting it. As I have argued in Chapter 6, this partly reflects on how the teachers understand about themselves and how they position themselves in relation to discursive practice within society where they live and work, the traditional expectation and orientation of needing to belong and know your place which occurs within the community and this influences the teaching situation. As a result these teachers appear to lack confidence to speak English publicly, in contrast to the teachers in the other group. It is interesting to note here that minimally engaged teachers appear to display the trait of having a negative attitude to learning English, unlike the empowered identity teachers who show a positive attitude. If this negative attitude is deeply internalized, is possible for it to become a factor in the lack of

confidence/reluctance to speak English in front of peers displayed by the minimally engaged group. A negative attitude to learning English may also contribute to a heightened sensitivity of criticism another factor that could contribute to the reluctance to speak the language in front of less than accepting peers.

Teachers with minimally engaged identities are more likely to show that they perceive constraints in their teaching context as a barrier rather than a challenge. This includes their attitudes to limited facilities and resources and their construction of their students. This group of teachers appears to be weighed down by the constraints and limitations that occur within their teaching context (see Chapter 7 for this detailed discussion). Moreover, they hold defeatist views of their students, generally believing them to be lazy, uncooperative, disobedient in the classroom, and afraid of making mistakes. In their understanding they cannot do anything because the core of the problem is on the students' side. This view can become a strong barrier in preventing these teachers from increasing their efforts and from attaining success.

Minimally engaged teachers in contrast to those with empowered identities, use teacher-directed approaches as they believe these are suitable for their learning and teaching context. In their understanding there is not much teachers can do to motivate students because they see the problems as stemming from the students or the surrounding environment. For example, they raised the issue of cultural factors which they believe discouraged their students from learning and to practising English, 'good learners [are] stigmatized'. They say the impact on students' results in them not being brave enough to practise English in front of their friends, and they see this as diminishing student motivation to learn and to improve in English. In addition, they believe that their students prefer the teacher-centred style because culturally the students are used to that style, where teachers are the ones who impart knowledge to them. Moreover, perceiving that their students' capacity in English and ability to learn is still low, they believe that applying a student-centred approach would not work in this context since no active and dynamic classroom engagement would occur if they did not take control over the classroom. As a result, they approach their teaching in more

traditional ways where the teacher is the centre of the classroom and where information flows from the teacher to the student, and they believe this teaching style is more applicable. Moreover, this group also shows the characteristic of heavy use of L1. In their understanding, the low capacity of the students in learning English makes it difficult for them to successfully integrate the use of L2.

The teachers with minimally engaged identities displayed closed-minded attitudes toward new ideas and this was reflected in their attitudes to the 2004 curriculum reform (see Chapter 8). They either displayed resistance to the reform or rejected the change after trying it. Among the reasons for resisting and rejecting were that the new curriculum added more administrative work, too many resources had to be supplied by teachers, and there was more work involved in the classroom itself. In Chapter 8, I categorized these teachers into two sub-groups of non-adopters: 'resisters' and 'rejecters' of curriculum change.

Another characteristic that teachers with minimally engaged identities are more likely to share is that they appear to have a deficit view of Gorontalo in comparison with other big cities. The deficiency consists of an exaggerated focus on all the shortcomings they perceive in the Gorontalo teaching context. This deficit view contributes to a feeling of a lack of confidence in their own capabilities when attending training programs, particularly if these are located out of Gorontalo. They often compare themselves with teachers who are from big cities such as Jakarta and Bali and this affects their confidence to interact and engage in meetings as they assume that their expertise is far lower than others in the training. This, in turn, causes them to have low confidence in their own expertise in teaching. In addition, minimally engaged teachers unfavourably compare learning and teaching contexts between Gorontalo and other places in relation to facilities and resources that they perceive are more available in other big cities. They also have the view that students are more capable in other parts of Indonesia. This kind of deficit view negatively impacts the on teachers' professional socialization and identity development, resulting in minimal engagement in their profession. The deficit view contributes to a lack of engagement from teachers who exercise less agency and seem to lack power or

motivation to deal with their professional context. It contributes to a self-fulfilling cycle for themselves and their students.

Though the teachers in this study share an assigned identity as English teachers, they do not share common claimed identities. The two forms of claimed identities illustrate a distinct difference in attitude toward teaching that invariably affects teaching quality and attitude to curriculum reform. In the next section, I will discuss some themes that are critical in understanding the shaping of the two contrasting claimed identities.

Claimed professional identity and changing trajectories of investment in English

This study argues that there is a significant relationship between these two identified types of claimed identities as teachers and the teachers' learning investment trajectories during their formation as learners. The teachers whose investment trajectories ended up being high at college (Trajectories 3 and 4 with the exception of Harun and Muna) are far more likely to have developed and to claim an 'empowered identity' as English learners and later as English teachers. Whereas those whose trajectories end up being low at college (Trajectories 1 and 2) all appear to have claimed a 'minimally engaged' identity as English learners and English teachers (teachers' learning investment trajectories have been discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5).

The broad investment trajectories, while only incorporating a portion of the teachers' overall experience, adequately draw out noteworthy differences between teacher's investment in English at high school and teacher's college. These differences suggest an association between educational experience and teacher identity. Only those whose investment in English at teachers college was high (Trajectories 3: low - high and 4: high- high) developed "empowered" identities as teachers' of English: Farida, Ariyanto, Yusuf, Arifin, Nina, Ray, Lisa and Rima. These exceptions were the cases of Muna and Harun, who developed in a different way despite having high investment trajectories at college (Trajectory 3); and these two teachers will be discussed elsewhere in this

chapter. Significantly, all the teachers studied whose investment at the teacher training college was low (Trajectories 1: low - low and 2: high - low) are all associated with a "minimally engaged" professional identity: Amir, Nola, Ani, Deni, Widi, Emi, and Hendro. There were two significant influences on investment trajectories that emerged from the data: influence of a role model and social factors. I draw on Norton's theory of investment in that there are some things that affect investment that are beyond the language learner's control.

At times, the teachers were working within a context in which they were not in a powerful position - this can influence their sense of agency and empowerment in dealing with challenges, limitations and constraints as learners and, subsequently, as teachers. These individual aspects influence their professional identity, which in turn will affect their approach to teaching practice and response to curriculum change.

The influence of role models

Further to the notion that identity is heavily dependant on social, institutional and cultural contextual factors (Duff and Uchida 1997), the types of role models that the teachers are exposed to in their early formation as learners influences how they feel about what they do and how engaged they are in their profession, and are an important part of the context in which a teacher's identity is shaped.

This study reveals that most of the minimally engaged teachers report exposure to uninspiring role models; who were not able to communicate a love of English or engender a passion to learn during their experience as a student teacher at college. For many teachers (Ariyanto, Lisa, Rima, Farida and Nina) classified as teachers with empowered identities, the influence of one pivotal role model - an inspirational lecturer (Mrs. Santika) – has been identified as influential in contributing to the shaping of their empowered identities. She was able to imbue in them a passion for English and English teaching that sustained them despite the broader practical and institutional constraints they were facing when they were advanced learners in their teacher training college institution. It is also clear from the teachers' reports that the positive role model, Mrs Santika, influenced

their approach to their students. Three of the five teachers (Rima, Lisa and Farida) have used the same 'coping strategies' they saw Mrs. Santika using during their learning experiences in the teachers training institution (see Chapter 7).

Whilst I do not have enough data to determine definitively whether or not the minimally engaged teachers had been taught by Mrs. Santika, and thus I am not able to determine whether her positive influence only impacted on some who were exposed to her, it is interesting to note the profound impact of a prominent and determined role model on the attitudes and practices of five teachers. In this case the data shows that an inspiring role model at teacher training college can have an impact on student teacher investment trajectories. Low learning investment can change to high investment and those who already have a high investment remain high. An inspiring role model can influence the way a pre-service teacher thinks about their profession and, hence, it is a powerful factor contributing to the shaping of their identity development and their eventual approach to classroom practice.

Social factors - Influence on identity

Some social factors seem to be strongly associated with the teachers' professional socialization and their identity development, such as the desire to become a government civil servant, lack of motivation to teach, and the influence of others on educational choice. Less than a quarter of the teachers in the study claimed to choose teaching because that was their preferred vocation, the rest were influenced by the desire to become a civil servant or lured by the extra employment opportunities a knowledge of English would offer. These choices were often influenced by parental preferences and family needs, rather than personal desire. The social reasons for choosing English remained mostly constant despite differing investment trajectories in high school and college. For many, these social factors seem to become a pivotal point in their learning trajectories having implications for their identity both as learners and as teachers, and result in minimally engaged identities toward their profession.

For most of the minimally engaged teachers, the motivation to become an English teacher was primarily the desire to become a civil servant as opposed to a genuine wish to teach or love of English. This could be because of their own desire (Harun and Emi, Amir), their parents' desire (Yeni) or family needs (Deni). The majority of minimally engaged teachers whose learning investment trajectory was low at college stated that their primary motivation to choose English at college was to become a government civil servant, a position that would be easily accessed through gaining a teaching position. This desire can make learning English a stepping stone to reach their goal rather than a goal in itself. It also means that not all teachers wanted to teach, they simply wanted to have a secure government paid job and the other associated benefits (as discussed in Chapter 2). When one desires these things it is usually social factors that are at the helm of the decision making process. For example, Deni chose English as it was the easiest way for him to get a job that would enable him to support his siblings who wanted to go to school. Yeni wanted to choose another program, but her parents insisted on English because there was such a high demand for civil servants with an English certificate. This concurs with Joseph's experience in a her research in Camp Trad Lebanon that the members of the group usually take care of each other and the needs of the group are put over one's own needs (Joseph 1996). This can be a useful characteristic for a group to have in most circumstances. However, it is significant that when English teaching was chosen for reasons other than personally wanting to be an English teacher, the learning investment trajectory became or maintained a low status in teachers college. In these cases it is possible that the how the teachers concerned had constructed and come to understand the expectations on themselves arising from traditional cultural values resulted in low investment trajectories and minimally engaged teachers. This implies that personal motivation is crucial to a learning trajectory that culminates in a high learning investment and how best to engineer this is worthy of further investigation.

Teachers' investment trajectories when they were learners are interrelated with other social factors, such the influence of a role model and the desire to be a government civil servant. These social factors influence investment and subsequently influence the teachers' identity development. In the next section, I

will consider some other themes that also appeared to have been influential in the development of professional identity: individual religious beliefs and values, and teachers' attitudes to gender.

The Role of other Factors in Teachers' Identities

Influence of individual religious beliefs and values

Religious views can form part of the context in which identity is shaped, and a teacher's interpretations of religious teaching can indirectly contribute to the shaping of their identity. Norton's notion of investment (Norton 1995, 1997, 2000) comes into play as religion forms a part of the teacher's social history and complex desires as an English language learner, but also affects the teacher's approach to their practice as an English teacher.

This study has highlighted how an individual's understanding of religion can influence their teaching in different ways. Islamic religious teaching that suggests one should do one's best and be responsible for one's job may imbue a teacher with an empowered identity and hence become a catalyst for them to be more engaged and empowered in teaching as well as language learning. In one case, the idea of *rezeqi* and 'God does not create bad or good learners' influenced Arifin's view and therefore influenced how he approaches his teaching (discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively). As explained in Chapter 5 Rezeqi in Moslem teaching refers to things considered to be provided by God, such as money, food, treasure, children and so forth. According to Islam, people should feel grateful for rezeqi no matter how little. As long as they have tried their best to work and make money for living, whatever they receive is their rezeqi. This concept manifests in Arifin's view of teachers' remuneration. Further on, Arifin's religious perspective that 'God does not create good or bad learners' also influences his understanding of his students in terms of their diversity of achievement in learning English. It is Arifin's belief that he has a God given duty to be the best teacher he can be. Tracing back over his learning investment trajectory Arifin's increased investment in English was triggered by

being shamed by his teacher in front of his peers. It appears that this incident was critical in his learning investment and subsequent empowerment. In relation to this, Measor (1985) points out, " there are critical incidents which are key events in individual's life and around which pivotal decisions evolve. These events provoke the individual into selecting particular kinds of action, they in turn lead them in particular directions, and they end up having implications for identity" (Measor 1985:61). Whilst it is likely that the incident at high school became a prominent factor that shaped his identity, Arifin's religious views reinforce his motivation and as a result he is more empowered.

Religious teaching does not necessarily impact upon every individual in the same way. For Arifin his understanding of the religious teaching has catalyzed his motivation in English; others may not be as empowered. For example, Maryam's understanding of the religious teaching is that it is her priority to be at home for her family. Thus, she refuses training that requires that she leave Gorontalo as that would mean going against her religious beliefs. Maryam's understanding of the religious teaching is more likely to cause her to be become less empowered in her identity and contributes to her being disengaged in her profession as an English teacher. It might be true to say that for Arifin and Maryam, their learning investment trajectories (Arifin = low- high, Maryam = low-low) are formative in their identities (Arifin = empowered, Maryam = minimally engaged). In both cases, one could argue that their religious views catalyze aspects of their identities as empowered or minimally engaged teachers. The interaction between religious beliefs and learning investment is difficult to disentangle as it is difficult to know to what degree beliefs affect investment if at all. However, it does seem clear that religious beliefs can affect outcome though not necessarily in the same way for everyone. In the other words, it can be seen from the Arifin and Maryam examples that religious values do not necessarily have the same impact on each person because views can be affected by the religious aspect they choose to emphasize the values they understand.

The issue of the influence of religious values emerged only in the interviews of Maryam and Arifin. It would be interesting to further explore this issue with a view to discovering how other teachers see religious views as affecting their

roles: What aspect of religion influenced them the most? To what extent did the influence impact on their professional identity as a teacher? Does gender change the religious emphasis? What is the influence of broader cultural context on the influence of religious beliefs? For example, in this case, Arifin's focus on rezeqi is probably due to his role as a male in a collectivist and patriarchal society where males are breadwinners and therefore obliged to provide for the family (1995) As a result, his career is prominent in his life. Whereas for Maryam, her conception of religion is influenced by her understanding of her role in a religious and cultural context where women are primarily positioned as homemakers and care givers. This subsequently impacts the way she understands herself and her profession. Further study is necessary in order to investigate this more widely.

Attitudes to Gender roles

In this section, I will discuss how teachers' attitudes to the gender role system in Indonesian society seems to be associated with their professional socialization and identity development, an issue that emerged as critical in understanding how teachers understand themselves. Gender roles and responsibilities include the expectations put upon teachers by society and the family. These influences, stemming from teachers' own understandings of themselves and of society's and their families' expectations, contribute to the ways their professional identities are shaped. Whilst there is apparent difference in attitudes between minimally engaged teachers and empowered teachers, professional identity is shaped differently for male and female teachers.

For men, professional identity seems to be shaped through their own views regarding their roles and responsibilities as breadwinners and their family's expectations that they fulfill this role. Four male teachers clearly stated that they moonlight because their income as teachers is insufficient. Three other male teachers, who moonlighted as English teachers, did so not only for extra income but also due to their higher motivation to be engaged in their profession. As discussed in Chapter 6, four of the male married teachers (all are classified as teachers with minimally engaged identities) revealed that they had been

moonlighting in non-teaching positions or as unskilled labourers. These teachers reported that they were moonlighting because of social and economic pressures in terms of their position as breadwinners within their families. These teachers are more likely to view their low income as a barrier that influenced them to moonlight, resulting in them having negative attitudes toward their profession. In contrast, three of the four empowered male teachers similarly were moonlighting, but they were moonlighting as English teachers. In their recollections about their incomes as teachers, these empowered teachers were aware of the limitations of their remuneration, yet this did not necessarily impact on their high motivation toward their profession.

The empowered male teachers' recollections uncover their views regarding gender role division within society. They seem to have high professional motivation toward their career as English teachers, and this impacts on their decisions to moonlight in jobs that are related to their profession. As discussed in chapter 5, the decision to moonlight as English teachers appears to further consolidate their empowered professional identities as teachers.

In contrast, for the male teachers with minimally engaged identities, their recollections uncover why they have been moonlighting in unskilled jobs which are not related at all to their profession. Their choices not only indicate that they have low motivation and a lack of emotional engagement toward their careers, but, doing physical labour seems to contribute to them feeling tired and appears to negatively influence the energy they have to devote to their teaching, reinforcing their disengagement as a consequence. Moreover, for male teachers with minimally engaged identities, their own attitudes toward gender roles and responsibilities, as well as the expectations put upon them by society and family, in their positions as breadwinners seems to strongly influence how they understand themselves as teachers and negatively impacts on the ways they engage with their practice.

Overall, male married teachers – both empowered and minimally engaged – were revealed to moonlight after school hours while most of the female married teachers did not. Unlike almost all the male teachers (with the exception of Ray, see Chapter 5), almost all the female teachers (with the exception of Farida,

discussed in Chapter 5) were not involved in moonlighting. This is perhaps an indication that the female married teachers are not primarily responsible for their family's financial needs, although they might be providing a valuable secondary income source. Based on some of the male teachers' recollections female married teachers are not expected to fulfill the responsibilities of providing for their family's financial needs. Yet these female teachers' views regarding the possibility of bringing school work home emerged as critical in understanding how these women see their roles and responsibilities including the expectations put upon them by society and the family.

Like male teachers, the female teachers' views impact on the ways they understand themselves as professionals and this differs between the empowered female teachers and the minimally engaged female teachers. For female teachers, professional identity seems to be shaped through their own views of gender roles and responsibilities as well as society's and the family's expectations of them in their multiple roles as teachers, wives and mothers. As discussed in Chapter 5, the minimally engaged female teachers show that they were reluctant to bring school work home because they felt they needed to fulfill their responsibilities at home to meet the gender role expectations of their families. They said that once they got home they have an obligation to play their role at home. In contrast, the female married empowered teachers, who also said that they did not like the idea of bringing school work home, indicated a need to balance responsibilities and duties in life. The teachers' views on the importance of balancing, suggests that for them family life cannot be interrupted with other things, because this will inevitably affect their abilities to play dual or multiple roles at home. However, it is also evident that the female married teachers with empowered identities devote their time and are committed to staying longer at school to finish school work when necessary, while this does not happen among the female married teachers with minimally engaged identities.

In this section, I have discussed how gender roles appear to affect attitudes of the interviewees and contribute to the shaping of the teachers' professional socialization and identity development. This section argued that the male and female teachers with minimally engaged identities are more likely to be shaped

and influenced by the broader societal gender role factors in setting strict boundaries between their personal life and their teaching role. In contrast, gender roles are more likely not to affect the empowered teachers, both for male and female, so rigidly as they have shown that they more proactively work to balance their attachment, commitment, and high professional motivation toward their profession and their families.

The exceptional cases: Muna and Harun

This section discusses factors that made important contributions to the development of Harun and Muna's professional identities. Both these teachers can be considered somewhat exceptional cases and the patterns associated with their formation, the shaping of their identities and their practice were atypical. Harun's investment trajectory became high at college, but he did not maintain this, as the other teachers on high trajectories did. While Muna's investment trajectory was also high at teacher training college, and even though she enjoys the idea of being caring and engaged with her students, she does not have a student centred-teaching style, preferring to concentrate on being teacher-directed with her students. I will discuss some factors that may have contributed to the shaping of these two teachers' professional identities. Teachers on high trajectories at the end of their training tended to become empowered teachers who embraced, or at least accepted, new teaching methods and ideals. Harun and Muna are interesting exceptions to this rule, having high learning trajectories, but preferring a teacher-directed approach. Harun has been categorized as a minimally engaged teacher, while Muna, being a dedicated teacher, but still not proactive and open to new teaching methods, has been harder to place, as she displays characteristics from both the empowered and minimally engaged categories. Ultimately, because of the nature of her reported practice, Muna can best be understood as a minimally engaged English teacher, who whilst engaged in her dedication to her students, is not professionally engaged or empowered in her approach to teaching English. For example, her preference for the use of L1 with a teacher-directed approach, and her rejection of the adoption of the 2004

254

curriculum reforms, both indicate her conservative and unimaginative approach to practice, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

The length of teaching experience can influence a teacher's attitudes and beliefs about their profession, in turn influencing their identity as a professional. This has probably happened to Harun. According to his profile in Chapter 2, he has been an English teacher for 25 years (as has Muna). This indicates that Harun received his teacher training in the 1980s, and this will have significantly influenced the kind of training he received. This training would have been heavily centred on a teacher-directed approach, with very low use of L2 in the classroom. His reported view of his teaching practice is similar to other teachers with minimally engaged identities; he uses a teacher-directed approach with hardly any use of L2. His reluctance to change to a student-centred approach could be due both to the influence of his early training and the length of time he has been entrenched in this practice. This is despite his report of low student success in English, which he blames on the students in a typically minimally engaged fashion.

Experienced teachers so often resist change because it does not fit in with the teaching styles to which they are attached. For Harun, it is possible that as a teacher who has been teaching for a long time, he feels comfortable with his old style, which integrated a teacher-directed approach and high use of L1. This is recognized as a pattern that occurs frequently in Indonesian high school classrooms, including in teaching English (see Sadtono 1979, 1997; Dardjowidjojo 1997; Jayadi 2004; Kwelju 2004). I argue that this kind of belief and attitude had become an entrenched part of Harun's identity as a teacher. He is personally attached to this approach and believes that it is a good way. Also, the strong influence of authoritarian teaching should not be underestimated, he was taught in an authoritarian fashion, and taught that authoritarian teaching is the best way to teach. The kind of teaching that Harun experienced himself can make an impression that is not easy to undermine. That he experienced a different teaching climate from his empowered peers, coupled with the length of time he has been in the field might explain his beliefs and attitudes toward how

he should practice and his "resisting" response toward the 2004 curriculum change.

Another factor that possibly contributes to the shaping of a teacher's identity is economic pressure. This has probably been a factor for Harun. He is a sole breadwinner with three children in higher education (see chapter 5). Since he is moonlighting it is probably fair to say that Harun is suffering economic pressure. Even though his reported trajectory in English at college was high, this did not enable him to transform into an empowered teacher as becoming a good teacher came second to supporting his family. Whilst it is not really possible to know exactly why Harun's identity has evolved in the way it did, as this study is not a longitudinal study and relies on personal recollections over time, it is probably fair to say that economic pressure may have been a factor in the extent to which Harun invested in his profession.

Whether or not a teacher has family commitments can impact upon their identity in that a teacher with no other commitments can have more time and emotional energy for their students. In Muna's case, she is able to extend her role as teacher and see students in her home. She is caring and nurturing and has a strong relationship with her students and is quite engaged and attached to her profession. Tracing back Muna's recollections in Chapter 5, I have argued that Muna's marital status as single female teacher meant that she was able to arrange for her students to visit her, unlike Emi, a minimally engaged teacher with low investment, who is married, and teaching at the same school. However, whilst both my classroom observations and Muna's reflections on her practice show that she has a strong interpersonal relationship with her students and a strong attachment to her profession as a teacher, Muna's teaching style is not directed toward facilitating her students to be empowered in English (unlike the other empowered teachers). In Muna's reported view of her teaching practice she favours a teacher-directed style and uses a translating approach with high use of L1. She believes that she needs to do this because her students come from low socio-economic backgrounds and have a low motivation for schooling, in general, and especially in English.

This school context seems to affect Muna's professional identity in that it impacts upon her conception of her primary role as a teacher. This affects her attitudes to curriculum change innovation as she strongly believes that her school context and culture do not fit with the ideas of the new change (discussed in chapter 8). Her reported view suggests that although she has tried to embrace the change, such as incorporating a student centred approach, she ultimately reverts back to her old style of teaching as she feels that the student centred approach does not work in her school context. Muna's particular style as a teacher does not equip her students for acquiring what Tsui (2003) described as 'subject matter knowledge'. Also relevant is what Tsui (2003) says about how some teachers can prefer to do something other than impart subject knowledge and this becomes a priority in their teaching, such as, for example, prioritizing managing the behaviour or disciplining students rather than helping them in relation to subject matter knowledge. For Muna, nurturing and socialization seems to be a priority over trying new things to enable her students to achieve greater competency in English. This has lead to her understanding that her role is to be successful as a teacher rather than as a teacher of English.

There is another factor that might explain why Harun and Muna did not maintain their high investment after teacher training college: their lack of personal interest in English when they first entered the college. Both of them reported using English as a stepping stone to gain a civil service job (see chapter 4). Their reported view regarding their learning experience at college shows that despite their low English investment at high school, Muna and Harun were able to exercise a sense of agency and empowerment in dealing with the challenges they had at college. I have argued that this might be because as advanced learners, they realized the importance of autonomous learning in tertiary study. This influenced their attitudes and empowered them to invest in English learning and teaching while they were student teachers. However, once they had successfully attained their goal of becoming civil servants, there was no longer a reason to improve their teaching or English skills. For Harun, in particular, once he attained his goal, there was no ongoing personal desire to teach well. Muna, though engaged with her profession, is not motivated toward empowering her

students with regard to English proficiency and has not maintained her high investment in English teaching.

Do empowered teachers lead to 'expert' teachers?

I want to acknowledge here that it is difficult to equate the claimed empowered identity of teachers with teachers who are experts in their profession. Whether or not the empowerment leads to expertise is beyond the scope of this study and not able to be determined with the data available. However, there were some characteristics of teachers with empowered identities (discussed in Chapters 4 to 8) that coincide with features that can indicate expertise according to Tsui's (2003) notion of an expert teacher. I will draw from some examples from my study to discuss this.

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Tsui (2003) theorized three critical differences that can distinguish expert teachers from novices, including a teacher's ability to integrate a range of various factors in their teaching actions; a teacher's understanding of their specific work context; and a teacher's ability to discuss knowledge gained through their professional experience in theoretical terms. For a teacher to be able to present these three dimensions cannot be separated from a teacher's wide-ranging knowledge which is interrelated with their profession (Tsui 2003). Whilst I agree with Tsui's claims that the three dimensions provide criteria that can be good indicators for expertise in the teaching profession, I would like to point out that though teaching experience is vital it is not sufficient for expertise. This is evidenced by my study, where overall the twenty teachers are experienced in terms of the length of time teaching (ranging from eleven to twenty five years). Yet most of them do not display the kind of knowledge and ability required to be considered an expert teacher in terms of Tsui's dimensions.

The teachers in my study who might meet all the criteria are the teachers categorized as empowered, rather than the teachers with the longest professional experience. First, it is a characteristic of the empowered teachers to be able to face challenges in their learning and teaching context. This resonates with Tsui's

second dimension which implies that not only should an expert be able to assess the learning context, but also be able to see possible strategies to optimize the situation. Overall, teachers with empowered identity are able to understand the English learning and teaching situation both within the Gorontalo context and in their specific school context. They devise strategies to deal with teaching, working out solutions to the problem of limited resources when teaching listening skills, for example (see Chapter 7). In relation to this Tsui (2003) says that the ability of an expert to see and work with challenges in their teaching context would then lead to the expert being able to develop themselves. This resonates with teachers with empowered identity in my study where there is evidence that all of them are actively able to develop themselves, engaging in 'reflective practice' (such as initiating self-evaluation through questionnaires given to their students) in order to have a better understanding of their achievements in their teaching and what is required to improve their teaching.

Secondly, it is also evident that empowered teachers show a deeper knowledge of their profession. For example, in the recollections of Arifin, Ariyanto and Yusuf they articulate their knowledge and understanding toward curriculum change innovation in ways that indicate they have a deep understanding of the issues (discussed in detail in Chapter 8). Despite the variability from one teacher to the other, in general the teachers with empowered identities describe key aspects of their living experiences, their engagement and approach to practice, their response toward curriculum change and innovation in a way that demonstrates a relatively sophisticated level of knowledge and understanding toward their professions. Empowered teachers, as opposed to minimally engaged teachers, are able to be articulate in discussion of their profession and display an attachment to the profession. With regard to curriculum reform, the teachers with empowered identities show that their perceptions regarding curriculum change occur within the context of knowledge of previous curriculum changes. Their perceptions appear to be more articulated, rich and contain evaluative judgments (Tsui 2003:276) They are constructively critical of innovations, while retaining open minded attitudes to change.

259

Another characteristic which resonates with Tsui's conceptualization of an expert teacher is strong engagement and desire for further professional development. Tsui gives as an example her respondent Marina's comment in terms of the need to provide a range of English books for herself. This desire for further learning also appears in teachers with empowered identities (see Chapter 7), whereas this desire for professional development is absent in the twelve minimally engaged teachers.

I want to underline here that the teachers with minimally engaged identities in my study are quite distinct from teachers who are 'novice' in Tsui's conceptualization (see Tsui 2003). This is because the novice teacher identified by Tsui might show strong engagement in their teaching, though not necessarily be an expert. The teachers with minimally engaged identities, however, are not really engaged at all. So a novice might have the potential to become an expert, while the minimally engaged teacher (unless they become more engaged), will probably not ever become an expert no matter how long they remain in the field. Elucidating the precise nature of the link between empowerment and expertise in teaching is outside the focus of this study, but is worthy of further investigation.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, I have discussed shared components of two groups of teachers; those with empowered identities and those with minimally-engaged identities, and considered factors that may be associated with their professional socialization and identity development. This study offers insight into how a teacher's investment trajectory, individual religious beliefs and values, social factors and expectations, including attitudes to gender impact on their professional socialization and identity development. It has then considered how identity impacts on the way the teachers conceptualize their engagement in teaching practices, including their response to curriculum innovation. The various contexts in a teacher's life impact on the teacher's professional development which accords with the notion of Duff and Uchida's (1997) concept that teacher's identity is not context free, but related to a range of factors, social, economic and cultural.

This study gives the insight that teacher's professional socialization and identity formation is closely bound up with their English investment trajectories during their formation as learners, as well as the specific contexts in which they live and work. Cultural and social factors heavily influence their decision-making as does their pre-service teacher training, which also has an influence on their preparation for careers as English teachers, affecting their commitment, agency, identity and future empowerment as teachers of English.

There are different kinds of overarching trajectories of the twenty teachers that relate to their investment in English. It is important to note that some of the teachers progressed to an 'empowered identity' where they have high confidence, a high sense of agency, believe that they can make changes, and can empower themselves despite constraints and limitations that they face within their teaching context. However, it is absolutely critical to pay serious attention to the teachers whose investment ends up low, as this seems to culminate in 'minimally engaged identities' where they seem to lack the motivation toward their profession as English teachers and, do not even have a 'belief' that they can make change. These teachers can be understood as not only having a low investment in English, but also as having a low investment in becoming a good educator.

Recommendations of the study

Returning to the original motivation for this study: to attempt to learn more about why changes to the English teaching curriculum had been unsuccessful from the teachers' perspectives and to gain insight into the problem by looking for patterns in their learning trajectories and identity formation, this insights from this study lead to a number of recommendations:

First, it is critical for Governments, associated policy makers and institutional leaders, such as those of teacher training colleges, to examine their policies and practices to ensure that student teachers get experiences in college that give them a strong positive foundation in their professional socialization toward teaching and, in this case, specifically, toward teaching English. This research has

highlighted how critical the quality of the experience of a teacher trainee within the teacher training college is to the attitude of the teaching graduate towards their discipline and to teaching. Poor experience at teacher training college places the graduate in a position of lacking positive role models thereby potentially contributing to reproducing poor attitudes and practices within their own practice. However, not all who had a negative experience responded similarly. This study found that there are some teachers who, although recognizing the limitations they faced at the college, were able to deal with challenges and limitations more effectively. This appears to relate to the teachers' sense of agency and empowerment. Having acknowledged this potential for individual differences in how the teacher training experience impacts on a teacher's attitude towards their role and their reported practices, it is important to note that overall a better quality of training within the teacher training college can contribute to the creation and exercise of a sense of agency and empowerment. In other words, the role of a teacher training college can be pivotal in this regard. Without a positive experience at the teacher training college it is more likely that the result will be English teachers who may lack enthusiasm for the topic and, thus, are ill equipped to inspire their students to learn English. Such teachers have little hope of influencing students positively in relation to their subject. This can create a cycle of apathy toward English and English teaching. Such a cycle is best broken at the level of teacher training as, from a policy and practice perspective, it is more efficient to attempt to improve attitudes of teachers during their training than it is to enforce a new curriculum on teachers who because of their personal, social and educational experiences are not motivated to implement change.

Second, it is also important to consider ways to help teachers not only to feel empowered in their identities, but also to continue to engage in their profession so they can reach what Tsui (2003) claims is 'an expert teacher', in terms of the level of sophistication they achieve in practice.

Third, the concepts and beliefs of society regarding 'government civil service jobs' need to be changed because otherwise one's desire to enter this type of job will continue to over-ride the desire to be a teacher. Teachers who enter the training institution with this kind of motivation as their primary driver negatively

impact on their investment mode during their learning experience as learners, and also do not care whether the job as English teachers will bring a career satisfaction and professional fulfillment for them. They are thinking of job security only. This becomes a factor that negatively contributes to the shaping of their professional identities. This results in an apathetic attitude toward their job as they do not have a personal desire to invest in English learning and teaching but more an external desire for a 'secure job'. Achieving such attitude change will not be easy, but it is critical to the improvement of teacher quality that those being trained to teach have a genuine interest and motivation for their future profession.

The limitations of the study

This study was conducted via in-depth interviews in order to understand teachers and factors that contribute to the shaping of their identity development. I have characterized the teachers as empowered and minimally engaged identities and this is primarily based on their understanding of themselves given their reported experiences, insights, beliefs, and attitudes, all of which are associated with the way they understand themselves as professionals. I have not been able to examine in depth whether their actual classroom practice concurs with their reports of their classroom practice. It is important that if such a study were to be extended classroom observation be included, and detailed documentation of how the empowered teachers demonstrate their empowered identities in elements of their practice take place. In addition, my study was not longitudinal, so cannot show how these teachers developed their identities over time, rather it examines at one point in time through reflection on their formation and experience what factors the teachers' attribute to the shaping of their claimed identities, and their responses to curriculum reform.

Reflecting back, it would also have been valuable as a researcher to have been able to spend a longer time with respondents/participants during the data collection, and if possible, while doing interpretation and data analysis as well. I was only able to spend six months in Gorontalo undertaking the data collection. This length of time I recognized as one limitation of this study because during

the process of getting the data into shape. I found that there was some information missing and needing further investigation. Whilst in some cases I was able to contact some of the teachers by phone (see Appendix 1) to fill in the gaps and assist in my interpretation, it would have been beneficial to have had the opportunity to have time to explore further. In addition, to gain a better understanding of teachers and their identity development, and how these impact on their engagement in their practice, it would have been useful to take into account what other people in the schools say about them, such as their school principals, administrative staff, teacher colleagues and students.

Final Reflections

This study contributes to the growing understanding of why the repeated implementation of new curricula in teaching English as a foreign language has been unsuccessful. It addresses the issue of teachers' formation as professionals, and how this impacts upon their professional socialization and identity development. The study investigates these issues through the teachers' stories of their experiences, attitudes, beliefs and their approaches to their practice, including how they respond to curriculum change. This leads to a clearer, in-depth understanding of the process of the teachers' identity formation and professional socialization as they engage in their English teaching in Gorontalo, a developing province of Indonesia.

The insights from this research can be extended beyond Gorontalo, Indonesia to other locations both within and outside Indonesia that have similar circumstances and cultural values. The results of this study suggest how important it is to understand the English teachers themselves and how the factors involved in their formation (both as learners and as teachers) shape their professional socialization and thus their approach as teachers. It will assist in the understanding of how the teachers' claimed identities are reflected in their engagement and practices, and ultimately in their expertise as teachers.

For people who are responsible for the on-going training and development activities for teachers in general, and English teachers in particular, (such as

government and policy makers), this study provides an understanding of the goals and associated activities that could beneficially be integrated into such training. It is critical for such training to inspire teachers to be actively involved so that they develop a capacity to exercise agency and empower themselves in facing challenges and constraints, as well as to be able to become expert in their professions. This study provides critical insights for policy makers and pre-service teacher education institutions to have a clearer understanding of the critical factors that can lead to shaping teachers' identities both positively (producing teachers with empowered identities) and negatively (producing teachers with minimally engaged identities). This can enable them to work on ways to facilitate factors that can lead to empowering teachers to find solutions to the problems that can become major constraints for them in their professional practice.

Two initiatives could assist the teacher training institutions to improve the quality of teacher preparation and professional socialization. The first is to set up 'a partnership program' with high schools in working out what useful responses can be developed and implemented in the process of preparation of graduate students to inspire them to learn both in English and to be strongly engaged and empowered as beginning teachers. The second is that the teacher training colleges need to rework their curriculum and staffing to strengthen their focus and capacity to produce English teachers with strong professional skills and 'empowered' professional identities. For example they need to ensure that students are exposed to good quality role models who model 'best practice' in ELT and provide mentoring to the pre-service teachers in the critical stage of their professional formation.

It might be also possible for government and schools to think about the possibilities of providing 'incentives' or a 'special reward' for teachers who are themselves models of 'best practice' and expertise in order to further support, motivate and develop them whilst at the same time also encouraging the minimally engaged ones to be motivated to make changes.

This study has also provided critical information for the Indonesian government about the concept of the government civil servant, which has overwhelmingly

coloured most teachers' motivation and contributed to many having entered the teaching profession without having a strong interest or professional orientation for working as teachers. It is critical to work out ways of trying to change the general belief of people in Indonesia and in Gorontalo, in particular, in the seemingly iconic status of government civil servant which seems to impact on teachers in more negative ways than positive ones. In addition, this study also gives insights to Indonesia government to rethink the selection process for teachers. This needs to be set up differently to what has been previously done, that is, not just about getting the marks to get the job to enter the profession, but needing to have some ways of actually trying to select people who have a genuine interest in teaching.

This research has highlighted the importance of focussing on teachers if the quality of English language teaching and learning is to significantly improve in Gorontalo. Without significant enhancement in the process of selection of prospective teachers, the quality of teacher education, professional socialisation and the provision of appropriate remuneration, teachers will continue to lack the vital support to enable them to realise their potential. Unless work is done with student teachers to improve outcomes, it is difficult to see how investment in curriculum reform will lead to the results the government is seeking.

References

Abu-Lughod, L 1991, 'Writing against culture', in R Fox (ed.), *Recapturing Anthropology*, School of American Research, Santa Fe, pp. 137-62.

Adhiwicaksana 2006, 'Tantangan Birokrasi, Melayani Bukan Dilayani' [The Challenge of Bureaucracy, Giving Not Receiving Service], *Adhiwicaksana,* 29/11/2006, Available http://bacaberita.wordpress.com/2006/11/29/tantangan-birokrasi-melayani-bukan-dilayani/>, viewed 25 June 2008.

Alexander, P, Schallert, D and Hare, V 1991, 'Coming to terms: How researchers in learning and literacy talk about knowledge', *Review of Educational Research,* vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 315-43.

Alisjahbana, ST 1975, *Tatabahasa baru Bahasa Indonesia* [New Indonesian Grammar], Dian Jakarta, Jakarta.

Allport, G 1967, 'Attitudes', in M Fishbein (ed.), *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*, John Willey and Sons, New York, pp. 1-13.

Allwright, RL and Bailey, KM 1991, *Focus on the Language Classroom*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Almarza, GG 1996, 'Student foreign language teacher's knowledge growth', in DA Freeman and J Richards (eds), *Teacher Learning in Language Teaching*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 50-78.

Alsup, J 2005, *Teacher Identity Discourse: Negotiating Personal and Professional Spaces*, College NCTE and Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Illinois.

Arends, RI, Winitzky, NE and Tannenbaum, MD 2001, *Exploring Teaching: an Introduction to Education*, 2nd ed., McGraw-Hill, Dubuque, IA.

Arkoudis, S and Davison, C 2008, 'Chinese Students: Perspectives on their social, cognitive, and linguistic investment in English medium interaction', *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 3-8.

Ashcroft, L 1987, 'Defusing "empowering": The what and the why', *Language Arts*, vol. 64, no. 2, pp. 142-56.

Atmanto, M 2005, 'Hukum dan PNS Bermasalah' [The Law and Dealing with Problematic Government Civil Servants], *Suara Merdeka,* 17/02/2005, Available <http://www.suaramerdeka.com/harian/0502/17/pan09.htm>, viewed 25 June 2008.

Bandura, A 1997, *Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of control*, W.H. Freeman, New York.

Basturkman, H, Loewen, S and Ellis, R 2004, 'Teachers' stated beliefs about incidental focus on form and their classroom practices', *Applied Linguistics,* vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 243-72.

Beijaard, D, Meijer, PC and Verloop, N 2004, 'Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity ', *Teaching and Teacher Education*, no. 20, pp. 107-28.

Belmechri, F and Hummel, K 1998, 'Orientations and motivations in the acquisition of English as a second language among high school students in Quebec City', *Language Learning*, vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 219-44.

Berik, G 1996, 'Understanding the gender system in rural Turkey: Fieldwork dilemmas of conformity and intervention ', in DL Wolf (ed.), *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 56-71.

Berliner, DC 1986, 'In pursuit of the expert pedagogue', *Educational Researcher*, no. 7, pp. 5-13.

Berninghausen, J and Kerstan, B 1992, *Forging New Paths: Feminist Social Methodology and Rural Women in Java*, Zed Books, London.

Bire, J 1996, 'The Success and the Failure of Senior High Schools Students Learning English as a Foreign Language (EFL) - Case Studies - SMA Negeri Kupang, Timor, Indonesia', PhD thesis, La Trobe University, Bundoora.

Blaxter, L, Hughes, C and Tight, M 2001, *How to Research*, 2nd ed., Open University Press, Buckingham.

Bogdan, R and Biklen, SK 2003, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*, 4th ed., Allyn and Bacon, Boston, MA.

Borg, S 2003, 'Teacher cognition in language teaching: A review of research on what language teachers think, know, believe and do', *Language Teaching,* vol. 36, pp. 81-109.

Bourdieu, P and Passeron, J-C 1977, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Sage Publications, London.

Breen, MP 1986, 'The social context for language learning - a neglected situation? ' *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, vol. 7, pp. 135-58.

Brewer, MB and Gardner, W 1996, 'Who is this "we"? Levels of collective identity and self-representations', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* vol. 71, pp. 83–93.

Buzzelli, CA and Johnston, B 2002, *The Moral Dimensions of Teaching:*

Language, Power, and Culture in Classroom Interaction, Routledge Falmer, New York.

Calderhead, J and Shorrock, SB 1997, *Understanding Teacher Education: Case Studies in the Professional Development of Beginning Teachers*, Falmer Press, London.

Calderhead, J 1988, 'Learning from introductory school experience', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 75-83.

Campbell, CE 1985, 'Variables which influence student teacher behaviour: Implications for teacher education ', *Alberta Journal of Educational Research,* vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 258-69.

Cardelle-Elawar, M, Irwin, L and Lizarraga, MLSdA 2007, 'A cross cultural analysis of motivational factors that influence teacher identity ', *Electronic Journal of Research in Educational Psychology*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 565-92.

Carson, T 2005, 'Beyond instrumentalism: The significance of teacher identity in educational change ', *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 1-8.

Certo, JL and Fox, JE 2002, 'Retaining quality teachers ', *The High School Journal,* vol. 86, no. 1, pp. 57-75.

Cahyono, BY and Widiati, U 2004, 'Introduction' in BY Cahyono and U Widiati (eds) *The Tapestry of English Language Teaching and Learning in Indonesia,* State University of Malang Press, Malang, Indonesia, pp. xi-xxi.

Chayanuvat, A 1997, 'Diversity and learner's choice: The true challenges of Thailand's EFL classrooms', in GM Jacobs (ed.), *Language Classroom of Tomorrow: Issues and Responses*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, Singapore.

Chen, R 1991, 'Responding to compliments: A comparative study of politeness strategy between American English speakers and Chinese speakers', *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 9, pp. 161-72.

Clandinin, J and Connelly, FM 1987, 'Teachers' personal knowledge: What counts as personal in studies of the personal ', *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* vol. 19, pp. 487-500.

Clandinin, DJ and Connelly, FM 1994, 'Personal experience methods' in NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

Clapston, M and Hyatt, D 2007, 'Policy, cultural, and ideological influences on the career paths of teachers of English in French Higher Education', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 625-634.

Clark, CM 1988, 'Asking the right questions about teacher preparation: Contributions of research on teacher thinking', *Educational Researcher,* vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 5-12.

Clark, CM and Peterson, PL 1986, 'Teachers' thought processes ', in MC Wittrock (ed.), *Handbook of Resource on Teaching*, 3rd ed., Macmillan, New York, pp. 255-96.

Clark, CM and Yinger, R 1979, 'Teachers' thinking', in P Peterson and H Walberg (eds), *Research on Teaching*, 3rd ed., McCutchan, Berkeley, CA.

Clark, RW, Hong, LK and Schoeppach, MR 1996, 'Teacher empowerment and site-based management ', in J Sikula, TJ Buttery and E Guyton (eds), *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education,* Macmillan, New York.

Clarke, M 2007, 'Language policy and language teacher education in the United Arab Emirates', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 583-591.

Clarke, M, 2008, '*Language Teacher Identities: Co-constructing Discourse and Community*' Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Clarke, M and Otaky, D, 2006, 'Reflection 'on' and 'in' teacher education in the United Arab Emirates', *International Journal of Educational Development*, 26(1) pp.111-122.

Clemente, A 2007, 'English as cultural capital in the Oaxacan Community of Mexico', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 421-425.

Connelly, FM and Clandinin, DJ 1984, 'Teachers personal practical knowledge' in R Halkaes and JK Olson (eds) *Teacher Thinking: A New Perspective on (Persistent Problems in) Education,* Swets Publishing Service, Heirewig, Holland.

Cole, AL 1989, 'Making explicit implicit theories of teaching: Starting points in preservice programs, ' a paper presented to American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, March 27-31.

Combs, M 1982, *A Personal Approach to Teaching: Beliefs That Make a Difference,* Allyn and Bacon, Boston.

Csizer, K and Dornyei, Z 2005, 'The internal structure of language learning motivation and its relationship with language choice and learning effort', *The Modern Language Journal*, vol. 89, no. i, pp. 19-36.

Dana, T, McLaughin, AS and Freeman, TB 1998, 'Creating dissonance in prospective teachers' conceptions of teaching and learning science ', a paper presented to Annual Meeting of National Association for Research in Teaching, San Diego, April 19-22.

Dardjowidjojo, S 1997, 'English policies and their classrooms impact in some ASEAN/Asian countries', in GM Jacobs (ed.), *Language Classrooms of*

Tomorrow: Issues and Responses, SEAMEO-RELC, Singapore, pp. 36-54.

DaSilva Iddings, AC and Katz, L 2007, 'Integrating home and school identities of recent-immigrant Hispanic English language learners through classroom practices', *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 299-314.

Deci, EL and Flaste, R 1996, *Why We Do What We Do: Understanding Self-Motivation*, Penguin, New York.

Demirezen, M 2007, 'Identity problems of non-native teachers of English in teacher education ', *The Internet TESL Journal*, vol. 18, no. 8, August, <http://iteslj.org/Articles/Demirezen-NonNativeTeachers.html>.

Department of Transportation, Post and Telecommunications, and Tourism, Gorontalo Province 2007, *Gorontalo Surga Tersembunyi: Obyek and Daya Tarik Wisata Provinsi Gorontalo* [Gorontalo Hidden Paradise: Tourist Sites and Attractions of Gorontalo Province], Department of Transportation, Post and Telecommunications, and Tourism, Gorontalo.

Dewi, A 2007, 'Shifts in NNESTS' professional identity: An impact of language and culture immersion', *Asian EFL Journal: English Language Teaching and Articles*, vol. 9, no. 4 Article 7, pp. 1-13.

Djiwandono, PI 2004, 'EFL teaching in the post-method era' in BY Cahyono and U Widiati (eds) *The Tapestry of English Language Teaching and Learning in Indonesia,* State University of Malang Press, Malang, Indonesia.

Dornyei, Z 2001a, *Motivational Strategies in the Language Classroom,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Dornyei, Z 2001b, *Teaching and Researching Motivation,* Longman, Harlow.

Dornyei, Z 2003, 'Attitudes, orientations, and motivations in language learning: Advances in theory, research, and applications ', *Language Learning*, vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 3-32.

Dornyei, Z and Csizer, K 2002, 'Motivational dynamics in second language acquisition: Results of a longitudinal nationwide survey', *Applied Linguistics*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 421-62.

Dudzik, D 2007, 'The great debate affecting English policies and curriculum reforms in multilingual, postcolonial Djibouti', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 591-600.

Duff, PA and Uchida, Y 1997, 'The negotiation of teachers' sociocultural identities and practices in postsecondary EFL classrooms', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 451-86.

Dulay, H, Burt, M and Krashen, S 1982, *Language Two,* Oxford University

Press, New York.

Ernest, P 1989, 'The knowledge, beliefs and attitudes of the mathematics teacher: A model', *Education for Teaching*, no. 15, pp. 13-34.

Errington, S 1990, 'Recasting sex, gender and power: A theoretical and regional overview', in JM Atkinson and S Errington (eds) *Power and Difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

Errington, E 2004, 'The impact of teacher beliefs on flexible learning Innovation: some practices and possibilities for academic Developers, Innovations in Education and Teaching International ', *Innovations in Education and Teaching International,* vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 39-47.

Fenstermacher, GD 1979, 'A philosophical consideration of recent research on teacher effectiveness ', *Review of Research in Education*, vol. 6, pp. 157-85.

Fenstermacher, GD 1986, 'Philosophy of research on teaching: three aspects', in MC Wittrock (ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, Macmillan, New York, pp. 37-49.

Fishbein, M 1967, 'A consideration of beliefs, and their role in attitude measurement ', in M Fishbein (ed.), *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement,* John Wiley and Sons, New York, pp. 257-66.

Flannery, DJ and Wester, KL 2004, 'Risk factors related to academic Achievement in adolescence' in T Urban and F Pajares (eds), *Educating Adolescents: Challenges and Strategies,* Information Age Publishing, Greenwich, CT, pp. 1-32.

Flowerdew, J and Levis, J 2007, 'Failing the practicum: Narrowing the gap between expectations and reality with reflective practice', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 193-201.

Foucault, M 1972, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* AMS Smith (trans.), Tavistock, London.

Freeman, D and Johnson, KE 1998, 'Reconceptualializing the knowledge-base of language teacher education', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 3, pp. 397-417.

Freeman, D 1990, 'Intervening in practice teaching ', in JC Richards and D Nunan (eds), *Second Language Teacher Education,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 103-17.

Freeman, DJ and Richards, JC 1993, 'Conceptions of teaching and the education of second language teachers', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 193-216.

Fullan, M and Hargreaves, A 1992, 'Teacher development and educational

change', in M Fullan and A Hargreaves (eds), *Teacher Development and Educational Change*, Falmer Press, London, New York, pp. 1-10.

Gao, Y, Zhao, Y, Cheng, Y and Zhou, Y 2007, 'Relationship between English learning motivation types and self-identity changes among Chinese students', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 133-155.

Gao, X, Cheng, H and Kelly, P 2008, 'Supplementing an uncertain investment? Mainland Chinese students practising English together in Hong Kong', *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp.9-29.

Gardner, RC and Lambert, WE 1972, *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*, Newbury House Publishers, Rowley, MA.

Gardner, RC 1985, *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning*, Edward Arnold, London.

Gardner, RC 2006, 'The socio-educational model of second language acquisition: A research Paradigm', *EUROSLA Yearbook*, vol. 6, pp. 237-60.

Gee, JP 1996, *Socio Linguistics and Literacies: Ideologies in Discourses*, 2nd ed., Taylor and Francis, London.

Gergen, KJ 1991, *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life,* Basic Books, New York.

Goodman, J 1988, 'Constructing a practical philosophy of teaching: A study of preservice teachers' professional practice', *Teaching and Teacher Education*, vol. 4, pp. 121-37.

Green, T 1971, *The Activities of Teaching*, McGraw-Hill, New York.

Guba, EG and Lincoln, YS 1994, 'Competing paradigms in qualitative research', in NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications, London, New Delhi, pp. 105-17.

Guba, EG and Lincoln, YS 2005, 'Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences ', in NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research: Third Edition*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pp. 191-216.

Hall, ET 1976, *Beyond Culture,* Double Day, New York.

Hall, S 1997. 'Cultural identity and diaspora', In K Woodward (ed.), *Identity and Difference*, London: Sage Publications. pp.51-59.

Hall, S (ed.) 1997, *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices,* London: Sage Publications in association with the Open University.

Hamied, FA 1993, *Laporan Nasional Hasil Pengawasan dan Pemeriksaan (Wasrik) Tema Pengajaran bahasa Inggris di SMA Negeri* [The National

Evaluation Report (Wasrik) on the State Senior High School English Language Teaching Theme] Inspektorat Jenderal Department Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta.

Hargreaves, A and Fullan, M 1992, *Understanding Teacher Development*, Teachers College Press, New York.

Henderson, VJ and Kuncoro, A 2006, 'Corruption in Indonesia ', Unpublished paper. Available <http://www.econ.brown.edu/faculty/henderson/papers/corruption120704.pdf>, viewed 10 March 2008.

Ho, WK 2004, 'English language teaching in East Asia today: An overview' in WK Ho and R Wong (eds), *English Language Teaching in East Asia Today: Changing Policies and Practices*, 2nd ed., Eastern Universities Press, Singapore, pp. 1-32.

Hofstede, GH 1980, *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values,* Sage, Beverly Hills, CA.

Hofstede, GH 1994, *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind: Intercultural Co-operation and Its Importance for Survival*, HarperCollinsPublishers, London.

Hofstede, GH 2001, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviours, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations*, 2nd ed., Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Hofstede, GH and Hofstede, GJ 2005, *Cultures and Organizations Software of the Mind*, Rev. and expanded 2nd ed., McGraw-Hill, New York.

Holland, D, Lachicotte, W, Skinner, D and Cain, C 1998, *Identity and Agency in cultural Worlds* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Holmes, P 2006, 'Problematizing intercultural communication competence in the pluricultural classroom: Chinese students in a New Zealand university', *Language and Intercultural Communication,* vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 18-34.

Hsiung, PC 1996, 'Between bosses and workers: The dilemma of a keen observer and a vocal feminist ', in DL Wolf (ed.), *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 122-37.

Irwin, H 1990, *Communicating With Asia: Understanding People and Customs*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Istiadah 1995, 'Muslim Women in Contemporary Indonesia: Investigating Paths to Resist the Patriarchal System', Working Paper 91, Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, Clayton.

Iyengar, SS and Lepper, MR 1999, 'Rethinking the value of choice: A cultural perspective on intrinsic motivation ', *Personality and Social Psychology,* vol. 76, pp. 349-66.

Jayadi, I 2004, 'ELT in Indonesia in the context of English as a global language', in BY Cahyono and U Widiati (eds), *The Tapestry of English Language Teaching and Learning in Indonesia*, State University of Malang Press, Malang, Indonesia, pp. 1-16.

Jenkins, J 2005, 'Implementing an international approach to English pronunciation: The role of teacher attitude and identity', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 535-41.

Johnson, KE 1992, 'The relationship between teachers' beliefs and practices during literacy instruction for non-native speakers of English', *Journal of Reading Behaviour*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 83-108.

Johnston, B 1999, 'The expatriate teacher as postmodern Paladin ', *Research in the Teaching of English*, vol. 34, pp. 255-80.

Johnston, B 2002, *Values in English Language Teaching*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ.

Joseph, S 1993, 'Connectivity and patriarchy among urban working-class Arab families in Lebanon ', *ETHOS*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 452-84.

Joseph, S 1996, 'Relationality and ethnographic subjectivity: Key informants and the construction of personhood in fieldwork', in DL Wolf (ed.), *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 107-21.

Kagan, D 1990, 'Ways of evaluating teacher cognition: Inferences concerning the Goldilocks Principle', *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 60, no. 3, pp. 419-69.

Katjasungkana, N 1991, 'Pembahasan atas Makalah: Kedudukan Wanita (Islam) dalam Hukum' [Discussion Paper: The position of women (Islam) in law], Unpublished seminar paper, Jakarta.

Kennedy, MM 1997, 'Defining an ideal teacher education program'. National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education, Washington, DC. Available <http:// www.msu.edu/user/mkennedy/publications/Kennedy%20to%20NCATE. pdf>, viewed 10 March 2008.

Kreisberg, S 1992, *Transforming Power: Domination, Empowerment, and Education*, State University of New York Press, Albany.

Kubota, R 2001, 'Discursive construction of the images of US Classrooms ', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 9-38.

Kusharwanti, M 2008, 'Proses Penerimaan dan Seleksi PNS Sangat Buruk, Rawan KKN' [The Selection Process for Government Civil Servant Positions is Fraught with Corruption] *Antara News* 17/06/2008, Available <http://www.antara.co.id/arc/2008/6/17/proses-penerimaan-dan-seleksi-pns-sangat-buruk-rawan-kkn/>, viewed 25 June 2008.

Kweldju, S 2004, 'Lexically-based language teaching: An innovative step for ELT in Indonesia', in BY Cahyono and U Widiati (eds), *The Tapestry of English Language Teaching and Learning in Indonesia*, State University of Malang Press, Malang, Indonesia, pp. 37-56.

Laborde, C 2006, 'Female autonomy, education and the hijab', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy,* vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 351-77.

Lal, J 1996, 'Situating locations: The politics of self, identity, and "other" in living and writing the text', in DL Wolf (ed.), *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 185-214.

Lamb, M 2004, 'It depends on the students themselves: Independent language learning at an Indonesian State School', *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 229-45.

Lantolf, JP and Pavlenko, A 1995, 'Sociocultural theory and second language acquisition ', *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, vol. 15, pp. 108-24.

Lantolf, JP and Pavlenko, A 2001, 'Second language activity theory: Understanding second language learners as people', in MP Breen (ed.), *Learner Contributions to Language Learning: New Directions in Research*, Pearson Education, Harlow, pp. 141-58.

Leinhardt, G 1988, 'Situated Knowledge and expertise in teaching ', in J Calderhead (ed.), *Teachers' Professional Learning* Falmer, Philadelphia, pp. 146-68.

Leung, C, Harris, R and Rampton, B 1997, 'The idealised native speaker, reified ethnicities, and classroom realities', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp.543-560.

Levinson, S, C 1983, *Pragmatics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Li, D 2006, 'Motivation in second language acquisition in Chinese research students in the UK', *Evaluation and Research in Education*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 38-57.

Liebkind, K 1999, 'Social psychology ', in J Fishman (ed), *Language and Ethnic Identity,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 141-51.

Lightfoot, S 1986, 'On goodness in schools: Themes of empowerment ', *Peabody Journal of Education*, vol. 63, no. 3, pp. 9-28.

Lin, A, Wang, W, Akamatsu, N and Riazi, AM 2002, 'Appropriating English, expanding identities, and re- visioning the field: from TESOL to teaching English for glocalized communication (TEGCOM) ', *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 295-316.

Littlewood, W 1984, *Foreign and Second Language Learning: Language-Acquisition Research and Its Implications for the Classroom*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Littlewood, W 2001, 'Students' attitudes to classroom English learning: A cross cultural study', *Language Teaching Research*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 3-28.

Lortie, D 1975, *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Lukmani, Y, M 1972, 'Motivation to learn and language proficiency ', *Language Learning*, vol. 22, pp. 261-73.

Lundeberg, MA and Levin, BB 2003, 'Prompting the development of preservice teachers' beliefs through cases, action research, problem-based learning, and technology', in J Raths and A McAninch (eds), *Teacher Beliefs and Classroom Performance: The Impact of Teacher Education,* Information Age Publishing, Greenwich, CT, pp. 23-42.

MacClure, M 1993, 'Arguing for yourself: Identity as an organising principle in teachers' jobs and lives', *British Educational Research Journal,* no. 19, pp. 311-32.

Maddox, H 1993, *Theory of Knowledge and Its Dissemination*, Freshet Press, Castlemaine, Victoria.

Maeroff, GI 1988, *The Empowerment of Teachers,* Teachers College Press, New York.

Mallette, MH, Kyle, S, Smith, MM, McKinney, M and Readance, JE 2000, 'Constructing meaning about literacies difficulties. Preservice teachers beginning to think about pedagogy', *Teaching and Teacher Education*, vol. 16, no. 5-6, pp. 593-612.

Malm, B 2004, 'Constructing professional identities: Montessori teachers' voices and visions ', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 48, no. 4, pp. 397-412.

Mantiri, O 2004, 'Problematic issues of ELT in Indonesia', in BY Cahyono and U Widiati (eds), *The Tapestry of English Language Teaching and Learning in Indonesia*, State University of Malang Press, Malang, Indonesia, pp. 29-36.

Marching, ST, 2007, *The Discrepancy Between the Public and the Private Selves of Indonesian Women: A Comparison of Published and Unpublished Autobiographies and Diaries*, The Edwin Mellen Press, New York.

Markus, HR and Kitayama, S 1991, 'Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation ', *Psychological Review*, vol. 98, no. 2, pp. 224-53.

Martin, P and Abdullah, K 2004, 'English language teaching in Brunei Darussalam: Continuity and change ', in WK Ho and R Wong (eds), *English Language Teaching in East Asia Today: Changing Policies and*

Practices, Eastern Universities Press, Singapore, pp. 87-101.

Masgoret, A-M and Gardner, RC 2003, 'Attitudes, motivation, and second language learning: Meta-analyses of studies by Gardner and Associates' in Z Dörnyei (ed) *Attitudes, Orientations and Motivations in Language Learning,* Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 167-210.

McConaghy, C, 2000, *Rethinking Indigenous Education: Culture, Colonialism and the Politics of Knowing.* Post Pressed, Flaxton, Queensland.

McDonough, K and Chaikitmongkol, W 2007, 'Teachers' and learners' reactions to a task-based EFL course in Thailand', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 107-132.

McGee, C and Penlington, C 2001, *Research on Learning, Curriculum and Teachers' Roles, Report 3: The Classroom Curriculum,* Waikato Institute for Research in Learning and Curriculum, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

McSweeney, B 2002, 'Hofstede's model of national cultural differences and their consequences: A triumph of faith- a failure of analysis', *Human Relations*, 55(1), pp.89-118.

Measor, L 1985, 'Critical incidents in the classroom: Identities, choices and careers' in SJ Ball and IF Goodson (eds) *Teachers' Lives and Careers,* The Falmer Press, London, Philadelphia.

Menard-Warwick, J. 2005, 'Both a fiction and an existential fact: Theorizing identity in second language acquisition and literacy studies' *Linguistics and Education*, 16 (3), pp 253-274.

Merriam, SB 1988, *Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Mertens, DM 1998, *Research Methods in Education and Psychology,* Sage, London.

Miles, MB and Huberman, AM 1984, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods* Sage, Beverly Hills, CA.

Mills, S 2004, *Discourse,* 2nd ed, Routledge, London.

Morgan, B 1997, 'Identity and intonation: Linking dynamic processes in an ESL classroom', *TESOL Quarterly,* vol. 31, no.3, pp. 431-450.

Morgan, B 2004, 'Teacher identity as pedagogy: Towards a field-internal conceptualisation in bilingual and second language education ', *Bilingual Education and Bilingualism,* vol. 7, no. 2and3, pp. 172-188.

Mori, S 2004, 'Significant motivational predictors of the amount of reading by EFL learners in Japan', *RELC Journal*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 63-81.

Mukminatien, N 2004, 'Engaging EFL students in Indonesia with authentic tasks: Possibilities within limitations', in WK Ho and R Wong (eds), *English Language Teaching in East Asia Today: Changing Policies and Practices*, Eastern University Press, Singapore, pp. 187-94.

Munby, H 1982, 'The place of teachers' beliefs in research on teacher thinking and decision making, and an alternative methodology ', *Instructional Science*, vol. 11, pp. 201-25.

Nababan, PWJ 1984, 'Communicative approach: Questions arising from natural writing in a TEFL Situation', in KD Bikram (ed.), *Communicative Language Teaching*, SEAMEO RELC, Singapore, pp. 159-70.

Nespor, J 1987, 'The role of beliefs in practice of teaching', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 317-28.

Niode, AS 2007, *Gorontalo: Perubahan Nilai-Nilai Budaya dan Pranata Sosial* [Gorontalo: Changing Cultural Values and Social Structure] Pustaka Indonesia Press, Jakarta.

Noels, KA 2001, 'New orientations in language learning motivation: Towards a model of intrinsic, extrinsic and integrative orientations and motivations ', in Z Dornyei and R Schmidt (eds), *Motivation and Second Language Acquisition,* The University of Hawaii Second Language Teaching and Curriculum Center, Honolulu, HI, pp. 43-68.

Noels, KA and Clément, R 1989, 'Orientations to learning German: The effect of language heritage on second language acquisition' *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, vol. 45, pp. 245–257.

Noels, KA, Clement, R and Pelletier, LG 2001, 'Intrinsic, extrinsic, and integrative orientations of French Canadian learners of English', *The Canadian Modern Language Review/La Revue Canadienne des Langues Vivantes*, vol. 53, no. 3, pp. 424-442.

Noels, KA, Pelletier, LG, Clement, R and Vallerand, RJ 2000, 'Why are you learning a second language? Motivational Orientations and Self-Determination Theory ', *Language Learning*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 57-85.

Norton, B 1997, 'Language, identity and the ownership of English', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 409-29.

Norton, B 2000, *Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change,* Pearson Education, Harlow.

Norton, PB 1995, 'Social identity, investment and language learning', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 29, pp. 9 - 31.

Norton, B and Gao, Y 2008, 'Identity, investment, and Chinese learners of English', *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 109-120.

Nunan, D 1990, *The Learner-Centered Curriculum: A Study in Language Teaching,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Nur, C 2004, 'English language teaching in Indonesia: changing policies and practical constraints', in WK Ho and R Wong (eds), *English Language Teaching in East Asia Today: Changing Policies and Practices*, Eastern University Press, Singapore pp. 178-86.

Opie, C 2004, *Doing Educational Research*, Sage, London.

Ottensen, E 2007, 'Teachers "in the making": Building accounts of teaching', *Teaching and Teacher Education*, vol. 23, no. 5, pp. 612-23.

Oxford, RL 2001, 'Language learning styles and strategies ', in M Celce-Murcia (ed), *Teaching English as a Second or Foreign Language,* Heinle and Heinle, Boston, pp. 359-66.

Pajares, MF 1992, 'Teachers' beliefs and educational research: Cleaning up a messy construct', *Review of Educational Research,* vol. 62, no. 3, pp. 307-32.

Pandian, A 2004, 'English language teaching in Malaysia today', in WK Ho and R Wong (eds), *English Language Teaching in East Asia Today: Changing Policies and Practices*, Eastern Universities Press, Singapore, pp. 272-93.

Panggabean, H 2004, 'Characteristics of Indonesian intercultural sensitivity in multicultural and International work groups'. In B. N. Setiadi, A.Supratiknya, W.J. Lonner, and Y.H. Poortinga (Eds.), *Ongoing Themes in Psychology and Culture (Online Ed.)*, International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Melbourne, FL. Available: <http://www.iaccp.org>, viewed.25 August 2010.

Parmar, F 2007, 'Transforming Language policies to make more room: Reflections from a principal of a college in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, India', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp.557-561.

Pavlenko, A 2001, 'In the world of the tradition, I was unimagined: Negotiation of identities cross-cultural autobiographies ', *International Journal of Bilingualism*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 317-29.

Pavlenko, A 2002, 'Poststructuralist approaches to the study of social factors in second language and use ', in V Cook (ed.), *Portraits of the L2 User,* Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, pp. 275-302.

Pavlenko, A and Lantolf, JP 2000, 'Second Language Learning as participation and the (re) construction of selves', in JP Lantolf (ed.), *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 155-177.

Pennington, MC 2002, 'Teacher Identity in TESOL', a paper presented to the Inaugural Meeting of QuiTE, Luton University, 18 October 2002,

Available <http://www.quality-tesol-ed.org.uk/downloads/Martha_P's_paper,_AGM_2002.pdf>, viewed 25 June 2008.

Pennycook, A 1994, *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*, Longman, London.

Pennycook, A 2001, *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction,* Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ.

Peterman, FP 1991, 'An experienced teacher's emerging constructivist beliefs about teaching and learning', a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, April 3-7.

Petkova, D 2005, 'Cultural identity in a pluralistic world', in TD Petkova and J Lehtonen (eds) *Cultural Identity in an Intercultural Context,* University of Jyvaskyla, Jyvaskyla.

Phillips, A 2007, *Multiculturalism Without Culture,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Pillar, I 2001, 'Naturalization language testing and its basis in ideologies of national identity and citizenship', *International Journal of Bilingualism*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 259-277.

Pintrich, PR 1990, 'Implications of psychological research on student learning and college teaching for teacher education. ' in WR Houston (ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, Macmillan, New York, pp. 826-57.

Price, S 1996, 'Comments on Bonny Norton Pierce's "Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning"', *TESOL Quarterly,* vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 331-337.

Priyono 2004, 'Logical problems of teaching English as a foreign language in Indonesia', in BY Cahyono and U Widiati (eds), *The Tapestry of English Language Teaching and Learning in Indonesia*, State University of Malang Press, Malang, Indonesia, pp. 17-28.

Rahman, AQ 2004, 'Applying co-operative learning to uphold language classroom dynamics ', in BY Cahyono and U Widiati (eds), *The Tapestry of English language Teaching and Learning in Indonesia*, State University of Malang Press, Malang, Indonesia, pp. 169-78.

Richards, JC and Lockhart, C 1994, *Reflective Teaching in Second Language Classrooms*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Richards, JC 1998, *Beyond Training,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Richardson, V 1994, 'The consideration of teachers' beliefs', in V Richardson (ed.), *Teacher Change and the Staff Development Process: A Case in Reading Instruction*, Teachers College Press, New York, pp. 90-108.

Richardson, V 1996, 'The role of attitudes and beliefs in learning to teach', in J Sikula, TJ Buttery and E Guyton (eds), *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education*, Macmillan, New York, pp. 102-19.

Richardson, V 2003a, 'Constructivist pedagogy ', *Teachers College Record,* vol. 105, no. 9, pp. 1623-40.

Richardson, V 2003b, 'Preservice teachers' beliefs', in J Raths and A McAninch (eds), *Teacher Beliefs and Classroom Performance: The Impact of Teacher Education,* Information Age Publishing, Greenwich, CT, pp. 1-22.

Riseborough, G 1981, 'Teachers' careers and comprehensive schooling: A sociological study ', *Sociology*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 352-81.

Robinson, K 1999, 'Women: Difference versus diversity', in DK Emmerson (ed) *Indonesia Beyond Soeharto: Polity, Economy, Society, Transition,* ME Sharpe, Armonk, NY.

Rokeach, M 1968, *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values: A Theory of Organization and Change,* Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Rozimela, Y 2004, 'The value of English writing skills in Indonesia ', in BY Cahyono and U Widiati (eds), *The Tapestry of English Language Teaching and Learning in Indonesia,* State University of Malang Press, Malang, Indonesia, pp. 83-94.

Rudiyanto, R 1988, 'The relationship between theory and practice of the 1984 English curriculum: A case study at a Senior Secondary School in Bali, Indonesia', MEd thesis, La Trobe University, Bundoora.

Rueda, R and Chen, BCY 2005, 'Assessing motivational factors in foreign language learning: Cultural variations in key constructs', *Educational Assessment*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 209-29.

Sadtono, E 1979, 'Problems and progress in teaching English as a foreign language in Indonesia ', in D Feitelson (ed.), *Mother Tongue or Second Language?,* International Reading Association, Newark, Delaware, pp. 32-45.

Sadtono, E 1997, *The Development of TEFL in Indonesia*, The English Department of IKIP Malang, Malang.

Sarros, JC and Sarros, AM 1992, 'Social support and teacher burn out ', *Journal of Educational Administration*, vol. 30, no. 1, pp. 55-70.

Sarup, M 1996, *Identity, Culture, and the Postmodern World*, University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Sawali 2007, 'Mutu Pelayanan Publik' [The Quality of Public Service], *Suara Karya* 14/07/2007, Available <http://pelangi-kultura.blogspot.com/2007/07/mutu-pelayanan-publik.html>, viewed 25

June 2008.

Schecter, SR and Bayley, R 1997, 'Language socialization practices and cultural identity: Case studies of Mexican-descent families in California and Texas', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp.513-541.

Schwandt, TA 1994, 'Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry ', in NK Denzin and YS Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, London, pp. 118-37.

SEAMEO Resources 2008, *Country Profile – Republic of Indonesia*, Available <http://www.seameo-innotech.org/resources/seameo_country/educ_data/indonesia/indonesia9.htm>, viewed 25 June 2008.

Seidman, I 1998, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research,* Teacher College Press, London.

Senior, RM 2006, *The Experience of Language Teaching*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Setiadi, B, N 2006, 'Indonesia: Traditional family in a changing society', in J Georgas, JW Berry, FJR van de Vijver, C Kagitcibasi, YH Poortinga (eds.), *Families Across Cultures: A 30-Nation Psychological Study,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, pp. 370-377.

Sikes, PJ 1992, 'Imposed change and the experienced teacher' in M Fullan and A Hargreaves (eds), *Teacher Development and Educational Change*, Falmer Press, London, pp. 36-55.

Soucy, A 2000, 'The problem with key informants', *Anthropological Forum*, vol. 10, no. 12, pp. 179-99.

Spada, N and Fröhlich, M 1995, *COLT - Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching Observation Scheme: Coding Conventions and Applications.* National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, Sydney.

Steensen, J 2007, 'Trajectories in a Changing Field – Exploring the Social Conditions of Teacher Identity', A paper presented at Social Dynamics in the City and Urban Policy Research Seminar, Roskilde University, Denmark, 18-20 April 2007, Available www.ruc.dk/isg/forskning/skoler/velfaerdsstatogforskellighed/seminarer-kurser/socialdynamics/papers/Steensen/, viewed 10 March 2008.

Stout, DM 2001, 'Teacher Identity Orientations: Personal, Relational and Collective', *Novations Journal*, Fall. Available <http://novationsjournal.org/content/media/volume1/stout.pdf>, viewed 25 June 2008.

Stroud, C and Wee, L 2007, 'A Pedagogical Application of Liminalities in Social Positioning: Identity and Literacy in Singapore', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol.

41, no. 1, pp. 33-54.

Tarone, E 2000, 'Still wrestling with 'context' in interlanguage theory', *Annual Review of Linguistics*, vol. 20, pp.182-198.

Taylor, C 1977, 'What is human Agency? ' in T Mischel (ed.), *The Self: Psychological and Philosophical Issues,* Basil Blackwell, Oxford, pp. 103-35.

Taylor, DL and Tashakkori, A 1995, 'Decision participation and school climate as predictors of job satisfaction and teachers' sense of efficacy ', *Journal of Experimental Education*, vol. 63, no. 3, pp. 217-31.

Tembe, J 2006, 'Teacher Training and the English Language in Uganda', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 857-860.

Thornbury, S 1996, 'Teachers Research Teacher Talk ', *ELT Journal*, vol. 50, no. 4, pp. 279-89.

Tomlinson, B 1987, 'Good friends', *Modern English Teacher*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 29-32.

Trent, J 2008, 'Promoting investment by Chinese learners in classroom discourse', *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 30-48.

Tsui, ABM 2003, *Understanding Expertise in Teaching: Case Studies of ESL Teachers*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ushioda, E 2006, 'Language Motivation in a Reconfigured Europe: Access, Identity, Autonomy', *Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 148-61.

Varghese, M, Morgan, B, Johnston, B and Johnson, K 2005, 'Theorizing Language Teacher Identity: Three Perspectives and Beyond', *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 21-4.

Wagemann, MLE 2000, 'Indonesian women between yesterday and tomorrow', in M Oey-Gardiner and C Bianpoen (eds) *Indonesian Women: The Journey Continues*, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 303-331.

Webb, M 2005, 'Becoming secondary-school teacher: The challenges of making teacher identity formation a conscious, informed process ', *Educational Research*, vol. 15, pp. 1-12.

Weedon, C 1997, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory,* 2 ed., Blackwell, London.

Wolf, DL 1996, 'Situating Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork', in DL Wolf (ed.), *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 1-55.

Woods, D 1996, *Teacher Cognition in Language Teaching: Beliefs, decision-making and classroom practice*, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Wright, M and McGrory, O 2005, 'Motivation and the adult Irish language learner', *Educational Research*, vol. 47, no. 2, pp. 191-204.

Wubbels, T 1992, 'Taking account of students' teachers' preconceptions', *Teaching and Teacher Education*, vol. 8, pp. 137-149.

Xin, M and MacMillan, RB 1999 'Influence of workplace conditions on teachers' job satisfaction ', *Journal of Educational Research,* vol. 93, no. 1, pp. 39-47.

Xu, J 2005, 'Confidence and Sense of Self in Using English: Case Studies of Three High English Proficiency Chinese Sojourners in Australia', PhD Thesis, La Trobe University, Bundoora.

Yamchi, N 2006, 'English Teaching and Training Issues in Palestine', *TESOL Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 861-865.

Yates, L 2003, 'The influence of prior learning', in G Wigglesworth (ed), *The Kaleidoscope of Adult Second Language Learning: Learner, teacher and researcher perspectives*, National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW, pp. 28-53.

Zavella, P 1996, 'Feminist Insider Dilemmas: Constructing Ethnic Identity with Chicana Informants', in DL Wolf (ed.), *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, Westview Press, Boulder, pp. 138-59.

Zehm, SJ and Kottler, JA 1993, *On Being a Teacher,* Corwin Press, Newbury Park, CA.

Appendix 1

Interviews

All personal names used for interviewees are pseudonyms.

Amir, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 2 December and 7 December 2005.

Ani, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 29 November and 30 November 2005.

Arifin, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 11 January and 16 January 2006.

Ariyanto, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 30 November and 1 December 2005; interviewed by Nonny Basalama by phone, 1 May 2007.

Deni, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 11 December and 18 December 2005.

Emi, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 15 December and 21 December 2005.

Farida, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 17 December and 19 December 2005; interviewed by Nonny Basalama by phone, 27 April 2007.

Harun, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 2 February and 8 February 2006; interviewed by Nonny Basalama by phone, 14 May 2007.

Hendro, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 9 February and 12 February 2006.

Lian, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 12 December and 16 December 2005.

Lisa, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 15 December and 16 December 2005.

Maryam, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 3 December and 14 December 2005.

Muna, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 3 March and 12 March, 2006; interviewed by Nonny Basalama by phone, 15 May 2007.

Nina, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 6 February and 10 February 2006; interviewed by Nonny Basalama by phone, 1 May 2007.

Nola, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 10 December and 14 December 2005; interviewed by Nonny Basalama by phone, 27 April 2007.

Ray, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 24 November and 29 November 2005.

Rima, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 10 December and 12 December 2005.

Widi, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 22 November and 23 November 2005; interviewed by Nonny Basalama by phone, 7 May 2007.

Yeni, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 29 November and 7 December 2005.

Yusuf, interviewed by Nonny Basalama in Gorontalo, 19 November and 8 December 2005.

Appendix 2

In-depth Interview Question Guide: English and Indonesian Versions

Interview Question Guide-English Version

'English Teachers in Indonesian Senior High schools in Gorontalo: A qualitative study of professional formation, identity and practice.

1. Interest in becoming an English teacher, including personal history and experiences in learning English in High school.

Topics to be addressed: Personal history of individual's needs or interests; reasons for choosing to be an English teacher; Extent to which there may have been an individual English teacher who inspired or motivated their choice.

1.1   Can you tell me about how you come to be interested in learning English? OR When did you start to learn English?

1.2   Can you share with me your story about how and why you became interested in becoming English teacher?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects not told in the initial answer):

Did you have an ideal English teacher/s when you were a student in high school? If yes, in what way was s/he ideal, and if not, why not?

Did you have any other higher education options? If yes, what?

Why then did you choose English?

What was your opinion of English at high school?

2. Experiences and perception of Pre-service training

Topics to be addressed: The teacher's opinion of language teacher education; the usefulness of their Pre-service training and how that has affected their teaching practice; how did they see teaching at the time when they were becoming teachers; are there any differences between what they experienced as practical teachers and what is now expected within their own teaching practice?

2.1   Can you tell me what you learnt about language education during your pre-service training?

Follow-up prompts:

What were the models/methods you were taught?

Were you taught anything about language learning theory? If so, what was it?

If yes, what is your opinion about the models in language teacher education that you were taught?

Can you give some examples of the advice you were given by lecturers about how to teach English?

2.2   How meaningful was your experience when you were a student-teacher?

Follow-up prompts:

How has it been useful to your experience now?

How has it influenced your English teaching practice?

How do you think your student teacher experience could have been improved – is there anything you wish you were taught during teacher training that you were not?

2.3   Have there been any influences on your teaching practice that you did not learn in teacher training?

Follow-up prompts:

Are there any methods you use in your teaching practice that were not taught in your pre-service training?

How much of your teaching practice is the same as your own English language teacher's from high school?

How do you manage your class in relation to what you have learned from pre-service training? Can you remember and tell me about your experiences and how you deal with class management?

Can you tell me how pre-service training dealt with the issue of building self-confidence?

Who has had the greatest influence on your teaching practice, your high school teacher or you supervising teacher from practice teaching? Why?

Are there any values you have observed from a person/s, which may have had an affect on your teaching practice throughout your career?

Have your beliefs and attitudes regarding language learning changed over the time since you were a student teacher? If so, how and by how much?

3. Beliefs and attitudes towards language learning including attitudes specifically towards English

Topics to be addressed: Possible theories underlining their beliefs about language learning; their personal theories about language; the importance of language learning; their opinions about learning and teaching a language; their opinions of classroom atmosphere and the conditions for language learning. The importance of English; the purpose of English teaching and learning; personal philosophies in English teaching and learning; their beliefs about how English in particular should be taught, level of English use in teaching. How teachers approach their work; difficulties faced in achieving their goal.

3.1   Can you share with me a little about any language learning theories you know?

Follow-up prompts:

Why is it difficult for someone to learn other language/s?

What are influential factors in learning a language?

3.2   What do you think are the best conditions and or atmosphere for language learning?

Follow-up prompts:

What do you think are the best ways to facilitate language learning?

Do you think you can accommodate/facilitate those ways in language learning, in particular English within your situation? If not, why not? If yes, how?

What are the problems faced in language learning?

How can you minimize the problems in order for you to achieve your goal as a language teacher?

Are there any differences between what you have to teach and what you think should be taught? What are those differences?

What do you know about diversity of student learning? What are your ideas and views about diversity in student learning?

What difficulties have you encountered in relation to diversity of student learning?

3.3   Do you have a personal philosophy of English teaching? Can you outline your philosophy? (for example, you believe that grammar plays important role in learning English, etc)

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

What are the most important aspects of language teaching/learning for you?

Why are these aspects important?

Who was the major influence in the formation of this philosophy?

3.4 Do you think your own philosophies match with those of your teaching environment? If yes, how, and if not, why not?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

What are regarded as the most important aspects of English teaching in your teaching environment?

3.5 What do you emphasize when you teach English (listening/speaking/reading/writing)?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

Does your emphasis match/concur with the emphasis required by the curriculum?

If your emphasis differs, why?

3.6 Do you have particular classroom goals? What are you doing to achieve your goals?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

Do your goals concur with the curriculum?

Do you face difficulties in achieving your goals? If yes what are the difficulties and why?

What could be changed to help you achieve your goals?

3.7 How often do you use English? Can you share your ideas and views about the use of English in your situation?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

Do you use English in your classroom? To what extent?

Do you use English at school outside of the classroom? To what extent?

Do you use English outside of the school environment? To what extent?

4. Perceptions about their own teaching responsibilities including towards professional development

Topics to be addressed: Their opinions about their background knowledge both as a beginning teacher and the present; materials and activities chosen to match the beliefs they have; workload; preparation time; language use in teaching; chance to share and discuss with other English teachers within the province or outside the province.

4.1   What is your opinion about what makes a good teacher?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

What characteristics should teachers have/exhibit?

4.2   What is your opinion of your own basic knowledge in English during your pre-service training?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

What grades did you receive during your training?

What was your level compared to your instructors?

4.3   Do you think teachers should try to improve their English ability? How have you made improvements to your English ability?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

If you do try to improve your English, how do you measure improvement?

What practical ways of increasing your English ability have you participated in?

4.4   How have you developed your knowledge and views of English teaching?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

What in-service training have you undertaken?

Do you meet with other teachers to discuss methodology and curriculum?

What reading have you done in this area?

4.5   How much of your teaching time is spent in preparation?

4.6   How do you spend your preparation time?

4.7   How much time do you spend in preparation, lesson plans, choosing materials and activities, assessment, correction, etc.

4.8   What language do you use in class when you are teaching English?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

If other than English, why do you think that you should use that language?

What percentage of English is used in the classroom?

4.9   Do you agree that students should use English often both inside and outside the classroom?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

Why should students use English inside the classroom? OR Why shouldn't students use English inside the classroom?

Why should students use English outside the classroom? OR Why shouldn't students use English outside the classroom?

What ways do you use to make your students use English as often as possible?

5. Beliefs about culture and language learning

Topics to be addressed: The importance of culture in language learning; materials available and chosen which incorporate the teaching of culture; teacher

awareness of their own culture of learning; the opinions about Indonesian culture in general and Gorontalo in particular; the link between cultural values in teaching and learning which may affect foreign language learning; teacher awareness of "foreign" culture related to English learning; the perception of the general characteristics of western culture in learning.

5.1   In your opinion, what is the relationship between culture and language learning?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

How is culture important in language learning?

Do you think culture is important in language learning?

5.2   Are you aware of any cultural differences between the West and Asia which may affect how English is taught within your classroom?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

What are some of the cultural differences that you are aware of?

5.3   Do you think there are any Gorontalo cultural values in particular, which may influence the ways in which English is delivered in classroom and also the expectations of teachers and students with regard to how English is to be taught.

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

Are there any differences between Indonesian and Gorontalo culture?

Where did you grow up and do your teacher training?

5.4   Do you sometimes find a student who expresses their emotional feelings in class?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

If yes, could you remember what it was?

What was your response?

6. Perceptions about Gorontalo culture and conditions for English learning in Gorontalo

Topics to be addressed: Culture and conditions in Gorontalo, which may or may not support the success of a change in the English teaching curriculum for secondary high school students; The role of Indonesian language and local languages in Gorontalo which may affect the success of ELT; supporting resources and facilities which are available in Gorontalo (in city and rural areas) and in schools in particular; school and authority support.

6.1   Are there any cultural values held by the Gorontalo people that you think may affect the success or the failure of ELT in the region? (for example, people often don't show off if they are capable in some skills. This thinking may extend to students, who will feel uncomfortable in showing they can communicate in English. This in turn, may lead to an atmosphere, which discourages practice of English, etc.)

6.2   What is you view of the future of English teaching in Gorontalo?

6.3   Do you have any suggestions as to what can be done in order to develop a successful English curriculum in Indonesia, and in particular, in Gorontalo?

6.4   Decentralization has allowed the economic structure of each province to change, so can you tell me about any changes that may have occurred in provincial policy including in education, particularly for English teaching?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not covered in the initial answers):

Is there a new provincial policy in relation to English?

Is English being given priority in its development considering that the language is important for the development of a new economic province?

Do you think that there is better support from government in relation to the implementation of the new high school English curriculum since Gorontalo province became autonomous in 2001? If yes, can you explain more and give me some examples?

Do you think that in relation to English Gorontalo people now have a greater need than in the past? According to you, why is this the case?

What changes can you see now in relation to learning English in our society? Is there any difference to the past?

7. Perceptions about the changes to curricula and their role in relation to curriculum change

Topics to be addressed: The importance of a change; the understanding and awareness about an innovation; did the change of curriculum affect their teaching philosophy and their teaching practice; the possible factors which can affect reform; the impact and the importance of English curriculum changes within the Gorontalo context. Teacher opinions about the previous curriculum**;** how well it worked; the level of difficulty; resources available (e.g. language lab, tape players, video etc). Teacher opinions about the present curriculum; the similarities and the differences between the previous and the present curriculum; their opinions and expectations regarding to what extent the present curriculum will work or whether it will it end up with the same results as the previous curriculum, teachers' participation in curriculum reform, the extent of that participation with regard to ownership of change. Teachers' role before, during and after reform; the perception about the bottom up view of curriculum innovation and the top down model; the extent of training and activities provided within an innovation.

7.1   What do you think about a change in curriculum?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

Have you ever experienced a change in curriculum?

How do you usually respond to a change?

7.2　Think about your previous teaching before a change was introduced and then compare that with what you did after a change had been introduced. What are some of the important ways in which your teaching practice changed (for example: your teaching has turned from teacher-centred to student-centred, use of groups begun or improved, students' task and students' projects have improved, teaching attitude has changed (less motivation / more motivation), use different kinds of materials (more varied, more authentic materials), emphasize more in communication interaction than teaching the grammar rules, changed to communicative competence than accuracy based etc…)

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

What new strategies are you now employing?

What new materials are you now using?

What changes have you made to your emphasis in teaching?

7.3　How many curriculum changes have you gone through since you have become an English teacher?

7.4　What role did you play in the planning and later implementation of any changes?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

Did you think your role could have been larger or smaller?

Did you feel that you had ample opportunities to communicate your opinions in the planning stages?

Did you feel that you had any control over, or input into, any part of the planning process?

7.5　How do you feel about the amount of involvement from the government?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

How much does governmental involvement in the form of inspections etc, effect your teaching? (Now and in the past.)

Is the involvement different to the past?

Do you find the involvement helpful? (Now and in the past.)

Has Decentralization/Autonomy effected the amount of government involvement?

7.6   Do you face any difficulties in the implementation of change? If yes, what type of difficulty and why?

7.7   What role should you, or teachers in general play in a change? (for example the 1975, 1984, 1994, or 2004 curriculum reviews/changes)

7.8   What do you think about the 1994 and 2004 curricula?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

How have the changes introduced in these curricula been beneficial?

How have these curricula been implemented?

Was the 1994 curriculum working? Do you think that the 2004 curriculum is required?

7.9   Can you please describe the difference between these curricula from your own perspective?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

Describe any differences in outcomes.

Describe any differences in content and methodology.

7.10   Which one of these curricula was easier for you to implement?

7.11   What is your opinion of the current curriculum.

7.12   Has the in-service training with regard to new curricula been useful?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

What have you learned from the training?

7.13   Do you think are you sufficiently prepared to fulfil the expectations of the current curriculum? If yes, how? If not, why not?

7.14   What method did you use for the 1994 curriculum?

Follow-up prompts (if these aspects are not told in initial answers):

Did you use a particular method or a range of methods?

7. 15   Do you think that you are ready to implement current curriculum change? If yes why and if not why?

7.16   What procedures or structures do you use in your teaching (plan and organization) in order to implement the current curriculum change?

7.17   What process do you use in order to interpret changes to the curriculum?

8. Concluding suggestions

Is there any other information you can think of that is related to your implementation of curricula and government involvement in English language teaching in Indonesian provinces?

If the government did give you more freedom to decide how to teach English, would you be confident that you could implement a successful English Language curriculum of your own?

Do you think the burden on English teachers is greater than on other teachers?

Interview Question Guide-Indonesian version

'English Teachers in Indonesian Senior High schools in Gorontalo: A qualitative study of professional formation, identity and practice'.

1. Latar belakang dan ketertarikan menjadi guru bahasa Inggris termasuk cerita pengalaman pribadi dalam belajar bahasa Inggris di masa waktu SMA

Topik yang meliputi: Menelusuri sejarah pribadi dari guru yang bersangkutan di tinjau dari sisi minat dan kebutuhan; alasan-alasan nya memilih menjadi seorang guru bahasa Inggris. Kembangkan topik ini pada kemungkinan di motivasi oleh figur tertentu.

Contoh pertanyaan:

1.1   Bisakah anda bercerita dari awal mengapa tertarik menjadi guru bahasa Inggris/ kapan anda mulai belajar bahasa Inggris?

1.2   Bisakah anda berbagi cerita mengenai bagaimana dan mengapa sampai anda tertarik menjadi guru bahasa Inggris?

Pertanyaan-pertanyaan tambahan kalau dalam cerita yang di paparkan, tidak tercakup dalam cerita tentang:

Ketika di masa SMA, bisakah anda menceritakan pengalaman anda waktu belajar bahasa Inggris di SMA. Lanjutkan, apakah anda punya guru bahasa Inggris yang anda anggap sebagai sosok guru yg ideal? Kalau ya, mengapa? Bagaimana cara-cara beliau dalam mengajar? Dan kalau tidak ada mengapa?

Apakah anda punya pilihan perguruan tinggi lain/ jurusan lain? Bisa sebutkan apa?

Mengapa kemudian malah memilih bahasa Inggris?

Apa pendapat anda tentang bahasa Inggris atau belajar bahasa Inggris sewaktu SMA?

2. Pengalaman dan persepsi tentang belajar di keguruan (Pre-service training)

Topik yang meliputi: Pendapat tentang pendidikan guru bahasa secara umum dan khusus; kegunaan belajar di keguruan dan apakah semua itu mempengaruhi anda dalam mengajar; bagaimana pendapat anda mengajar pada saat awal-awal anda mengajar dan sekarang? Apakah ada perbedaan? Mengapa dan apa yang anda harapkan mengajar di masa sekarang dan dulu? Apakah ada perbedaan antara sebagai guru praktek atau apa yang anda ajarkan dan apa yang merupakan harapan yang di inginkan dari seorang guru bahasa Inggris dalam mengajar?

2.1   Bisakah anda menceritakan apa saja yang anda pelajari mengenai pendidikan kebahasaan selama anda dalam pendidikan keguruan?

Susulan pertanyaan:

Apa saja model yang di ajarkan/ metode mengajar yang di ajarkan?

Apakah anda di ajarkan mengenai teori-teori belajar bahasa? Dan pendidikan untuk guru bahasa? Kalau ya, boleh kah anda berbagi cerita tentang hal tersebut? Dan menurut pendapat anda sendiri bagaimana? Apakah anda sepaham atau anda punya pendapat lain, mengapa?

Bisakah anda ingat contoh-contoh nasihat ataupun saran-saran yang di berikan oleh dosen-dosen anda dahulu tentang bagaimana mengajarkan bahasa Inggris?

2.2   Seberapa berartinya pengalaman anda bagi anda ketika anda masih sebagai calon guru di perguruan tinggi?

Susulan pertanyaan:

Seberapa berarti atau pengaruhnya terhadap pengalaman anda sekarang?

Bagaimana pengaruhnya terhadap praktek mengajar anda?

Bagaimana menurut anda pengalaman anda dulu telah meningkat sekarang, seberapa jauh dan dengan cara bagaimana? Apakah ada hal-hal

yang anda inginkan dapat di ajarkan tapi tidak tercover atau tidak anda dapatkan pada saat itu?

2.3   Apakah ada hal-hal yang telah mempengaruhi anda dalam mengajar yang tidak anda dapatkan/pelajari pada waktu anda masih mahasiswa (calon guru)?

Susulan pertanyaan:

Apakah ada metode-metode atau cara-cara mengajar yang anda gunakan yang sebenarnya anda tidak dapatkan dahulu?

Bagaimana dengan pengelolaan kelas, yang anda dapatkan di perguruan tinggi, bolehkah anda mengingat-mengingat dan menceritakan tentang hal ini. Dan bagaimana pengalama anda ketika harus deal dengan ini semua tentang hal pengelolaan kelas pada kenyataan di kelas?

Terus bagaimana dengan pembentukan kepercayaan diri (self confidence) di pendidikan S1 anda?

Seberapa jauh persamaan gaya, cara mengajar anda di bandingkan dengan guru bahasa Inggris anda dulu?

Siapakah yng punya peranan terbesar bagi kemampuan anda mengajar sekarang, apakah guru sewaktu SMA atau dosen atau pembimbing micro teaching anda dulu? Mengapa? Bisakah anda jelaskan?

Apakah ada nilai-nilai mengajar yang berguna yang anda amati yang mungkin mempengaruhi kemampuan mengajar sepanjang karir anda?

Apakah ada nilai-nilai kepercayaan dan sikap-sikap yang berkenaan dengan bagaimana anda belajar bahasa selama anda menjadi calon guru . kalau ya bagaimana dan seberapa banyak?

3. Kepercayaan dan sikap terhadap pembelajaran bahasa termasuk sikap terhadap bahasa Inggris

Topik yang meliputi: Menelusuri teori-teori yang mendasari pembelajaran bahasa, kepercayaan guru dalam belajar bahasa; teori-teori pribadi guru dalam belajar bahasa, pentingnya belajar bahasa, pendapat mereka tentang belajar dan mengajar bahasa; pendapat tentang suasana dan lingkungan kelas, kondisi kelas dstnya. Pentingnya bahasa Inggris; tujuan dari belajar-mengajar bahasa Inggris; personal filosofi-filosofi dalam belajar-mengajar bahasa Inggris kepercayaan / ideology guru tentang bagaimana khususnya Inggris di ajarkan, tingkat penggunaan Bahasa Inggris dalam mengajar. Bagaimana pendekatan guru dalam mengajar, kesulitan-kesulitan yang di hadapi dalam mencapai tujuan anda dstnya.

3.1   Bisakah anda berbagi cerita mengenai teori belajar bahasa yang anda ketahui?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Mengapa sangat sulit bagi seseorang untuk belajar bahasa?

Apakah faktor-faktor pendukung dalam belajar bahasa?

3.2   Menurut pendapat anda bagaimana kondisi dan keadaan sekitar yang terbaik untuk belajar bahasa?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apa menurut anda cara-cara terbaik untuk belajar bahasa?

Menurut anda, apakah anda sendiri mampu mengakomodasi/ menfasilitasi cara-cara dalam belajar bahasa, khususnya untuk belajar bahasa Inggris? kalau tidak, mengapa? Dan kalau ya, dengan cara bagaimana?

Apa saja problem-problem dalam mengajar bahasa?

Bagaimana anda akan meminimalkan masalah-masalah tersebut sehingga nantinya tujuan anda sebgai guru bahasa akan dapat tercapai?

Apakah ada perbedaan antara apa yang anda harus ajarkan dengan apa yang pikirkan seharusnya di ajarkan? Perbedaannya seperti apa? Dan mengapa?

Apakah anda mengetahui yang di maksud dengan keanekaragaman siswa dalam belajar, bisa jelaskan?

Apa kesulitan kesulitan yang anda hadapi misalnya berkaitan dengan cara belajar siswa yang beragam tersebut?

3.3   Apakah anda punya philosophy pribadi dalam mengajarkan bahasa Inggris? Bisakah anda menggambarkan garis-garis besarnya filosofi tersebut? (misalnya saja, anda percaya bahwa grammar/ tatabahasa memegang peranan penting bagi seseorang dalam belajar bahasa Inggris, dan sebagainya).

Pertanyaan susulan:

Aspek-aspek apa yang menurut anda penting dalam belajar dan mengajar bagi anda?

Mengapa aspek-aspek tersebut penting?

Siapa yang punya pengaruh besar dalam membentuk filosofi tersebut?

3.4   Apakah philosophy anda cocok dengan lingkungan mengajar di sekitarnya? Kalau ya, bolehkah anda jelaskan seperti apa dan kalaupun itu tidak cocok, mengapa?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Faktor-faktor apa yang paling penting dalam mengajar bahasa Inggris di dalam lingkungan anda mengajar?

3.5   Ketrampilan (skill) apa yang anda tekankan/ utamakan dalam mengajarkan bahasa Inggris? (listening/speaking/reading/writing)?

Pertanyaan susulan:

> Apakah penekanan tentang pentingnya hal di atas itu cocok dengan yang ada di kurikulum?

> Kalau itu berbeda, mengapa?

3.6   Anda punya tujuan/capaian khusus di kelas? Dan apa yang anda lakukan untuk mencapai target capaian itu?

Pertanyaan susulan:

> Apakah tujuan-tujuan tersebut match dengan kurikulum?

> Apakah anda menemui kesulitan-kesulitan dalam mencapai tujuan-tujuan anda, kesulitan-kesulitan apa dan mengapa?

> Apa yang bisa di rubah untuk membantu pencapaian tujuan-tujuan anda?

3.7   Seberapa seringa anda memakai bahasa Inggris? Dapatkah anda membagi cerita tentang ide-ide pemikiran anda tentang penggunaan/pemakaian bahasa Inggris dalam situasi anda and or lingkungan anda?

Pertanyaan susulan:

> Apakah anda menggunakan menggunakkan bahasa Inggris di kelas? Seberapa sering? Mengapa?

> Apakah anda menggunakkan bahasa Inggris di luar kelas? Seberapa sering? And mengapa?

> Apakah anda menggunakkan bahasa Inggris di luar dari lingkungkan sekolah? Seberapa sering dan mengapa?

4. Persepsi tentang tanggung jawab mengajarnya termasuk pengembangan profesi

Topik yang meliputi: Pendapat-pendapat mengenai latar belakang pengetahuan sebagai guru yang baru mulai dulu dan yang setelah sekarang; materi dan

aktivitas yang mereka pilih yang sesuai kepercayaan guru / idiologi yang guru pegang; muatan kerja, waktu persiapan; bahasa yg di gunakan dalam mengajar; kesempatan untuk berdiskusi / berbagi dengan guru-guru bahasa Inggris yang lain baik itu sepropinsi maupun dgn provinsi yang lain.

4.1   Bagaimana pendapat anda mengenai seorang guru yang baik? / Faktor-faktor apa menjadikan seorang guru yang baik?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Ciri-ciri apa saja yang seharusnya di miliki seorang guru?

4.2   Bagaimana pendapat anda tentang pengetahuan dasar anda sendiri yang anda dapatkan pada saat anda di perguruan tinggi? (kemudian dalam kaitan dengan kemampuan mengajar anda sekarang?)

Pertanyaan susulan:

Bagaimana prestasi yang anda dapatkan pada saat itu? (misalnya nilai-nilai yang anda capai saat itu)

Bagaimana level anda jika anda bandingkan dengan instruktur-instruktur anda?

4.3   Menurut anda apakah guru-guru sebaiknya meningkatkan kemampuan bahasa Inggris mereka? Sejauh mana anda sudah melalukan pengembangan kemampuan bahasa Inggris tersebut?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Jika anda mencoba mengembangkan kemampuan bahasa Inggris anda, bagaimana anda mengukur pengembangan ini?

Apakah cara-cara praktis yang anda anda sudah terlibat di dalamnya sebagai bagian dari pengembangan kemampuan bahasa Inggris anda?

4.4   Bagaimana anda telah meningkatkan pengetahuan dan wawasan anda dalam bahasa Inggris?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apa saja training-training yang anda sudah dapatkan?

Apakah anda bertemu dengan guru-guru lain untuk berdiskusi mengenai metodologi dan kurikulum?

Bacaan apa yang anda sudah baca/ dapatkan dalam hal ini/ mengenai hal ini?

4.5   Berapa banyak waktu yang anda luangkan untuk persiapan mengajar?

4.6   Seberapa jauh anda habiskan untuk persiapan mengajar?

4.7   Seberapa banyak waktu yang anda habiskan dalam persiapan mengajar yang menyangkut hal-hal; rencana pelajaran (SP), pemilihan materi dan aktivitas, tugas-tugas, koreksi/ pemeriksaan, dan sebagainya.

4.8   Bahasa apa yang anda pakai dalam kelas ketika mengajarkan bahasa Inggris?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Jikalau anda memilih memakai bahasa selain dari bahasa Inggris, mengapa?

Menurut anda berapa persenkah pemakaian bahasa Inggris di kelas? Mengapa?

4.9   Apakah anda setuju kalau siswa sebaiknya menggunakan bahasa Inggris baik di dalam maupun di luar kelas?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Menurut anda, mengapa murid sebaiknya memakai bahasa Inggris di dalam kelas?

Dan juga menurut anda, mengapa sebaiknya murid-murid sebaiknya menggunakan bahasa Inggris di luar kelas? Dan kalau menurut anda,

sebaiknya tidak usah/ tidak perlu/ tidak bisa, mengapa? Apakah ada alasan-alasan anda tentang hal ini?

Cara-cara apa yang anda pakai / gunakan untuk membuat siswa-siswa anda sering menggunakan bahasa Inggris?

5. Kepercayaan /pemahaman mengenai budaya dan pembelajaran/ belajar bahasa.

Topik yang meliputi: Pentingnya budaya dalam belajar bahasa; materi pelajaran yg tersedia dan yg di pilih yang seiring dgn budaya dalam belajar / pembelajaran bahasa; keperdulian guru pada budayanya sendiri; pendapat guru tentang budaya Indonesia pada umumnya dan Gorontalo khususnya; kaitan antara nilai-nilai budaya dalam mengajar yang bisa saja berpengaruh pada belajar bahasa asing; keperdulian guru pada budaya asing yang berhubungan/ ada kaitannya dengan belajar bahasa Inggris; persepsi guru pada ciri-ciri umum dari budaya barat dalam kaitannya dengan belajar.

5.1   Menurut pendapat anda, apakah hubungan antara belajar budaya dan belajar bahasa?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apakah budaya itu penting dalam belajar bahasa? Mengapa? Seberapa jauh pentingnya?

5.2   Apakah anda peduli, mengenai perbedaan nilai-nilai budaya antara barat dan Asia yang mungkin bisa berpengaruh pada bagaimana bahasa Inggris di ajarkan di kelas?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apa perbedaan-perbedaan budaya tersebut yang anda perhatikan dan sadari?

5.3   Menurut anda, apakah ada nilai-nilai budaya Gorontalo secara khusus, yang mungkin dapat mempengaruhi cara-cara bahasa Inggris di ajarkan / di sampaikan dalam kelas dan juga mempengaruhi yang diharapkan baik

dari pihak guru maupun siswa dalam kaitan dengan bagaimana bahasa Inggris di ajarkan?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apakah ada perbedaan antara budaya Indonesia dan Gorontalo ?

Dimana anda di besarkan dan mengikuti pendidikan keguruan anda?

5.4 Apakah dalam pengalaman belajar-mengajar anda, apakah anda pernah menemukan siswa yang mengungkapkan emosinya keluar? (emosi apa saja, sedih, gembira, marah)

Pertanyaan susulan:

Jika ya, ingatkah anda dan bisakah anda menceritakannya?

Bagaimana respon anda ketika itu?

6. Pendapat tentang budaya Gorontalo dan kondisi dalam kaitannya untuk pembelajaran bahasa Inggris

Topik yang meliputi: Budaya dan kondisi di Gorontalo, yang bisa atau tidak bisa mendukung suksesnya perubahan kurikulum untuk pengajaran bahasa Inggris di sekolah menengah. Peran dari bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa daerah (bahasa-bahasa lokal) di daerah Gorontalo yang bisa mempengaruhi sukses n tidaknya pengajaran bahasa Inggris; fasilitas; sarana-sarana pendukung yang tersedia di Gorontalo (di kota dan kabupaten),di sekolah ybs pada khususnya, dukungan sekolah dan dukungan atasan (termasuk kepala sekolah, pemerintah setempat, dan sebagainya)

6.1 Apakah nilai nilai budaya gorontalo/orang Gorontalo yang bisa berpengaruh untuk keberhasilan/ rendahnya keberhasilan pengajaran bahasa Inggris (misalnya adanya pendapat orang Gorontalo bahwa seseorang sebaiknya tidak sok menunjukkan kemampuannya akan ketrampilan-ketrampilan yang dia miliki; pendapat tentang rendah hati, jangan sok pamer dstnya. Pemikiran ini bisa terbawa kepada siswa-siswa anak sekolah yang menjadi sungkan, enggan untuk memperlihatkan

bahwa dia mampu berkomunikasi dalam bahasa Inggris, hal ini bisa membawa/menciptakan suasana menurunnya semangat untuk berlatih bahasa Inggris dstnya. Apakah ada nilai-nilai lainnya?

6.2 Bagaimana pemikiran/ pandangan anda tentang pengajaran bahasa Inggris di masa yang akan datang untuk Gorontalo?

6.3 Apakah anda punya pendapat, juga saran2 yang dapat di lakukan dalam rangkan untuk meningkatkan suksesnya pengajaran bahasa Inggris di Indonesia, dan Gorontalo khususnya?

6.4 Sebagaimana struktur ekonomi di setiap propinsi yang bisa berubah karena di sebabkan adanya; otonomi daerah, dan atau desentralisasi, maka tentu ada perubahan-perubahan dalam policy propinsi termasuk policy untuk pendidikan; khususnya bahasa Inggris?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apakah propinsi punya aturan-aturan baru untuk bahasa Inggris?

Apakah bahasa Inggris di berikan keistimewaan tertentu untuk pengembangannya mengingat ini sebagai bahasa yang penting dan kritis bagi perkembangan ekonomi baru propinsi (catatan; hal ini penting untuk melihat kesinambungan apa aturan yang di keluarkan propinsi (intended practice) dan apa yang sebenarnya guru laksanakan di kelas (achieved practice)).

Apakah menurut anda, ada perbedaan-perbedaan dalam sokongan dan dukungan pemerintah dalam kaitan dengan pengimplementasian kurikulum khususnya bahasa Inggris bagi sekolah menengah sejak Gorontalo menjadi propinsi dari tahun 2001? Kalau ya bisakah anda gambarkan/ jelaskan secara konkrit dan kalau ada contoh-contohnya.

Menurut anda apakah keinginan / kebutuhan untuk belajar bahasa Inggris bagi masyarakat Gorontalo lebih tinggi sekarang jika di bandingkan dengan dulu? Mungkin anda punya pendapat mengapa?

Fenomena-fenomena apa yang anda bisa tangkap dalam belajar bahasa Inggris sekarang? Apakah ada perbedaan dengan yang dulu?

7. Pendapat mengenai perubahan kurikulum dan peran guru dalam perubahan itu

Topik yang meliputi: Pentingnya sebuah perubahan; pemahaman dan kepedulian tentang suatu inovasi; Apakah perubahan kurikulum mempengaruhi filosofi pengajaran dan pengalaman mengajar guru; kemungkinan faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi perubahan; impaknya dan pentingnya perubahan kurikulum dalam Gorontalo konteks. Pendapat guru tentang kurikulum sebelumnya; seberapa jauh itu berhasil; tingkat kesulitan; fasilitas-fasilitas sumber pendukung yang tersedia (seperti, Laboratorium bahasa, tape, video, alat peraga, dan sebagainya).

Pendapat guru tentang kurikulum yang baru(yang terbaru); Persamaan-persamaan dan perbedaan-perbedaan antara kurikulum sebelumnya dan kurikulum yang sekarang; pendapat-pendapat dan juga harapan-harapan untuk kurikulum yang sekarang bisa di laksanakan dan bisa berhasil; atau sebaliknya mungkin ada pendapat bahwa kurikulum yang sekarang pun akan berakhir seperti yang sudah-sudah, tak akan berhasil, partisipasi guru dalam perubahan kurikulum, kemudian akan meluas pada partisipasi guru untuk rasa kepemilikan/ ownership dari suatu perubahan; peran guru sebelum, selama dan setelah perubahan; persepsi guru tentang model-model kurikulum; yang dari bawah ke atas (bottom up) dan dari atas ke bawah (top down); kemudian berkembang kepada pelatihan (training) dan kegiatan-kegiatan yang ada atau di sediakan dalam sebuah inovasi (perubahan tersebut).

7.1   Bagaimana menurut anda tentang suatu perubahan dalam kurikulum?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apakah anda sudah pernah berpengalaman dalam perubahan suatu kurikulum?

Bagaimana biasanya anda berespond terhadap adanya suatu perubahan?

7.2 Bayangkan dan pikirkan tentang pengajaran sebelumnya sebelum adanya suatu perubahan di perkenalkan dan kemudian bandingkan dengan yang sudah anda lakukan stelah adanya perubahan. Apa saja hal-hal penting / cara-cara penting yang telah mengubah cara anda mengajar (misalnya dari teacher-centred kearah student-centred; pembentukan kerja kelompok sudah mulai or/ meningkat; tugas-tugas dan projek-projek siswa telah meningkat, sikap mengajar yang berubah misalanya lebih atau kurang termotivasi, penggunaan materi yang bervariasi (mulai/ lebih authentic materials) lebih menekankan pada terjadinya interaksi daripada pengajaran grammar, mengarah kepada communicative competence daripada berdasarkan akuratnya, dan sebagainya).

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apakah ada strategi-strategi baru yang anda pakai? Bolehkah anda menceritakan hal ini?

Demikian juga menyangkut materi, apakah ada materi-materi baru?

Perubahan-perubahan apa yang anda telah lakukan dalam khususnya penekana mengajar?

7.3 Sudah berapa kali mengalami perubahan kurikulum sejak mengajar?

7.4 Bagaimana peran yang bapak atau ibu lakukan pada tahap perencanaan dan pelaksanaan untuk setiap perubahan kurikulum?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apakah peran yang di lakukan lebih besar atau lebih kecil?

Apakah anda merasa mendapat atau di beri kesempatan yang cukup untuk berperan pada tahap perencanaan?

7.5 Seberapa besar menurut anda keterlibatan pemerintah dalam hal ini?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Bagaimana ketrlibatan pemerintah dalam hal bentuk pengawasan di waktu lalu dan sekarang? Dan bagaimana effeknya terhadap pengajaran anda?

Apakah keterlibatan pemerintah cukup berguna?

Apakah dengan adanya proses desentralisasai ada perbedaan atau bagaimana?

7.6   Apakah anda mendapatkan kesulitan dalam pelaksanaan perubahan kurikulum? Misalnya kesulitan apa dan mengapa?

7.7   Bagaimana peran anda atau menurut anda peran guru pada umumnya pada suatu perubahan? (misalnya untuk perubahan yang dari kurikulum 1975, 1984, 1994, atau 2004).

7.8   Bagaimana pendapat anda khusus untuk kurikulum 1994 dan 2004

Pertanyaan susulan:

Bagaimanakah perubahan yang di perkenalkan menurut anda menguntungkan?

Bagaimana perubahan perubahan itu di laksanakan.

Apakah kurikulum 1994 itu berhasil? Apakah menurut anda kurikulum 2004 itu di wajibkan?

7.9   Bisakah bapak atau ibu jelaskan perbedaan keduanya menurut pendapat anda sendiri bagaimana?

7.10   Manakah di antara keduanya yang lebih mudah menurut anda?

7.11   Bagaimana pendapat anda perubahan yang terbaru sekarang?

7.12   Apakah pelatihan pelatihan yang anda dapatkan berkaitan dengan perubahan kurikulum itu menurut anda cukup berguna?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apakah yang anda sudah pelajari dari training-training tersebut?

7.13   Apakah menurut anda persiapan anda sudah cukup kira kira dalam menghadapi perubahan kurikulum yang terbaru?

7.14   Metode apa yang anda terapkan dalam pelaksaan kurikulum 1994?

Pertanyaan susulan:

Apakah anda menggunakan metode khusus misalnya?

7.15   Apakah menurut anda, anda siap mengiplementasi perubahan kurikulum yang terbaru ini? Kalau ya mengapa? Dan kalau tidak apakah alasannya?

7.16   Bagaimana prosedurnya atau strukturnya seperti apa yang anda lakukan dalam pengajaran (berkaitan dengan perencanaan dan organisasinya) dalam rangka mengiplementasi perubahan yang terbaru ini?

7.17   Proses apa yang anda lakukan untuk menginterpretasi kurikulum ini?

8. Saran saran tambahan

Apakah ada informasi yang anda pikir dapat anda tambahkan dalam kaitan dengan pengiplementasian kurikulum terbaru di kaitkan dengan keterlibatan bantuan pemerintah untuk hal ini misalnya khusus di propinsi Gorontalo?

Apakah kalau pemerintah memberikan anda keleluasaan/ kebebasan untuk memutuskan sendiri bagaimana anda mengajarkan bahasa Inggris apakah anda confident dengan hal ini? Menurut anda bagaimana?

Apakah menurut anda beban guru bahasa Inggris lebih besar di bandingkan dengan beban guru yang mengajar mata pelajaran lainnya?

Appendix 3: Classroom Observation and Field Notes

Classroom Observation

Classroom observation will focus on the following aspects of teaching and learning within English language classrooms. This is adopted from Spada and Fröhlich 1995 and Indonesia government curriculum 2004.

In undertaking the observations the list of categories outlined below were transferred to A3 sheets with handwritten observations included on the sheet in relation to each of the categories.

Nature of classroom interaction

- Teacher Interaction: Verbal and non verbal interaction
    Verbal interaction: target language, info gap,
    Incorporation of student utterances
    Non verbal interaction: Body language and gestures

- Student Interaction: Verbal and non verbal interaction
    Verbal interaction: target language, info gap,
    Incorporation of student utterances
    Non verbal interaction: Body language and gestures

Main features and categories

- Student Modality   : Listening, speaking, reading and writing
- Materials   : Type and source
- Activities   : Type and source
- Modelling   : Student, teacher, native speaker
- Content   : Management, language, other topics
- Content control   : Teacher/text, teacher/text/student, student
- Language used   : L1 and L2
- Learning community   : Building small and large group, providing expert into the class (Doctor, Nurse, etc), working with other class/es and working with community.
- Reflection   : Students works/journals, students' response, discussion.
- Assessment   : Presentation, homework, quiz, test, students' report.

Visit Field Notes

Date	Teacher	School	Notes