Indonesian EFL Teachers in Times of Neoliberal Curriculum Reforms:

Professional Practices, Identity and Agency

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2024

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Abstract

This research is situated in the challenging landscape of neoliberal curriculum reforms, which continue to pose significant challenges for English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers and English Language Teaching (ELT) in Indonesia. While previous studies in this context have predominantly focused on curriculum content and implementation, there has been a noticeable gap in understanding the impact of these reforms on teacher practices, identity and agency. Consequently, this study aims to address this gap by investigating how EFL teachers navigate and negotiate their professional roles within the framework of Indonesia's English curriculum.

The study was conducted at a state senior secondary school in the capital city of an Indonesian province, involving five EFL teachers as the participants. Employing a digital ethnography approach, the study utilises the Theory of Practice Architectures (TPA) as a theoretical lens and observation, interviews and documentation as data collection methods to scrutinise the intricate interplay of teachers' sayings, doings and relatings, as well as their agency within specific arrangements. The TPA is instrumental in analysing the construction and understanding of teacher identity, as manifested in their sayings, doings and relatings throughout the implementation of the curriculum reforms. The data analysis was undertaken using an inductive approach.

The research findings shed light on the pervasive influence of cultural-discursive arrangements, encompassing discourses on curriculum reforms, teacher accountability and neoliberal governmentality, which significantly mediate teachers' representations of school practices. Material-economic arrangements, such as physical space, education policies, workload policies and economic resources, were identified as key enablers and constraints shaping teachers' actions in alignment with the discourses. Social-political arrangements, including hierarchical relationships with authorities, collaboration with colleagues, ethical relations with students and teacher alienation also played a pivotal role in influencing teacher practices.

Examining teacher identity, the study unveils the multifaceted impact of personal, socio-cultural and political factors on shaping how teachers perceive themselves. Motivation, personal

values, professional learning experiences, career history, school environment and educational policies were identified as instrumental in constructing teacher identity within instructional, meta-instructional and humanistic domains. Teachers positioned themselves as performative, responsive and critical-reflexive educators based on official representations and self-constructed narratives.

The study further delineates various dimensions of teacher agency, exploring its duty-based, resistant and projected enactments. Constraints and enablers within cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements were identified. Challenges arising from students' diverse multilingual backgrounds, administrative and curriculum mandates, employment conditions and class size policy were noted as constraints. Conversely, teachers' experiences, educational attainment levels, leadership support and engagement in a community-of-practice were identified as empowering enablers of teacher agency.

In light of the scarcity of research examining teacher professional practices, identity and agency in neoliberal conditions, especially in the Indonesian context, this study contributes novel insights. It argues for a nuanced understanding of the practices, identity and agency of EFL teachers situated within the broader framework of practice architectures. It underscores the imperative for fostering a conducive environment through supportive material-economic and social-political arrangements, enabling the development of EFL teachers as professionals who are endowed with autonomy in their roles as EFL teachers.

Declaration

This thesis is my original research work and does not, to the best of my belief and knowledge, contain any material that has been previously written or published by another person or that has been accepted for the award of any other degree at any university or equivalent institution, with the exception of instances where appropriate citation is made within the thesis. The thesis also does not use generative artificial intelligence technologies.

Under project number 28098, the study received approval from the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC).

Signature :

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Acknowledgements

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْم

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful

Alhamdulillaahirabbil'aalamiin. All praise is due to Allah, the Almighty, for His mercy and blessing that enabled me to complete this thesis.

A PhD study is a lengthy and solitary journey. Nevertheless, a lot of individuals have offered support, which has increased the significance of this journey.

I gratefully acknowledge Monash University that generously supported my PhD study financially through Monash International Tuition Scholarship (MITS) and Monash Graduate Scholarship (MGS).

I would like to extend my huge gratitude to my lead supervisor, Professor Alexander Kostogriz, and my co-supervisor, Associate Professor Ruth Fielding for their advice, constructive feedback, encouragement, guidance, kindness and patience. Their continuous and intuitive support was a vital source of motivation to complete my study.

I am sincerely grateful to Professor Jane Wilkinson and Doctor Thi Kim Anh Dang who consistently became my examiners from the first milestone to the last one. Their constructive and insightful comments and guidance during my milestones enabled me to improve the quality of my thesis.

My thanks and appreciation also go to everyone who anonymously participated in this study. Without their contributions, this thesis would not have been feasible. I would also like to express my special warm thanks to a special man, Riaz Bacha. Thank you for your understanding and support during my study and for your love while I was sick with COVID-19. Also to my fellow PhD friend at Monash University, Rini Susanti, thank you for sharing almost everything to get through the challenging times during my PhD journey.

I am forever indebted to my great family, my parents, siblings, sisters-in-law and nieces for their unconditional love and sacrifices. To my oldest brother, Arief Basuki, my siter-in-law, Sri Mulyani, my nieces, Sakinah Amini and Rosyidah Aryani, and my older brother, Surahman, thank you for all your support during my study and for taking care of *Ibu*/*Nenek* during my absence. Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my father, Subagiyo, and two older brothers, Budi Santoso and Efrizal, who passed away in the first year of my study because of COVID-19 pandemic. Especially to my father, "*Ayah*, although you do not see me until the end of this long journey, I am sure that my success is due to your prayers. Thank you for all your prayers, love, sacrifices and support. Thank you for teaching me many good values that I will always remember and apply in my life. You have meant the world to me with your prayers, love, sacrifices and support. I feel so blessed to have a father like you. I truly apologise for not being the daughter I could have been through your difficult times, particularly when you were sick and then passed away during COVID-19 pandemic. I truly regret not being there for you. I dedicate this thesis to you. I love you so much and will always do though you are not around anymore."

Acknowledgements of Editor

The thesis has undergone proofreading and editing by a professional editor, Doctor Julie Faulkner. I express my gratitude to her for promptly providing me with the proofreading and language editing services.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations and Terms

ABK	*Anak Berkemampuan Khusus* (students with special needs)
AKM	*Asesmen Kompetensi Minimum* (Minimum Competency Assessment)
APBD	*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah* (Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget)
APBN	*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara* (State Revenue and Expenditure Budget)
BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
BOS	*Bantuan Operasional Sekolah* (School Operational Assistance)
BSNP	*Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan* (National Education Standard Agency)
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CBI	Content-Based Instruction
CBLT	Content-Based Language Teaching
CBSA	*Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif* (Active Student Learning Approach)
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference
Civil servant	Government-hired employee
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
COVID	Coronavirus disease
Dapodik	*Data Pokok Pendidikan* (Basic Education Data)
DP3	*Daftar Penilaian Pelaksanaan Pekerjaan* (List of Work Performance Assessment)

DPRRI	*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia* (House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesian)
EFL	English as a Foreign Language (learning and using English as an additional language in a non-English speaking country)
ELT	English Language Teaching
EMI	English as a Medium of Instruction
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FKIP	*Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education)
GBA	Genre-Based Approach
HOTS	Higher Order Thinking Skills
IPS	*Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* (Social Science)
K-13	*Kurikulum 2013* (the 2013 Curriculum)
KBK	*Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi* (Competency-Based Curriculum)
KBSKAP	*Kepala Badan Standar, Kurikulum dan Asesmen Pendidikan* (Head of Educational Standards, Curriculum and Assessment Agency)
KD	*Kompetensi Dasar* (Basic Competency)
Kemendikbud	*Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan* (Ministry of Education and Culture)
KKM	*Kriteria Ketuntasan Minimal* (Minimum Completeness Criteria/cutoff score)
KM	*Kurikulum Merdeka* (Emancipated Curriculum)

KML	*Kurikulum Muatan Lokal* (Local Content Curriculum)
KTSP	*Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan* (Education Unit Level Curriculum/School-Based Curriculum)
LCD	Liquid Crystal Display
MB	*Merdeka Belajar* (Emancipated Learning)
MEC	Minister/Ministry of Education and Culture
MECRT	Minister/Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology
MGMPBI	*Musyawarah Guru Mata Pelajaran Bahasa Inggris* (EFL Teachers Forum)
MHA	Minister/Ministry of Home Affairs
MI	*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (Primary School)
MIPA	*Matematika dan Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam* (Mathematics and Natural Science)
MPKRI	*Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia* (Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia)
MPKRTRI	*Menteri Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset dan Teknologi Republik Indonesia* (Minister of Education, Culture, Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia)
MPN	*Menteri Pendidikan Nasional* (Minister of National Education)
MPRRI	*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia* (People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia)
MR	Minister/Ministry of Religion
MTs	*Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (Junior Secondary School)

MUHREC	Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee
Non-civil servant	Non-government-hired employee (school-hired employee)
NUPTK	*Nomor Unit Pendidik dan Tenaga Kependidikan* (Teacher and Education Staff Unit Number)
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSIS	*Organisasi Siswa Intra-Sekolah* (Intra-School Student Organisation)
P4	*Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* (the Guidelines for Carrying out the Principles of Pancasila)
Pancasila	Five Principles of the Indonesian State
PEO	Provincial Education Office
PGRI	*Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia* (Indonesian Teachers Association)
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PPG	*Pendidikan Profesi Guru* (Teacher Professional Education)
PPT	PowerPoint Presentation
PRI	*Presiden Republik Indonesia* (President of the Republic of Indonesia)
PSG	*Program Sekolah Gratis* (Free School Programme)
PSP	*Program Sekolah Penggerak* (the Driving School Programme)
RISSC	Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre
RPJMN	*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional* (National Medium Term Development Plan)

RPP	*Rencana Pelaksanaan Pembelajaran* (lesson plan)
RQ	Research Question
SBM	School-Based Management
SD	*Sekolah Dasar* (Primary School)
SLB	*Sekolah Luar Biasa* (a specialised school for students with disabilities)
SMA	*Sekolah Menengah Atas* (Senior Secondary School)
SMAN	*Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri* (State Senior Secondary School)
SMP	*Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (Junior Secondary School)
SSI	Semi-Structured Interview
TBA	Text-Based Approach
TEFL	Teaching of English as a Foreign Language (teaching English in schools where English is not the medium of instruction)
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TPA	Theory of Practice Architectures
TSO	Theory of Site Ontologies
UK	United Kingdom
UMR	*Upah Minimum Regional* (Regional Minimum Wage)
UN	*Ujian Nasional* (National Exam)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America

USBN	*Ujian Sekolah Berstandar Nasional* (National Standard School Exam)
USP	*Ujian Satuan Pendidikan* (Education Unit Examination)
UUD	*Undang-Undang Dasar* (the Constitution)
VPAA	Vice Principal of Academic Affairs
WAG	WhatsApp group

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study is about Indonesian English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teacher professional practices, identity and agency in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms. To contextualise the study, this introductory chapter describes my personal motivation as the initial impetus for the study. Then, the background which provides the rationale of the study is presented. This chapter also outlines the objectives and questions, as well as the significance of the study. The last part of the chapter presents the organisation of the thesis.

1.1. Research Background

There are two parts of this research background. My personal motivation, which served as the initial force for this study, is discussed in the first part. The second part explains the adoption of neoliberal principles in the Indonesian education system, which impacts on the education reforms in the country. Both factors were drivers for undertaking this study. The area of particular concern that motivated me to do this study was the English Language Teaching (ELT) challenges in Indonesia, as witnessed by my personal experience described in the following section.

1.1.1. Personal Motivation

My personal experience served as the initial source of inspiration for this study. In 2010, I worked as a civil-servant teacher in a public senior secondary school in a remote area of Indonesia. Senior secondary schools have three grades—Grade 10, 11 and 12—, but the school where I taught had only one grade—Grade 10—because it was still a new school. The school shared the same building with another public junior secondary school. Both of these schools had the same principal.

The first time I taught the students, I was surprised that they could not read the English alphabet, which was supposed to be taught when students were in Grade 7 in junior secondary schools. Therefore, I was wondering at that time how the students could graduate from their junior secondary school if they could not even read the alphabet. My curiosity remained unanswered until I

was appointed as the Vice Principal of Academic Affairs (VPAA) at the school. Finally, I learned that the students' grades were manipulated, so that they could graduate. The principal was concerned that if the school was unable to fulfil the targets required by the authorities, it could be closed.

I pondered the reasons behind the students' low English competence, aside from the previous explanation, as well as other factors, e.g. curriculum content and implementation. As many studies in the field of ELT in Indonesia focus predominantly on students, curriculum or English language teaching methodology, e.g. Ahmad (2014), Astuti et al. (2018), Bjork (2005), Cahyono and Widiati (2006), Lie (2007), Nur (2003), Purwo (1990) and Supriadi (2000), this study concentrated more on teachers as they also make contributions towards the success or failure of ELT in the country.

The challenging nature of the ELT field in Indonesia has encouraged me to better understand the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) in Indonesian secondary school context. More specifically, I aim to explore how EFL teachers perform their practices in times of curriculum reforms informed by neoliberal ideology.

1.1.2. Neoliberalism in Indonesian Education

Indonesia has adopted neoliberal policies over the last three decades due to the financial crisis that hit the country from 1997 to 1998 (Mappiasse, 2014). The economic crisis reached its peak in 1999 and left Indonesian citizens dissatisfied with the country's condition. Because of this, citizens demanded comprehensive reforms in a number of areas. This became the driving force for education reforms as the basis for social change. In order to meet the public demand, the government focused on the issues of quality in educational development programmes.

In 1999, Indonesia began amending *Undang-Undang Dasar 1945* (the 1945 Constitution), known as *UUD 1945*, in order to meet the demands of *reformasi* (reform) movement and to adapt to local and global situations. One of this movement's mandates was decentralisation. Under the influence of the World Bank's global neoliberal economic policies, a law on decentralisation was issued in 1999, and since then the Indonesian government has implemented decentralisation to deal

with its declining financial capacity to pay for public services (DPRRI, 1999; MPRRI, 1998; Smoke & Lewis, 1996). Based on this law, public services such as education are transferred to local bodies and governments (Bjork, 2005; Rasyid, 2009).

Decentralisation efforts in education started with the introduction of the school autonomy policy—School-Based Management (SBM)—at compulsory education levels (Baunto, 2011). Accordingly, regions had to decrease their dependence on the central government by developing their own curriculum resources and promoting the involvement of the local authorities (Yuwono, 2005). Decentralisation reform delineated the roles of central and provincial governments and shifted the responsibilities of management and resources to schools. However, it was the responsibility of the central government to arrange the national curriculum and assessment system, requirements for admission, transfer, certification, standards for learning materials, grading, student achievement, as well as the development of international schools, distance education and higher education (Baunto, 2011). At the same time, the provincial governments had the main tasks of determining policy on selection and acceptance of students in relation to equity issues, providing educational resources, organising training centres and special schools, as well as assisting the management of higher education (Jalal et al., 2003). Therefore, the shared responsibilities between national and local government provide challenges for schools in meeting all the requirements placed upon them, which sometimes are contradictory.

As one of the decentralisation efforts, SBM aimed to transform teachers to be progressively inventive, dynamic and, at the same time, responsive to the needs of local communities rather than mechanically implementing orders from superiors (Baunto, 2011). Unfortunately, most teachers lack comprehensive knowledge about SBM and therefore followed directions from the authority passively (Mappiasse, 2014). Besides this lack of knowledge, another issue that made SBM difficult to implement was financial. Though the decentralisation in Indonesia was heavily supported by international donors, the central government did not provide the local governments with enough finance to facilitate the decentralisation process because the central government often did not trust

the local governments (Mappiasse, 2014). Hence, schools with little or no support find it difficult to adapt to the reforms (Yuwono, 2005).

To support the implementation of the decentralised education management in its initial phase, the capacity-building of local stakeholders was emphasised to deal with decentralisation changes and challenges. The decentralisation involved changes in facilities, resources, maintenance, curriculum and school culture development, school-community partnership, student services, finance management, staff recruitment and management, school programme planning and evaluation, as well as teaching and learning processes (Raihani, 2007). However, despite the resources deficiency, the government had to maintain the provision of public services (Smoke & Lewis, 1996). Therefore, the decentralisation was difficult to execute, given the country's long history of centralised bureaucratic systems (Syafi'i, 2005). The power dynamics in the Indonesian education system could not support teachers to adapt to decentralisation since teachers continue to be dependent on decisions made by the government. Usually, these decisions did not take into account classroom practices, which become problematic if some teachers decide to act in a way that is different from that of the government (Mappiasse, 2014). Hence, whether the efforts in decentralisation have led to positive results especially in ELT is yet to be seen.

In 2003, a new law was issued to introduce neoliberal principles of governing the Indonesian education system (Arifin, 2003). Then, from 2004 until now, neoliberal projects have been translated into practice, which results in shifts in Indonesian education and reduces the central government's role in education. Educational institutions should stand independently or be privatised and function as producers that position students as consumers. This condition forms a relationship that leads to transactions between service providers (schools) and clients (students), and thus schools are required to produce products (outcomes or test scores) to fulfil the investors' requirements.

Standardisation is one of the features of these neoliberal policies, which aims to enhance public accountability. It is accompanied by curriculum reforms and teacher professionalisation. Through professionalisation, the Indonesian government and private bodies manage teachers

directly (Mappiasse, 2014). These regulatory and external bodies monitor teachers' work and attributes through professional standards, covering pedagogic, personality, social and professional competencies of teachers (PRI, 2005). These competencies are holistic and integrative in teacher performance (refer to Appendix 1 for teacher competency measurement indicators).

Standardisation and accountability measures in Indonesia have produced an environment that puts emphasis on performative school cultures and market competition (Mappiasse, 2014). Consequently, Indonesian teachers and students think that teaching to the test is more essential than learning and solving problems critically, and thus teachers become unable to improve their own classroom materials based on the curriculum standards as they are used to teaching drills (Mappiasse, 2014).

Furthermore, competition among Indonesian schools exists, encouraging them to adopt certain marketing strategies to attract students. Schools with international standards that use English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) have been established. Parents, who realise how crucial English is in international competition, are very selective in education markets for the purpose of obtaining a quality education for their children. Consequently, an increasing number of middle- and upper-class parents choose private international schools or public schools labelled as 'superior' schools over other public schools. The parents hold a view that if they pay more, their children will get a better-quality education. Schools are diversified and stratified according to economic resources and academic attainment. Certain schools have another way of stratification through acceleration classes for outstanding students. Students from these classes can finish their schooling faster than other students.

In addition, the growing importance of qualifications and the increasing use of high-stakes tests have become common issues in the country, increasing the growth of after-class learning centres or private tutoring for school subjects that are included in high-stakes tests, e.g. English. Students' chances to excel in high-stakes tests are not solely determined by the schools that the students attend but also by the after-class learning centres that they join (Mappiasse, 2014), and

students' scores on the tests indicate whether the schools have succeeded or failed in making sufficient annual improvement (Hursh, 2006). However, these learning centres are not free of charge. Consequently, only students from middle- and upper-class families are able to achieve high English test scores with the assistance of learning centres. Conversely, those who come from lower-class families are unable to participate in the learning centres or private tutoring, so their English test scores tend to be average or below average.

What happens in the current situation in Indonesian education is similar to what Savage (2017) refers to as the failure to participate and succeed in schooling due to the disparity in financial opportunities. Schooling in Indonesia is seen as principally a means to achieve economic ends. This reflects what Foucault (2008) calls the economisation of the society, treating social goods or services as commodities for the main purpose of encouraging greater economic productivity and what Rudd (2009, para. 2) calls the "extreme capitalism and excessive greed", resulting in "the economic orthodoxy".

Though proponents of neoliberalism use discourses of economic growth, fairness and equity in arguing for the reforms (Hursh, 2006), in reality neoliberalism discriminates against those who cannot compete financially. We can see that, in neoliberal discourses and practices, equity and social justice get lost, particularly in contexts where there is a large disparity between the rich and the poor (Savage, 2017). Hursh (2006) also argues that the reforms based on neoliberalism are not improving education for all. As in the Indonesian case, the reforms were mostly about curriculum changes (Mappiasse, 2014), not about improving education in a real sense. Therefore, these curriculum reforms serve as a core driving force in the rationale for this study.

1.2. Research Rationale

Since it was first issued in 1968, the English curriculum in Indonesia has experienced changes numerous times—in 1973, 1975, 1984, 1994 and 1997. After neoliberal policies had been adopted in the country, curriculum reforms occurred even more frequently in a very short time frame—in 2004, 2006, 2013, 2016, 2018, 2020 and 2022. The reforms have occurred mainly due to political

developments (Pratiwi, 2019). When there is a Cabinet reshuffle and the Minister of Education and Culture (MEC) is replaced, a curriculum reform is likely to take place.

The English curriculum in Indonesia was firstly influenced by behaviourist perspectives, emphasising the development of reading skills and the audio-lingual approach to language instruction (Nur, 2003). Only recently has the teaching of English begun to follow a communicative approach with an increasing emphasis on language use and authentic learning materials, as well as on understanding cultures associated with the language. However, although the principles of a communicative approach are used in the curriculum, some ambiguities and problems with the implementation continue to be unresolved, e.g. the misalignment between learning materials and students' expectations (Lie, 2007). A study by Supriadi (2000) has shown that prior to 2000 many teachers relied heavily on textbooks and, thus, their teaching and learning activities were scripted by them. Students were predominantly taught discrete knowledge about language in preparation for tests**.** Teachers had insufficient understanding of a communicative approach, so they found it hard to apply.

According to Ahmad (2014), the implementation failure of the English curriculum in the country shows that, at a school level, teachers' engagement in curriculum decision-making has been negligible. This is due to the fact that since Indonesian independence in 1945, the use of a centralised curriculum has been compulsory; however, teachers have been required to teach according to each province's curriculum demands.

Other factors of curriculum implementation failure can be attributed to the misunderstanding of curriculum content and pedagogy (Bantwini, 2010) and to the lack of teachers' commitment to curriculum reforms (McLaughlin, 1990). In the Indonesian case, the lack of teachers' familiarity with the English curriculum is one of the reasons for its unsuccessful implementation (Lie, 2007). This is because the frequent English curriculum reforms have happened in a very short timeframe and teachers have had neither opportunity nor sufficient time to familiarise themselves with the new curricula. Since Indonesia joined the Programme for International Student Assessment

(PISA) in 2004, curriculum reforms have even become more commonplace. Pratiwi (2019) suggests that the reforms are influenced by PISA. One of the reasons for the reforms is the public pressure on policy-makers to improve student outcomes because of the low ranking gained by Indonesian students in PISA (Pratiwi, 2019).

The issues of English curriculum implementation failure, as shown in previous studies, for example, Basalama (2010), Lengkanawati (2005), Lie (2007) and Marcellino (2008), have contributed to the ELT challenges in Indonesia. However, these issues cannot be attributed simply to a sole cause such as curriculum content or its implementation. Several studies conducted in Indonesia primarily examined the curriculum content and its implementation (Ahmad, 2014; Astuti et al., 2018; Bjork, 2005; Cahyono & Widiati, 2006; Lie, 2007; Nur, 2003; Purwo, 1990; Supriadi, 2000). However, these studies did not focus on understanding the impact of ongoing curriculum reforms on teacher professional practices within the current neoliberal education context.

Whilst studies on curriculum content and implementation might provide for some curriculum improvement, studying the aspects that play a major role in the discrepancy between policies and practices commonly found in Indonesian schools, especially in the neoliberal context, has not received much attention. Prior to any attempt to enhance the ELT quality in Indonesia, there is a need to understand this issue through a comprehensive examination, involving teacher professional practices because the everyday impacts of neoliberalism on teachers are varied in scope.

In addition to teacher professional practices, teacher professional identity and agency have been emphasised in literature (e.g. Marks & Thompson, 2010) due to their influences on teacher practices because they have become defining features of standardisation. Thus, teacher professional identity and agency were also investigated in this study.

As the Indonesian curriculum has experienced changes multiple times to suit the neoliberal policies adopted by the country, it is important to see how this condition maps onto teacher professional practices, identity and agency. Therefore, the issue of how neoliberal reforms have

affected teacher professional practices, identity and agency provides a further rationale for this study.

1.3. Research Objectives

Studying teacher professional practices as well as teacher professional identity and agency is beneficial because the discourse of standardisation—one of the common themes of neoliberal reforms in schools—has shaped how teachers understand themselves and their own achievements, and this complicates how they come to know and represent their professional practices, identity and agency (Buchanan, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to address the TEFL issues in the Indonesian secondary school context by exploring how teachers perform their professional practices in the context of neoliberal curriculum reforms, how their professional identity is understood and constructed in this reform context and how they exercise their professional agency within the reforms. This is undertaken through the following research questions (RQs).

1.4. Research Questions

From the objectives, three related research questions are presented as follows:

1) How are the professional practices of Indonesian EFL teachers performed in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms?
2) How is their professional identity constructed and understood?
3) How is their professional agency enacted?

1.5. Research Significance

This study is significant for several reasons. Theoretically, a better understanding of EFL teachers' real-life experiences—how their work practices are enabled and constrained by their cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements—highlights the reasons behind the ELT challenges that have remained unanswered, so that the policy-makers and teachers are aware that there can be other factors that contribute to the ELT failure in Indonesia, besides the curriculum content and implementation.

Practically, this study provides Indonesian education policy-makers with information about the impact of curriculum reforms on teacher professional practices, identity and agency, so that the curriculum policy can be created in a way that is based on this reality. It also provides the policy-makers with teachers' personal experiences of the phenomena to ensure that teachers' voices are heard, so that the policy-makers recognise them as key players in educational change and respond to their professional needs. In this way, the uniqueness of the teachers' voices and the special contribution they are able to make to policy and research can be asserted (Hargreaves, 1996).

As this study was conducted in the time where Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic restricted my travel and impeded my fieldwork plans, the structure of the study was amended to comply with border restrictions. The study offers novel responses to educational practice research, especially in Indonesia, within this changing context through digital ethnography with collaborative methods of using technology.

1.6. Thesis Outline

There are nine chapters in this thesis. ***The first chapter*** has provided background information of the study, which included my personal motivation to conduct the study and a brief discussion of neoliberalism in Indonesia. It then presented the research rationale, in which the research gap was discussed. Finally, it explained the research objectives, questions and significance.

The literature review in which the major themes, concepts and issues relevant to this study are discussed in ***Chapters 2*** and ***3***. ***Chapter 2*** presents the research context, which reviews neoliberalism in education, education reforms in Indonesia, from the post-colonial era to the neoliberal era, and English curriculum reforms. It is necessary to emphasise these areas to have an understanding of the contextual dimensions of EFL teacher practices, identity and agency in implementing the English curriculum in a neoliberal context. ***Chapter 3*** reviews teacher professional practices, identity and agency. Conceptual frameworks are then presented. Notable research projects across these fields are also reviewed in this chapter.

The theoretical frameworks guiding my research design are outlined in ***Chapter 4***. This chapter highlights the Theory of Practice Architectures (TPA) as the research framework. It also explains another theory on the basis of which the TPA has been developed—the Theory of Site Ontologies (TSO).

The opening section of ***Chapter 5*** introduces the research paradigm, which becomes the basis for determining the methodology used in the study. Then, the methodology—digital ethnography—is discussed in the next section. The selection of the site, followed by the description of the site, are also explained. The chapter then outlines the research participants, the role of the researcher, the ethical considerations, as well as the validity and reliability of the study. Finally, the methods of data collection and analysis are also discussed.

Chapter 6 discusses the central part of this study, answering the research question: How are the professional practices of Indonesian EFL teachers performed in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms? The findings are presented in terms of the cultural-discursive, material-economic and socio-political arrangements that enabled and constrained the teacher practices. The discussion and brief concluding remarks then follow the findings in the next section.

The other research questions about teacher professional identity and agency are discussed in ***Chapters 7*** and ***8*** respectively. By drawing on social-practice theories that demonstrate how the current education reform discourses shape the social conditions where Indonesian EFL teachers work, these chapters outline how the teachers were able to make meaning of their own professional identity and how they enacted their professional agency in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms. The last sections of these chapters present the discussion and brief concluding remarks.

Finally, the conclusion, which discusses the research summary and implications, as well as the research limitations and directions for further research, is presented in ***Chapter 9***. This chapter ends with some concluding remarks that assert some theoretical and methodological innovations of the study, including some key points to absorb from the study.

Chapter 2

Research Context

The contextual background of this study is given in this chapter. Because this study examines the professional practices, identity and agency of Indonesian EFL teachers in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms, it is important to provide a comprehensive introduction to the concept of neoliberalism. An analysis of Indonesian educational reforms spanning from the post-colonial to neoliberal times is also essential to situate the setting of the participants of the study in both historical and present perspectives. The next section narrows its attention to literature about the English curriculum reforms in Indonesia.

2.1. Neoliberalism in Education

Neoliberalism refers to a set of economic policies aimed at reviving economic liberalism (Martinez & Garcia, 1997). Although often categorised as an economic theory, it encompasses beliefs, values and practices that exert influence on the cultural, economic and political dimensions of society (Ross & Gibson, 2006). According to Savage (2017), it posits that markets, being inherently economic entities, are the most effective mechanism for controlling individuals since the ideology aims to diminish the interventionist function of governments in regulating both markets and society.

Reforms in education systems worldwide have been driven by social, political and market pressures, which might be attributed to the effect of neoliberalism (Fullan, 2007). The reforms often include changes in educational and governance management, standardisation of professional practices and curriculum, the implementation of new assessment systems, reductions in education funding and an expanded presence of privatised schooling. One of the most prominent educational reforms resulting from the influence of neoliberalism is the restructuring of public schools to align with market-oriented concepts.

Foucault presents the concept of governmentality as a framework for examining the phenomenon of marketisation in the field of education. Foucault (2002, p. 341) defines this

framework as examining “the art of government” or “conducting conduct”, which includes not only governments’ and institutions' capacity to lead and shape individuals, but also individuals’ power to govern and shape themselves. While Foucault establishes the foundation for governmentality theory, current approaches to governmentality adopt neo-Foucauldian theories that embrace a "governmentality ethos" in the examination of political and social systems (Miller & Rose, 2008, p. 13). One of the main contributions made by neo-Foucauldian theorists is the expansion of two fundamental notions found in Foucault's (2008) work, which are used to identify crucial characteristics inherent in neoliberalism. These concepts are referred to as "political rationality" and "political technology" (Foucault, 2008, p. 285-332).

Political rationality and political technology differ principally in their respective scopes of foci (Foucault, 2008). Political rationality refers to the theoretical principles that guide the exercise of governance, specifically pertaining to the methods of ruling. On the other hand, political technology encompasses the practical tools, procedures, techniques and processes used in the actual implementation of governance. Foucault posits that the characteristics of neoliberalism emerge from a political rationality that is related to the notions of economy, market, human capital and an individual's entrepreneurial outlook. The governance of societies and individuals is influenced by political technologies that are indicative of neoliberal rationality.

One notable feature of neoliberalism is the proliferation of market-oriented viewpoints about practices inside and across areas that are not primarily economic or commodified (Foucault, 2008). This encompasses the governance of crucial public sectors, e.g. education, which are subjected to operate in a way akin to private sectors. Additional features encompass not only enhanced autonomy for principals in terms of personnel selection, financial management and policy formulation at the local level, but also the swift advancement of the 21st century skills agenda. This agenda entails a restructuring of the conventional curriculum to equip the upcoming generation with the requisite competencies deemed essential for active participation “in the global knowledge economy” (Savage, 2017, pp. 156-158).

Furthermore, according to Savage (2017), neoliberalism encompasses not only the relaxation of governmental regulations in the economic domain, but also the restructuring and reconfiguration of the conception of life within the market paradigm. These changes have significant implications for the structure and operation of both public and private industries and services. This phenomenon refers to as the economisation of the whole social sphere (Foucault, 2008) and entails the emergence of markets as the primary mechanism for controlling all aspects of human lives (Savage, 2017). This includes the realm of education.

The imperatives of global capital and market competitiveness have been identified as significant driving elements behind the implementation of neoliberalism in the realm of education (Davies & Guppy, 1997). Rizvi and Lingard (2010) argue that the economic lens through which neoliberalism views schools is the primary domain in which the impact of neoliberal ideology on education becomes the most apparent. According to Savage (2011), the prevailing perception in contemporary policy is that education serves as a platform for developing human resources with the aim of enhancing economic productivity. Given the prevailing perception of education as an economic asset, policy-makers prioritise the economic benefits associated with education. According to Mappiasse (2014), the implementation of politics in the form of market policies is necessary in the realm of education. Hence, education reforms are seen as a political undertaking, including the implementation of policies aimed at upholding the principles espoused by governing bodies (Taylor et al., 1997).

The impact of neoliberalism on education policy has resulted in a primary focus on preparing the future workforce for labour markets and using performance criteria as a means to evaluate the effectiveness of educational institutions in achieving this objective. It has also resulted in the emergence of a variety of practices that predominantly regulate individuals and educational institutions worldwide. These practices encompass the operations of schools, school principals and teachers, as well as the management of schools by policy-makers and the determination of student learning objectives by curriculum designers (Savage, 2017).

Reforms in curriculum and organisational management in both developed and developing nations are implemented with the aim of achieving standardisation, ensuring quality assurance and promoting internationalisation efforts (Torres, 2009). These reforms are intended to enhance competitiveness within the global economy (Mok & Welch, 2003). The increasing pressures for educational reforms have led to a transformation in curriculum design, shifting from a conventional curriculum to one that aligns with the economic demands and the requirements of the 21st century (Savage, 2017). The curriculum is specifically intended to equip students for the global economy. As stated by Peters (1994), neoliberal education focuses on producing students who possess the necessary skills and abilities to effectively participate in the global market. Consequently, there is a discernible presence of competition among students, both intra- and inter-school. The competitiveness of schools is shown by the measurable achievements of their students, thus supporting the rationale for the adoption of standardised or high-stakes exams and accountability measures (Hursh, 2006).

In systems that prioritise performance, there is a dichotomy between those who succeed and those who do not, with the latter frequently being held accountable for their lack of success. The assessment-based accountability system utilises competition as a means to incentivise schools to strive for higher scores and better rankings (De Lissovoy, 2013). Moreover, within the framework of assessment-based categorisation, students experience both collective and individual stigmatisation according to the results they achieve. Educational institutions are assigned specific designations, and the teachers' employment stability and remuneration are progressively associated with their professional achievements (De Lissovoy, 2013).

Neoliberal proponents argue that the use of high-stakes testing is necessary in order to facilitate educational advancement. They contend that these benchmarks are valid and reliable since they serve as a dependable and unbiased means of assessing student learning which might not always be effectively evaluated by teachers. Nevertheless, opponents of this approach contend that an educational system founded on the principles of competition, as shown via high-stakes

assessments, might have adverse consequences on the whole school environment, including both teacher professionalism and student success (Hursh, 2006). Moreover, claims of 'validity and reliability' have often been questioned. The administration of high-stakes examinations has been shown to have an adverse effect on the health and overall well-being of students due to the heightened levels of pressure and anxiety experienced by students (Vinson & Ross, 2006).

The impact of neoliberal governance on education systems worldwide, especially English education, has been significant, but its effects might vary across different contexts (Savage, 2017). English is widely recognised as a valuable asset and a prevailing language in language education, critical to economic growth, social standing and global mobility (Price, 2014).

The neoliberalisation of English education in Indonesia mights be attributed to the rapid and comprehensive implementation of neoliberal reforms within the Indonesian education system. Nevertheless, this policy stands out due to its implementation during a tumultuous period in Indonesia, marked by political and financial crises. Apart from economic and political factors, the neoliberal education reforms in Indonesia also face challenges arising from social and cultural contexts. Hence, it is important to critically explore the Indonesian educational reforms, spanning post-colonial period and current neoliberal age, for a complete understanding of the context within which this study is situated. This issue will be further elaborated in the following subheading.

2.2. Indonesian Education Reforms: From Post-Colonial Era to Neoliberal Era

Indonesian education reforms, spanning post-colonial and current neoliberal times, are covered in this section. Reviewing the reforms helps understand the country's historical context that might affect teacher practices, identity and agency.

2.2.1. The Post-Colonial Era (1968 - 1994)

The inception of the contemporary Indonesian education system can be traced back to the period of Dutch colonisation in the country. According to Lauder (2008), the retrospective evidence indicated that the Dutch colonisers in Indonesia, starting from 1595, did not provide educational

opportunities to general population, with the exception of individuals who were employed by them under legal arrangements. During the Dutch colonial period, a limited number of Indonesians had access to education, with even basic levels of education being scarce, resulting in a significant portion of the population being illiterate. The western-style primary schools were first introduced in 1907, while junior and senior high schools were established in 1914 and 1918 respectively (Van der Veur, 1969).

Unlike Indian and Malaysian education, which fell under the British colonial education system, education in Indonesia was developed under the Japanese education system. Despite the relatively shorter duration of the Japanese colonisation in Indonesia compared to the Dutch colonisation, which lasted for approximately three years, the impact on the education system was significant (Fitriyah, 2019; Supendi, 2016). One manifestation of the impact of the Japanese occupation on the school system was seen in the implementation of the grading system. During the period of Japanese occupation, the educational system in place utilised a grading system known as 6-3-3-4. This system consisted of six years of primary education, referred to as *Sekolah Dasar* (*SD*), followed by three years of junior secondary education, known as *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (*SMP*). Subsequently, students would undergo three years of senior secondary education, referred to as *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (*SMA*). Finally, students pursuing higher education would engage in a minimum of four years of undergraduate programmes at universities, classified within the realm of higher education. In addition to the undergraduate programme, higher education encompasses a range of academic pursuits, including Diploma, Master's, Doctorate and professional degrees (Supendi, 2016). Since the attainment of Indonesian independence, the grading system has continuously been used within the official education system up to the present day. The Indonesian education system is governed by the education laws that include *Pancasila* (the Five Principles of the Indonesian State) and *UUD 1945* (the country's constitution).

The education system in Indonesia has seen significant progress and transformation over a prolonged period, characterised by continuous and well-defined process, development and

movement (Sugiyono, et al., 2013). Since its independence, Indonesia has undertaken educational reforms in accordance with the provisions of *UUD 1945*. One of the objectives outlined in the preamble of the constitution is the provision of education to its populace. The preamble outlines a mandate that is further elaborated in Article 31, specifically in Clauses 1 to 5 (the fourth revision). These clauses affirm the following principles: (1) the right to education is guaranteed for every citizen; (2) primary education is compulsory for all citizens, and the government bears the responsibility of financing it; (3) the government has to work to establish a national education system that promotes virtue and faith, guided by relevant laws; (4) education is given a priority, as evidenced by the allocation of a minimum of 20% of the national budget and 20% of the regional budget; and (5) science and technology are promoted to advance civilisation and the well-being of humanity, while simultaneously fostering a sense of national identity and safeguarding moral principles.

Numerous legislative measures and governmental regulations were enacted with the aim of executing the mandates outlined in the constitution. According to Law Number 4/1950, the first education law, primary education was prioritised as part of the Indonesian development plan (PRI, 1950). This law was controversial for two reasons. First, it was still influenced by the colonial rules that were passed down from the Netherlands. Furthermore, it was seen to be incongruent with the cultural norms and values of the Indonesian populace, who are largely adherent to the Islamic faith. This assertion was substantiated by the governmental action undertaken throughout the first years of the 1970s. The administration seemed to be implementing measures aimed at diminishing and isolating Islamic schools within the national education system framework. In 1972, the government issued Presidential Decree Number 34 (PRI, 1972) to define education and training functional responsibility. Presidential Instruction Number 15/1974, which supervised the decree's operation, confirmed this (Nizar, 2007). These presidential orders granted the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) full power over vocational and general education (Djamas, 2009). The laws necessitated the transfer of the responsibility for the administration of Islamic education to the MEC. The measures

implemented by the government, which were seen as undesirable within Islamic circles, prompted responses from Islamic leaders and groups engaged in Islamic education. The abolition of the Ministry of Religion's (MR) education jurisdiction caused these responses. Islamic educational institutions were strategically ignored by the decision. The observers also saw the government's action as a measure aimed at diminishing the roles of the MR and as a secularisation endeavour in the *Orde Baru* (New Order) era. The Islamic groups' objections were considered reasonably justified provided that the decision of the government was related to the socio-political climate at the inception of the *Orde Baru* administration that suppressed Islamic political parties (Wahab, 2013).

The *Orde Baru* administration acknowledged the appearance of a significant response from Islamic communities. Subsequently, in 1975, the MR, MEC and Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) supported joint decrees that included operational measures. Furthermore, Law Number 4/1950 was superseded by Law Number 2/1989 (Wahab, 2013) since it failed to regulate education comprehensively and cohesively (Sibuea, 2017). These provisions had three fundamental outcomes. First, the government reached a consensus that the MR would assume responsibility for overseeing Islamic education with the aim of enhancing its overall quality. Consequently, educational dualism has been formally implemented throughout the country since that time. This refers to the coexistence of two distinct educational management institutions inside the national education system. The MR assumes the responsibility of overseeing religious education, and the MEC manages all education within the country. Thus, the latter has the authority to create national education laws and policies and oversees public and private preschool, primary, secondary and higher education levels for implementation. On the other hand, the MR is entrusted with the oversight of all Islamic-based educational institutions, irrespective of their public or private status. The provisions also encompassed the recognition of religious education as a legitimate component of school education, as stipulated in Law Number 2/1989, Article 11, Paragraphs 1 and 6, as well as Article 15. Furthermore, these provisions mandated that religious education was made mandatory in all forms and levels of education, as outlined in Law Number 2/1989, Article 39.

During the *Order Baru* period, a prominent policy aimed at addressing poverty and illiteracy was the implementation of the nine-year compulsory education system. Nevertheless, Daliman (1995) asserted that the implementation of the compulsory education plan, aimed at providing a comprehensive basic education, faced significant challenges due to political turmoil. Consequently, the government decided to revise the programme and introduce a six-year compulsory education initiative in 1984. This adjustment was made to reaffirm the government's commitment to providing equal educational opportunities for all Indonesian citizens, enabling them to access primary education through either general education or Islamic education.

In response to the successful outcome of the six-year compulsory education initiative within a short timeframe, the government proceeded to introduce a nine-year required schooling scheme in 1994. Subsequently, the implementation of the nine-year obligatory education system was established as an integral component of the country's overall progress, as stipulated by Law Number 3/1989. According to Djojodibroto (2004), the nine-year compulsory education initiative encompassed a six-year *SD* level in general education or *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah* (*MI*) in Islamic education and a three-year *SMP* level in general education or *Madrasah Tsanawiyah* (*MTs*) in Islamic education.

The education system during the *Orde Baru* period had a tendency towards centralisation since the assessment of educational relevance was established by the central committee. Nevertheless, as argued by Ishaq (2006), the educational relevance should be assessed in the light of regional needs, rather than being solely defined by the central government. When considering the diversified and geographically dispersed population of Indonesia, it is not feasible to establish standardisation within the national education system (Ishaq, 2006).

The *Orde Baru* education system exhibited a strong connection to militarism. This connection was evident not only through the imposition of military-centric topics and administrative requirements inside the educational framework, but also via the provision of an environment that fostered a sense of proximity to the military realm among students. Militaristic practices were

implemented throughout elementary, secondary and tertiary education levels, including activities such as mandatory marching and the application of physical punishments on students who violated regulations.

The Indonesian school system's emphasis on militarism was subject to criticism by Mangunwijaya (1998), also known as Romo Mangun. He stated that the concept of genuine education saw a significant decline during the *Orde Baru* period. Over a span of around three decades, Indonesian students were subjected to daily mistreatment inside an educational framework that failed to acknowledge their inherent dignity as human beings. The Indonesian education system is founded upon *Pancasila*, which incorporates ideas related to the promotion of a fair and civilised humanity. However, the whole structure of the *Orde Baru* institutions, including cultural, social, economic, political and educational domains, was fundamentally influenced by a military ethos. The administration implemented many indoctrination initiatives within the field of education. Furthermore, Mangunwijaya claims that Indonesian education under the *Orde Baru* administration diverged from its initial intended objectives. According to him (1998, p. 27), “The hidden curriculum of the school system from kindergarten to university was of the military, command and obedience system, was of the memorisation system from those who gave instructions and was according to smart books (which were often stupid)”.

During the *Orde Baru* period, the covert militaristic education system was seen to have fostered a docile mindset among students, resulting in their limited capacity for critical thinking as they mostly adhered to their teachers' instructions. The observed learning process had a unidirectional nature, whereby conversations between teachers and students were discouraged and chances for students to enquire about the materials presented by teachers were limited. According to Pradipto (2007), students were motivated to commit information to memory from the materials presented, with a primary focus on meeting industry demands and achieving favourable academic performance, mostly to uphold the reputation of their teachers and parents. Throughout the instructional activities in the classrooms, teachers consistently occupied the role as the topic and

focal point of knowledge, and students were relegated to the position of objects, expected to comply with and embrace the truths imparted by their teachers. Pradipto (2007) further stated that teachers typically assumed the role of handlers in the classroom, using a didactic approach where they crammed a significant amount of instructional content into their students. The individuals in question assumed the role of commanders, issuing directives to their subordinates within the educational setting and using teaching methods like those used by animal trainers. Consequently, students within the schools were subjected to treatment that diminished their human worth. According to Mangunwijaya (1998), the concept of teacher identity during the *Orde Baru* era was diminished to that of a mere instructor who solely provided instructions to students, neglecting the educational aspects inherent in the teaching and learning processes. Additionally, teachers were perceived as bureaucrats operating within a tightly regulated system, as well as commanders or handlers who issued commands to students.

The administration of *Orde Baru* initially devised a strategy to expedite the nine-year mandatory education curriculum, with the goal of achieving a 97% completion rate for Indonesian citizens up to junior secondary school by 1999 (Ali, 2009). However, the execution of the initiative faced challenges. One of the primary challenges encountered by the initiative in achieving success was the financial constraint faced by the Indonesian populace in meeting the expenses associated with schooling. The elevated expenses associated with education were a significant impediment for those belonging to the lowest socio-economic strata, thus hindering their access to sufficient educational opportunities. Furthermore, the insufficient degree of consciousness and community engagement in the provision of education resulted in a rise in ignorance and illiteracy, hence exacerbating the prevalence of poverty. According to Tilaar (2003), the responsibility for ensuring the successful implementation of the nine-year obligatory education scheme as required by the constitution in these circumstances had to rest solely on the government. This was due to the fact that to execute the plan effectively, a substantial budget was needed.

However, the monetary crisis that affected the economy of South-East Asian nations in 1997 and peaked in 1998 made it harder for Indonesians to afford school expenses. Consequently, Indonesia had a multifaceted crisis that finally compelled President Soeharto to resign from his post in 1998, marking the conclusion of the *Orde Baru* period.

2.2.2. The Neoliberal Era (2004 - Present Day)

The transition from an authoritarian military regime (1967 – 1998) to a democratic one, along with economic constraints, has influenced the country's inclination towards embracing neoliberal ideas. The confluence of the financial crisis and the aspiration to liberate the nation from an authoritarian regime instigated a comprehensive movement for reforms in various spheres of life. This transformative period has also presented an unprecedented occasion for educational reforms, which are undeniably exerting a direct or indirect influence on the educational landscape at both the national and local levels (Yuwono, 2005). The situation might be seen as a fortuitous occurrence because it has provided an opportunity for the country to undertake a comprehensive overhaul of its education system (World Bank, 2009). Democracy, decentralisation, anti-corruption and human rights policies have been the reformation movement's main goals (Bourchier & Hadiz, 2003; Vickers, 2005). Due to the rapid execution of this directive, the 1999 Act to decentralise public services such as education was created. Since then, the neoliberal education practices have been implemented, concomitantly with the country's adoption of a democratic form of governance. However, the execution of the reforms poses a significant challenge for a nation when market liberalisation, political democratisation and governance decentralisation take place simultaneously in the absence of a well-established political system. This predicament arises due to the ongoing struggle of the nation to define its identity (Vu, 2007).

In response to the demands of the reformation movement, Law Number 20/2003 was issued five years after Soeharto's resignation. During the period from 2003 to 2015, the Indonesian government implemented a policy known as ‘Indonesian education for all’. This policy intended to demonstrate the government's commitment to formulating a strategic action plan that would

ensure the successful implementation of the nine-year compulsory education programme. The plan took into account historical circumstances and pertinent concerns in order to achieve its objectives.

The implementation of neoliberal ideology has prompted the development of a new legal framework that aims to adapt to both local and global circumstances since the existing legislation was deemed inadequate to address the challenges posed by the global context. In order to achieve the national goal of developing internationally competitive human capital, the government demonstrates a robust commitment concerning budgetary considerations. *Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara* (the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget) or *APBN* and *Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah* (the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget) or *APBD* both allocate 20% of their budgets to education (PRI, 2003).

In addition to financial considerations, several factors, such as curriculum content standards, educational staff, management, facilities, education process and learning assessment, have been accorded importance as benchmarks for the assurance and management of education quality, as well as the competences of graduates. The Law Number 20/2003 serves as a means to achieve educational democracy by addressing the management of formal education in primary and secondary schools. It establishes the concept of SBM, wherein the community is granted the right to actively participate in various aspects of the educational programme, including supervision, execution, development and evaluation. This involvement is facilitated through the establishment of school committees (PRI, 2003). The primary responsibilities of the school committees include the oversight of schools' adherence to government-established objectives, as well as the promotion and enforcement of accountability and transparency within the educational system. According to Parker and Raihani (2011), the school committees are considered to be the primary element of Indonesia's decentralisation project. They play a crucial role in enabling society to effectively govern the management of educational institutions. Hence, the level of professionalism exhibited by Indonesian school principals and teachers is subject to greater scrutiny compared to the era of centralisation.

This is due to the involvement of the committees, which validate their professionalism through educational boards (Qoyyimah, 2015).

The government implemented *Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional* (National Medium Term Development Plan) or *RPJMN* from 2015 to 2019, to provide free public education to all Indonesians up to Grade 12. This action was undertaken subsequent to the effective completion of the nine-year compulsory schooling plan. These continuous endeavours aim to safeguard the entitlement of the entire populace to a mandatory foundational education for all youngsters in Indonesia, including those with disabilities. The 12-year compulsory education programme aimed to expand and improve high-quality secondary education to increase the skilled labour availability to satisfy labour market needs, enhance educational service quality, improve the curriculum, its implementation and the education assessment system to ensure its comprehensiveness and credibility, as well as enhance the educational resource allocation and management (PRI, 2003). However, prior to the areas of emphasis, the Government Regulation Number 70/2009 addressed inclusive education. According to this legislation, the government provides equal educational opportunities for all students, irrespective of any disabilities, intellectual abilities, aptitude or unique talents they might possess.

Nevertheless, as highlighted by Sibuea (2017), the implementation of the 12-year compulsory education plan in Indonesia has encountered significant challenges and unsolved issues, leading to its lack of success. Several issues have been associated with the ineffective execution of the curriculum, inadequate student performance and exorbitant cost of education. These issues render it unattainable for various social strata and create disparity in educational prospects among remote, rural and urban regions, thereby resulting in unequal educational opportunities for all children (Sibuea, 2017). Furthermore, the insufficiency of educational facilities within schools is also a subject of apprehension (Sibuea, 2017). According to Baswedan's (2014) study, an analysis of a comprehensive mapping of 40,000 schools conducted in 2012 revealed that a significant majority (75%) of educational institutions in Indonesia failed to fulfil the minimum standards required for

providing adequate educational services. As well, a significant number of teachers in Indonesia, particularly those who are not civil servant teachers, face inadequate welfare conditions due to their earnings falling below *Upah Minimum Regional* (the Regional Minimum Wage) or *UMR*. Moreover, the calibre of teachers is likewise subpar. Baswedan (2014) states that the mean score obtained by a sample of 460,000 teachers who took the teacher competence exam in 2012 was 44.5. This score fell far below the anticipated average score of 70.

The effectiveness of the inclusive education plan has also been viewed as lacking (Meirina, 2015). The low level of involvement among children with special needs is shown by their relatively low participation rate, constituting around 11% of the overall Indonesian population of approximately 1.6 million children with special needs (Meirina, 2015). The successful implementation of inclusive education in the country is hindered by various challenges. These include the scarcity of special education learning resources, a lack of disability-trained teachers and issues in accessing schools, especially in remote areas (Ediyanto et al., 2017). According to Ediyanto et al. (2017), inclusive schools struggle to meet the needs of disabled students owing to a lack of curriculum and support. This indicates a deficiency in the ability of inclusive schools to adequately cater to students with disabilities.

To address Indonesian education's unresolved issues and the global landscape that requires students to increase their innovation, creativity and skills to face global issues and the rapid advancement of information technology, Nadiem Anwar Makarim, the current MECRT, introduced *Merdeka Belajar* (Emancipated Learning) or *MB* in 2020. This strategy aims to enhance Indonesian education quality and students' scores in PISA (Kemendikbud, 2022). According to Makarim (2019), the *MB* programmes have reformed the high-stakes examination—*Ujian Nasional* (National Exam) or UN, *Ujian Sekolah Berstandar Nasional* (National Standard School Exam) or *USBN* and *Rencana Pelaksanaan Pembelajaran* (lesson plan) or *RPP*.

Teachers formerly adhered rigorously to the prescribed format of the lesson plan. The length of a lesson plan document might exceed 20 pages as a result of the extensive number of

components in the previous lesson plan and the need for a detailed and comprehensive lesson plan. The process of developing an extensive lesson plan proved to be a significant time commitment for teachers, impeding their ability to effectively allocate time for both instructional planning and evaluating student progress. Hence, under the framework of the *MB* policy, the lesson plan is condensed into a single page, including three essential elements: the learning goals, the learning activities and the assessments. Teachers have the autonomy to construct and use the lesson plan as they see fit. The implementation of a one-page lesson plan policy was devised with the aim of affording teachers more time to engage in thoughtful planning and evaluation of their educational journey.

Under the *MB* policy, *USBN* has been substituted with school-designed examinations, while *UN* has been transformed into a national assessment, which includes *Asesmen Kompetensi Minimum* (Minimum Competency Assessment) or *AKM*, character survey and learning environment survey. *AKM* evaluates students' literacy, which refers to their language reasoning skills, and numeracy, which refers to their mathematical reasoning skills. Additionally, it assesses their discourse analysis and concept understanding ability. *UN* is replaced with *AKM* to familiarise students with PISA and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) questions. This substitution is intended to enhance the performance of Indonesian students in these assessments. Hence, the items included in *AKM* exhibit comparability to those found in PISA and TIMSS assessments. *AKM*'s main goal is to evaluate the schools, not individual students. This nationwide assessment targets Grade 4 primary school, Grade 8 junior secondary school and Grade 11 senior secondary school students. The character and learning environment surveys aim to improve character education. The character survey is an evaluative tool used by teachers to assess students' affective attributes, whilst the learning environment survey comprises enquiries directed towards school principals and teachers, aiming to assess the calibre of instruction and the overall atmosphere within the educational institution. Consequently, this assessment identifies areas for improvement, helping schools develop. This thorough national assessment provides feedback to the schools, allowing

adjustments to improve positive values in the educational environment. Additionally, the result of this assessment serves as an indicator for the development of high-quality improvement plans, both at the national level and at the educational unit in question.

The increasing needs of the worldwide market for a proficient workforce, coupled with rapid advancement in information technology, have underscored the significance of English as both a global language and a language of technology. English has gained its significance in the international sphere and is highly regarded as human capital. Hence, English education has been included into the Indonesian national curriculum. As per the stipulation outlined in Law 2/1989, it is mandatory for all secondary educational institutions to provide English as the primary foreign language. Subsequently, between 2006 and 2013, the government implemented a policy mandating the inclusion of English as a mandatory subject within the primary school curriculum. Nevertheless, since 2013 onwards a government mandate has restricted the inclusion of English in primary schools. This means that English can only be taught in the schools if they determine that there is a need for English education, taking into account the specific circumstances of the schools and their ability to provide the necessary resources, such as qualified teachers and appropriate facilities (Chanifa et al., 2020; Zein, 2017).

Language acquisition theories, which promote early language learning, underpin the primary school English language teaching policy. According to Peacock (2001), linguists agree that younger children learn foreign languages more easily. Therefore, to promote English proficiency, the government allocates four hours per week for secondary school English instruction. Nevertheless, due to the English curriculum policy reforms, English language teaching has undergone adjustments. The subsequent section of this chapter analyses the importance of English as human capital and its dominance as a foreign language in Indonesia. It delves into the English curriculum reforms from the post-colonial period (Subsections 2.3.1 – 2.3.4) to the neoliberal period (Subsections 2.3.5 – 2.3.9).

2.3. English Curriculum Reforms in Indonesia

The Indonesian education system, particularly its curriculum, has been subject to Indonesian governance and political developments. Both prior to and following Indonesian independence, the government has utilised a curriculum as a means of exerting political influence. For almost eight decades, the national curriculum has been shaped in accordance with the political agendas of the governing parties, while also being influenced by the advancement in the socio-cultural, political and economic domains, as well as the advances in science and technology within the country. As a result of this development, the teaching and learning of English has become an integral component of the Indonesian education system.

The requirement of acquiring proficiency in English is driven by the imperative role it plays in facilitating economic transactions and fostering communication with surrounding nations, including the Philippines, India, Malaysia and Singapore (Lauder, 2008). Parallels between the English language situation in Indonesia and that of neighbouring countries are made problematic due to the absence of colonial ties between Indonesia and the United Kingdom (UK) or the United States of America (USA) (Dardjowidjojo, 2003). Consequently, English is not used in formal or public contexts. English has a pivotal role in facilitating trade and government in neighbouring countries. Hence, the inhabitants residing within the countries are advantaged from this particular circumstance. In contrast, English does not have the status of an official or secondary language in Indonesia. As Huda (2000) states, the government is hesitant over conferring official or secondary language status to English due to concerns that its use as a medium of instruction might potentially have adverse implications for Indonesian, which serves as the nation's primary language. There are those who express concerns over the tendency of educated Indonesians to incorporate English phrases into their Indonesian language use. These concerns extend beyond potential damage to the Indonesian language itself, as they also suggest a potential erosion of national patriotic ideals (Lauder, 2008). However, English has acquired a significant level of prestige among the Indonesian population, potentially surpassing that of the national language, Indonesian. English continues to be regarded as

a primary or essential foreign language within educational environments (Simatupang, 1999) although it is not extensively used within Indonesian society and is not an official language in Indonesia (Lauder, 2008).

A range of foreign languages, including Arabic, French, Mandarin, Japanese and German, is available for study, but only as optional subjects (Renandya, 2000). English has been selected as the preferred foreign language among several foreign languages in the country. Its presence in the Indonesian national curriculum as an obligatory foreign language in secondary schools influenced this decision (Lauder, 2008; Mattarima & Hamdan, 2011; Simatupang, 1999). The subsequent subsections delineate the successive reforms that have been implemented in the English curriculum of the country.

2.3.1. The 1968 Phase

The inclusion of English in the curriculum was formally established in 1968 (MPKRI, 1967). The curriculum was designed with a certain level of autonomy because schools were given the flexibility to adopt and apply it. This approach fostered a sense of creativity among teachers in developing the curriculum. Nevertheless, this failed to adequately cater to societal demands due to its curriculum content being mostly theoretical and detached from real-life experiences. Additionally, during this period, the English curriculum was highly impacted by the behaviourist perspective and relied largely on the audiolingual method. Furthermore, the English content places a significant focus on the prioritisation and development of reading skills (Nur, 2003).

2.3.2. The 1975 Phase

The curriculum was modified in 1975 in response to the need of economic revitalisation and advancement (Baunto, 2011). It was characterised as goal-oriented because it included many educational objectives, such as national, institutional, curricular, as well as general and specific instructional goals (Asri, 2017). The extensive curriculum material across all grade levels required teachers to devote significant time and effort to delineating the specific learning outcomes

associated with each instructional activity. As a result, according to Yulaelawati (2001, p. 2), the curriculum was “overloaded and overdosed” and excessively focused on objective assessment. The learning activities were mostly led by teachers, resulting in limited development of students' creativity. According to Lie (2007), the English curriculum was influenced by the behaviourist perspective and used the audiolingual method.

2.3.3. The 1984 Phase

In light of scientific advancement, it was determined that the 1975 Curriculum did not align with the societal requirements of that era. Consequently, the 1984 Curriculum, known as *Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif* (Active Student Learning Approach) or *CBSA*, was established. This curriculum placed emphasis on student-centred learning through active engagement, while also providing comprehensive instruction on teaching methods and materials (Asri, 2017). Nevertheless, the comprehensive exposition of teaching methodologies and instructional resources led to a situation where teachers were reliant on them, impeding their capacity to exercise creativity.

The curriculum was influenced by the communicative approach, but it led to some difficulties in its implementation (Lie, 2007). Initially, a discrepancy arose about the assertion inherent in the curriculum and the content stated in its syllabus (Lie, 2007). Although the curriculum was labelled as communicative, there were no significant modifications implemented to the teaching method compared to the audiolingual method used in the two preceding curricula. Furthermore, the syllabus did not have any communicative activities. Rather than integrating the four English skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) into the textbooks, there was a flawed approach of treating the skills as separate entities within each topic in the textbooks (Purwo, 1990). Based on the findings of Supriadi's (2000) study, a significant proportion of teachers often used textbooks as a primary resource in the instructional process. Consequently, the reliance on textbooks had a substantial effect upon the teaching and learning dynamics, resulting in the communicative approach being largely nominal in nature. Another kind of ambiguity arose from the discrepancy between the curriculum statements and the way in which the skills were structured (Lie, 2007). The

prioritisation of skills was as follows: reading, listening, speaking and writing. The curriculum was supposedly communicative, but teachers taught students exam-preparatory skills. The use of the communicative approach posed a significant challenge for teachers, mostly stemming from their limited knowledge and understanding of this pedagogical approach.

2.3.4. The 1994 Phase

The 1994 Curriculum, known as *Kurikulum Muatan Lokal* (Local Content Curriculum) or *KML*, was implemented as a replacement for the 1984 Curriculum. The primary objective of English instruction in this curriculum was to facilitate the enhancement of students' reading skills, enabling them to effectively understand and engage with informational content and academic literature. While there was a predominant focus on the development of reading skills, legislation also included opportunities for the development of the other three skills. The prioritisation was as follows: reading took precedence, followed by listening, speaking and writing. Nevertheless, the curriculum faced a significant backlash primarily due to the extensive academic requirements imposed on students. This criticism mostly centred around the burden of not just mastering the national curriculum content but also the additional local materials that students were expected to acquire (Asri, 2017). The local materials were modified to meet the specific requirements of the location, including native language and arts. Consequently, *KML* underwent a transformation, resulting in a curriculum that was characterised by a high level of density. Similar to the previous English curriculum, the instructional methods used were centred on the communicative approach. Nevertheless, according to Lie (2007), issues, such as the lack of alignment among teachers' familiarity with the curriculum, students' expectations and learning materials, persisted.

2.3.5. The 2004 Phase

After Indonesia participated in PISA for the first time in 2004, the curriculum underwent revision in response to the perceived shortcomings of the previous curriculum. This revision aimed to prioritise the development of competencies and was named *Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi*

(Competency-Based Curriculum) or *KBK*. The main focus of *KBK* was to transition the curriculum orientation from a traditional approach centred on material and teacher-driven instruction, as seen in *KML*, to a more modern approach centred around competence and student-centred learning. Sidi and Boediono (2003) assert that *KBK* used a diverse range of authentic learning resources derived from the cultural contexts of English-speaking nations. The purpose of this integration was to enhance students' understanding of native English speakers and their respective cultures. The exercises in English textbooks were organised using text types, topics and tasks, macro language skills and test items, with a primary focus on memorisation and comprehension. These were representative of the majority of English textbooks. This suggests that the field of English instruction required substantial cognitive abilities. The textbooks did not expressly provide instruction on micro language skills, e.g. pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. Instead, it was expected that teachers would include these micro language skills into the broader macro language skills during classroom instruction. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of EFL teachers exhibited reluctance in embracing the pedagogical methodology used within the curriculum and in generating their own instructional materials. They assumed the role of textbook implementers because they relied on commercially accessible textbooks. This illustrates the perspective held by EFL teachers that the utilisation of textbooks was deemed obligatory in the implementation of a curriculum (Widodo, 2016).

Conceptually, *KBK* put significant emphasis on performance-based learning, whereby students were obligated to exhibit competence and integrate language skills across many communicative settings. However, the educational framework used by teachers in *KBK* remained similar to the previous curriculum, characterised by a teacher-centred approach. According to Asri (2017), teachers lacked an understanding of *KBK*. The pursuit of curriculum goals related to communicative competence and intercultural awareness was seen; however, no significant disparity was found between the instructional practices used in English classrooms at *KBK* and those used in the previous curricula (Lie, 2007).

Cahyono and Widiati (2006) found that a significant proportion of the issues identified in EFL studies in Indonesia were attributed to a lack of familiarity with the theoretical underpinnings of EFL pedagogy. Widodo (2016) also found that the lack of success in implementing *KBK* was attributed to various factors. These factors included government-controlled language assessment, an emphasis on test-driven language instruction, limited engagement in English language use, insufficient pedagogic foundations and contextual knowledge, limited competency and understanding of systematic functional frameworks, inadequate classroom management and inflexible pedagogical traditions and values (Widodo, 2016).

In response to the Indonesian decentralisation agenda, *KBK* was designed to address social requirements that needed certain skills as a means of achieving independent living, and it was established in response to the decentralisation strategy in Indonesia (Asri, 2017). However, Bjork (2003, 2004) found that teachers were reluctant to apply *KBK*. This phenomenon was attributed to the ingrained ideas about their roles in schools, whereby they were expected to be compliant civil servants. The government actively promoted a culture that discouraged teachers from exercising autonomy and instead confined them to their assigned tasks (Bjork, 2003, 2004).

2.3.6. The 2006 Phase

In response to the shortcomings seen in the implementation of *KBK*, another curriculum known as *Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan* (Education Unit Level Curriculum/School-Based Curriculum) or *KTSP* was introduced in 2006. This curriculum was designed to cater to diverse cultural, social, economic, institutional and educational contexts. The development of this curriculum was initiated in response to the concept of decentralisation, which aimed to recognise the importance of each district using its own local resources and meeting its own needs, particularly those related to schools and students (Widodo, 2016). Schools were allowed to exercise their autonomy in developing, implementing and assessing their own curriculum by taking into account the learners' needs, socio-cultural environment and available resources (BSNP, 2006).

Under the KTSP framework, schools were given autonomy to foster innovation and creativity, tailored to their capacities, aiming to enhance the education quality. *Kriteria Ketuntasan Minimal* (Minimum Completeness Criteria/cutoff score) or *KKM* was established for this objective. *KTSP* established fundamental competency requirements that EFL teachers were required to fulfil. In essence, teachers took the initiative to design and refine their own curriculum, taking into consideration various factors, such as: (a) the recognition of the importance of science, technology and arts, (b) the need for a comprehensive and sustainable approach, (c) the relevance to practical real-world demands, (d) the consideration of stakeholders' interests and needs and (e) the establishment of harmonious equilibrium between national and local requirements. The development of a curriculum package by individual schools should include the incorporation of lesson plans, a syllabus, an annual school calendar and ELT goals.

The curriculum was collaboratively designed by EFL teachers within *Musyawarah Guru Mata Pelajaran Bahasa Inggris* (EFL Teachers Forum) or *MGMPBI*. This forum facilitated the sharing of lesson plans among EFL teachers from various schools within a shared district. They engaged in reciprocal feedback about the lesson plans. The monitoring and facilitation of this forum were carried out by the board of education at the district level. According to Widodo (2016), the board appointed proficient teachers to serve as teacher supervisors with the purpose of providing advice and oversight.

KTSP was inspired by several frameworks, including the prior curriculum (*KBK*), as well as the competency-based, communicative and systemic functional approaches. In contrast to *KBK*, which was mandated for comprehensive implementation, *KTSP* required each school to independently design, implement and assess its own curriculum with district board assistance. Notwithstanding the presence of school autonomy, the national education standards set by *Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan* (National Education Standard Agency) or *BSNP* formed the basis for *KTSP*. BSNP (2006) prescribed content, process and competency standards for teachers, school personnel, facilities,

funding, administration and assessment. Nevertheless, the MEC retained substantial jurisdiction over a nationwide assessment framework.

The implementation of the national standard and control of the assessment system deviated from the basic premise of *KTSP*, which was to provide schools with autonomy that aligned with the capacity of the respective region. Hence, it was a common practice for EFL teachers in most educational settings to align their instructional approaches with the national examination, which was designed based on the proficiency standards set by the policy-makers (Widodo, 2016). In consequence, a significant number of teachers demonstrated a lack of complete understanding of the idea and use of *KTSP* (Asri, 2017).

2.3.7. The 2013 Phase

To enhance educational standards and address global needs for skilled professionals of the workforce, the government introduced another curriculum in 2013 known as *Kurikulum 2013* (the 2013 Curriculum) or *K-13*. Based on Regulation Number 69/2013 issued by the MEC, the development of *K-13* was prompted by external challenges. Factors, such as the quality, investment and changes in the education system, the influence of technology as well as shifts in global economic power, all had a role in shaping these external challenges. *K–13* placed significant emphasis on scientific approaches via the incorporation of project-based learning, discovery-based learning and problem-based learning methodologies. It included cognitive (knowledge), affective (attitude) and psychomotor (skill) competencies. These competencies were attained by a combination of intra-curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities. *K-13* placed a greater emphasis on character education, resulting in the inclusion of two skills related to affective components—spiritual and social attitudes (Gunawan & Nurjanah, 2020). The remaining competencies were focused on cognitive and psychomotor components, which were categorised as core and basic competencies (MPKRI, 2014).

Within the framework of *K-13*, students were mandated to exhibit innovation, creativity and active engagement in problem-solving endeavours throughout their English learning within the

classroom settings. The primary goal of English language teaching in *K-13* was consistent with prior curricula, i.e. the enhancement of students' communicative English proficiency. Nevertheless, a discrepancy arose between the stated aims and the implemented practices. The students remained burdened with an excessive number of textual materials and were expected to understand, summarise and provide oral presentations on those materials in English language. They were also instructed to develop proficiency in structuring texts systematically and effectively via various activities in text construction. As well, a significant number of teachers had erroneous beliefs about *K-13*, mistakenly assuming that their role just entailed facilitating their students' learning of textual content (Asri, 2017). Regarding assessment, *K-13* prioritised both process- and product-based aspects, while maintaining a significant emphasis on cognitively demanding assessment methods that formally assessed students' skills (Widodo, 2016).

2.3.8*. The 2016 and 2018 Phases*

Since the introduction of *K-13* had several challenges, in 2016 the government developed *K-13 Revisi* (the Revised 2013 Curriculum). The curriculum underwent revision that encompassed the enhancement of teachers' capacities in conducting learning activities and assessments across affective, cognitive and psychomotor domains. Additionally, there was a focus on improving teachers' proficiency in developing learning tools (MPKRI, 2016). *K-13 Revisi* was reformed in 2018, resulting in modest modifications to the core and basic competences of the instructional content (MPKRI, 2018a).

Nevertheless, after undergoing two revisions, a study conducted by Astuti et al. (2018) identified many problems that hindered the implementation of *K-13 Revisi*. EFL teachers faced several challenges, including limited understanding of the curriculum implementation, the integration of information technology into English instruction, inappropriate learning models and assessment techniques for students and the creation of Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS) questions for English subject. Moreover, English subject in *K-13* along with its subsequent revisions are anticlimactic as a result of the government's decision to remove English as a mandatory subject

in primary schools. Additionally, despite the introduction of an elective English subject at senior secondary schools, the English learning time has been reduced from four to two hours each week. The strategy is justified by nationalism since it is predicated on the government's belief that primary school students should prioritise the study of their first language and culture before engaging with a foreign language and culture.

In Indonesia, there is a significant portion of the population that views English as a valuable tool for acquiring information and enhancing professional opportunities. However, there are concerns that the widespread adoption of English might pose a threat to local languages and the status of Indonesian as the unifying national language (Lauder, 2008). Nevertheless, the ambivalent attitude towards English might be attributed to a phenomenon known as "linguistic exolinguaphobia" or "language schizophrenia" (Kartono, 1976, p. 124). Furthermore, Dardjowidjojo (2003) argues against the notion that the proliferation of English language would impede the development of Indonesian language. According to him, it is erroneous to assume that English will completely supplant Indonesian, as well as the local dialects, cultural practices and societal values, given the complexities of real-world dynamics. The arguments against English persist in the absence of definitive data demonstrating that the study of a foreign language such as English diminishes students' feeling of national identity or has detrimental effects on Indonesian's standing.

2.3.9. The 2020 Phase

During the COVID-19 pandemic, which had a significant impact on all aspects of life worldwide, including the field of education, the MEC published a decree with the reference number 719/P/2020. This decree provides recommendations for the implementation of curriculum in educational institutions operating under exceptional circumstances (MPKRI, 2020). In response to the pandemic, the MEC developed a curriculum known as *Kurikulum Darurat* (Emergency Curriculum). This curriculum was designed as a shortened form of *K-13 Revisi*. To enable teachers to focus only on essential and foundational skills that students had to acquire, this curriculum minimised the emphasis on basic competences. As per the official order, the MEC granted schools

the authority to select the curriculum to be employed for instructional activities in exceptional circumstances such as the COVID-19 pandemic. This autonomy was granted via the provision of three distinct possibilities. Schools had the option to adopt one of three approaches regarding their curriculum. First, they might choose to adhere to the national curriculum, *K-13 Revisi*. Alternatively, they might choose to use *Kurikulum Darurat*, a simplified form of *K-13 Revisi*. Lastly, they had the autonomy to independently streamline *K-13 Revisi* according to their own needs. The rationale for the establishment of the policy was to grant schools autonomy to tailor the curriculum according to each student's unique learning needs.

Nevertheless, despite the simplification of *K-13 Revisi* during the COVID-19 epidemic, teachers faced several difficulties in delivering English instruction using online platforms. Several challenges were identified in the literature regarding online learning. These challenges encompassed various aspects, such as students' motivation towards online learning, students' economic circumstances, assessment methods, availability of learning facilities, time management, English grammar learning, development of instructional materials, pedagogical strategies, as well as internet connectivity (Anugrahana, 2020; Diana, 2021; Nasir & Muhamad, 2021; Prawanti & Sumarni, 2020; Rigianti, 2020; Suputra et al., 2020).

2.3.10. The 2022 Phase

Educational institutions in Indonesia have adopted a face-to-face learning approach since 2022 due to the generally steady control of COVID-19 pandemic. To address the learning deficits resulting from the pandemic, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (MECRT), formerly known as the MEC, has devised another curriculum—*Kurikulum Merdeka* (Emancipated Curriculum) or *KM*. This curriculum is an integral component of the educational policy known as *MB*.

The implementation of *KM* is grounded on the idea of diversification, which takes into account the students' needs, the specific circumstances of education units (schools) and the regional potential. This implies that educational institutions have the authority to exercise their autonomy in

selecting the curriculum they deem most suitable for implementation within their own schools, choosing from the three existing curricula—*K-13 Revisi*, *Kurikulum Darurat* and *KM* (MPKRTRI, 2022).

The curriculum implementation stage aims to acquaint educational institutions with the curriculum and embody the *MB* principles, granting schools the autonomy in interpreting, studying, and executing the curriculum. This approach aligns with the fundamental tenet of adaptable and uncomplicated curriculum development. Anggraena et al. (2022) assert that this approach is grounded in ethnographic data derived from monitoring, evaluation and feedback obtained from the pilot study of the KM prototype. The study was conducted by Anggraena et al. (2022) across over 3,000 education units, encompassing both primary and secondary schools, as part of *Program Sekolah Penggerak* (the Driving School Programme) or *PSP*. In general, the findings indicate that the educational institutions endeavoured to execute *KM*, but encountered significant levels of ambiguity throughout the implementation process. Furthermore, the study reveals that school administrators and teachers exhibited feelings of concern about the ethical implications of their practices. This finding suggests a strong connection between the accountability system and the process of policy implementation.

Under the *KM* framework, the government has reintroduced English as an optional subject at primary schools, while maintaining the mandatory English subject at senior secondary schools in line with K-13 Revisi, with a prescribed allocation of two hours per week. The principal objective of English learning is to enhance students' proficiency in using English throughout the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing, while integrating these skills within diverse discursive contexts. The least learning result for these skills should align with Level B1 of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), focusing on students' abilities to (1) sustain interaction and speak in many settings, (2) convey the main ideas in a comprehensive way and (3) continue communication even if there are periodic pauses.

Nevertheless, there is a discrepancy between the learning goals and the instructional approaches used in *KM*, similar to those seen in prior curricula. The primary and secondary schools

aim to equip students with English communication proficiency as a means of enhancing their life skills, whilst *KM* proposes the adoption of a Genre-Based Approach (GBA) or Text-Based Approach (TBA), which emphasises English learning through various modes such as written, oral, visual, audio and multi-modal forms (KBSKAP, 2022).

According to KBSKAP (2022), the process of GBA consists of four distinct phases, each of which ultimately leads to a comprehensive discussion centred around the same subject matter. The phases are building knowledge of the field, modelling of the text, joint construction of the text and independent construction of the text. *Building knowledge of the field* involves the development of knowledge domain. During this phase, teachers assist students in acquiring foundational knowledge and understanding the cultural context around the text under discussion. In *modelling of the text*, teachers provide students with a text sample serving as a reference point for the development of their own written and oral tasks. In *joint construction of the text*, teachers facilitate the collaborative building of the text and guide students to produce their own texts. Finally, in *independent construction of the text*, students autonomously produce their own written and spoken texts. The use of GBA serves the objective of facilitating communication at the textual level, rather than only at the sentence level. The inclusion of context inside a text is crucial for the purpose of bolstering the overall meaning, in conjunction with the individual sentences that comprise the text. Every written piece of text has a certain objective, which might include descriptive, explanatory, narrative or other purposes. However, although stated in the *KM* document that the approach used in the English learning is GBA, English learning can also use other relevant learning approaches (MPKRTRI, 2022).

The approaches used in *KM*, as well as the preceding English curricula (*K-13* and the revised versions), unequivocally demonstrate that the curricula's primary focus is on enhancing literacy skills. The rationale for this initiative is rooted in the curriculum goals, specifically aimed at addressing the Indonesian students' subpar PISA performance and effectively responding to external factors, e.g. the ongoing process of globalisation.

Table 2.1 furnishes a summary of the historical progression of the ELT curriculum in

Indonesia. This includes an examination of the distinctive features of each curriculum, as well as the way in which they were actually presented, as evidenced by the curriculum policies and various studies.

Table 2.1

History of ELT Curriculum Development in Indonesia (Astuti et al., 2018; Lie, 2007; MPKRI, 2020; MPKRTRI, 2022; Nur, 2003; Widodo, 2016; Yulaelawati, 2001)

Phase	Curriculum Name	Characteristics	Actual presentation/application
Post-colonial era			
1968	*Kurikulum 1968*	Audio-lingual approach	Reading skill
1975	*Kurikulum 1975*	Audio-lingual approach	Objective examination
1984	*CBSA*	Communicative approach	Discrete language skills oriented towards a test
1994	*KML*	Communicative content/meaning-based approach	Reading skill
Neoliberal era			
2004	*KBK*	Communicative competency-based approach	Textbook orientation
2006	*KTSP*	Systemic functional and communicative competency-based approaches; educational standard through *KKM*	National exam orientation
2013	*K-13*	Communicative and scientific approaches (problem-based learning, discovery-based learning and project-based learning); affective, cognitive and psychomotor aspects; *KKM;* process- and product-based assessments	Literacy skill; product-based/cognitive assessment
2016 & 2018	*K-13 Revisi*	Communicative and scientific approaches (problem-based learning, discovery-based learning and project-based learning); affective, cognitive and psychomotor aspects; *KKM*; HOTS test items	Literacy skill; product-based/cognitive assessment
2020	*Kurikulum Darurat*	A condensed version of *K–13 Revisi*	Literacy skill; product-based/cognitive assessment
2022	*KM*	GBA/TBA in a variety of modes (audio, visual, oral, written and multi-modes); listening, speaking, reading and writing skills in a variety of discourses	Literacy skill

2.4. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has presented the contextual contribution to the knowledge base regarding neoliberalism in education, as well as an overview of the education and English curriculum reforms in Indonesia. The English curriculum reforms are not reviewed in detail as this study does not focus on analysing curriculum content and implementation. However, this chapter has clearly shown that neoliberal ideology has effectively prompted reforms in curricula at the national level.

Neoliberalism, characterised by its market-oriented principles and approaches, is persistently exerting its influence on the global education landscape. As argued in this chapter, it has had a notable impact in Indonesia, thereby transforming the professional lives of teachers, which include their practices, identity and agency. The subsequent chapter thus addresses the literature on teacher professional practices, identity and agency.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

This chapter reviews the body of literature underlying this study. There are nine sections in this chapter. The first section addresses an understanding of teacher professional practices. In this section, I discuss what constitutes effective teacher practices in a general context as well as in Indonesian context, as stated in the Indonesian policy space. The second section further examines EFL teacher professional practices in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms. The third and fourth sections cover teacher identity, which includes its conceptualisation and some perspectives on identity construction. The fifth and sixth sections review an understanding of teacher agency, as well as the conditions that enable and constrain teacher agency. The chapter then conceptualises teacher professional practices, identity and agency within the context of this study. Findings from previous ELT studies that are relevant to this study are also reviewed across sections, with specific focus on relevant ELT studies in the Indonesian school context being discussed in the eighth section. The final section highlights the disparity between the pertinent ELT studies and the focus of this particular study.

3.1. Understanding Teacher Professional Practices

A public perspective has a propensity to view teacher professional practices as being solely confined to classroom (Pasassung, 2003). This might be due to an educational tradition that has been passed down via teacher education programmes and has a stereotyped image of a teacher as someone who teaches—leads lessons or provides instructional materials.

According to Turney et al. (1986), teacher education programmes primarily concentrate on teacher classroom practices, particularly in terms of full-class instruction, ignoring the crucial practices teachers carry out outside of the classrooms. This suggests that we should no longer think of teacher practices in terms of merely intra-curricular activities, but also taking into account various co- and extracurricular activities that happen outside the classroom. Therefore, teacher practices

involve three domains—the classroom, the school and the community. From a practical standpoint, the notion of teacher practices put forward by Turney et al. (1986) is idealistic because teachers carry out their practices for institutional, professional, socio-cultural and personal reasons. This means that teacher practices are not only performed in academic settings. What teachers do in the classroom consists of various practices that are attributed to them, including pedagogical and assessment practices (Turney et al., 1986). This implies that a teacher's primary practice is to help students learn and gain from what they are taught.

Lampert (1998) also asserts that a teacher practice is a cognitive practice. It primarily involves challenging and knowledge-intensive tasks that need both academic competence and interpersonal skills (Toom & Husu, 2018). It necessitates ongoing decision making and problem solving in many and ever-evolving interactive scenarios (Borko, 2004). Today, it has expanded to include school and pedagogical developments in collaboration with other professionals and colleagues associated with schools (Vangrieken et al., 2015), as well as engagement with communities in close proximity to schools and parents (Ilomäki et al., 2017) because teachers do, in fact, have social responsibilities as well. In some circumstances, they work together with and within a larger community (Pasassung, 2003).

In summarising language teacher practices, Bailey and Nunan (1996, p. 11) note that language teaching involves "doing, thinking and interpreting," rather than just "doing." This suggests that language teaching is a dynamic process that calls for language teachers to carefully evaluate and analyse materials, circumstances and their students' language needs in order to respond appropriately.

Across countries, English language teacher practices might vary depending on the policies of each country. In the Indonesian context, EFL teacher practices include such activities as arranging and undertaking the English teaching and learning activities, engaging students in their English learning, keeping records to improve, assess, monitor and manage student learning, providing constructive feedback to students, using students' results for evaluation, providing reports, being

responsible for their own professional development and learning, including developing their English knowledge and teaching skills, working collaboratively and cooperatively with others to reach goals, as well as establishing and preserving effective and secure learning environments (PRI, 2005).

From all the various practices of teachers, English language teachers might shape their own concepts about what constitutes effective practices based on their individual attitudes, beliefs, ideologies, intuition, knowledge, values, school and teaching experience, as well as formal professional education (Naidoo, 2012). Generally, effective practices mean that teachers demonstrate strong performance and competencies, undertake the work responsibly, show commitment in their professional practices, participate in professional development programmes, update themselves with the current issues and engage with community positively through interactions with their colleagues and students by using various resources to develop their knowledge and skills (Kenyon-Smith, 2017; Tanang & Abu, 2014; Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005). They should make informed decisions on how to improve learning in the best ways and respond to the individual students' needs (Darling-Hammond, 2008). As intellectuals, they search for new insights and understanding and forge new ways when teaching and learning becomes a challenge (Pillay & Govinden, 2007) and, by doing so, they develop their capabilities to address challenges and transform the curriculum and classroom practices (Naidoo, 2012). All of these involve not only a technical or cognitive aspect, but also a social, personal and often complex set of embedded practices and processes concerning the teacher as a whole individual (Britzman, 2003).

Professionally, teachers should set the highest standard for optimum practices (Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005), be true to their discipline's intellectual demands and be capable of analysing the needs of their students, as well as having a thorough understanding of the subjects they teach, being aware of the professional standards and being aware that they are accountable for meeting their students' needs (Wise, 1989). These explanations clearly illustrate that teacher professional practices are advanced and complex undertakings.

English language teacher practices are never static due to the adaptation, modification and interpretation of their work based on the contextualised factors, learners' needs and subject matter (Naidoo, 2012). For example, due to the rise of neoliberalism in English education, which is associated with English as a global language and reforms in different fields (Kubanyiova, 2020), English language teachers experience many challenges in their professional practices to prepare students for employment in dynamic, diverse and expanded neoliberal contexts. Therefore, this issue and its associated literature are presented in the next section.

3.2. EFL Teacher Professional Practices in Neoliberal Times

Neoliberalism, the most recent form of capitalism (Harvey, 2005), has served as a focal point for critical studies for more than 20 years, not only in the economics, but also in the education field (Giroux, 2005). It has drawn significant attention in recent years to the area of foreign language teaching and learning as this field is increasingly defined in economic terms (Bori, 2020). Neoliberalism affects language teaching in different forms. The most overt manifestation of neoliberalism is the expanded view of language as merely a tool for future economic success or as a work skill (Shin, 2016). In this context, Block and Grey (2016) note the major impacts of neoliberalism, including an extremely instrumental conception of English and the discrediting and deskilling of language teachers.

Neoliberalism has forced education around the globe to reorganise itself. The reorganisation of education under the influence of neoliberalism appears to compel students, teachers and the whole school community to perceive themselves as substantially isolated in competition through standardised test-based merit systems with other students, teachers and schools, involving a variety of sanctions for failure to improve their performance (Lipman, 2006). Standards-based accountability has become the essence of neoliberal policy-making in education, which shapes and normalises what constitutes teachers' professionalism, practices and relationships with students, teachers, parents and the public (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011). Certain professional practices that teachers are

required to follow in order to maintain their legitimacy are a result of accountability-based policies, which focus on what can be compared, standardised and quantified (Buchanan, 2015).

Since teacher professional practices have evolved dramatically in recent years, it is tempting to consider them through the lens of education reforms. The reorganisation of education which results in curriculum reforms has a capacity to change teacher practices (Hughes, 1999; Seddon, 1997). The effect of the reforms can continue beyond teachers' daily practices, changing the nature of these practices (Hughes, 1999). Although the breadth of teacher practices is generally acknowledged, the meaning of these changes is debated. Two of the broadest explanations of this debate are those of *intensification* and *deprofessionalisation*.

Teacher practices, especially related to curriculum, are complex (Connell, 1985). Curriculum reforms intensify teacher work (Hargreaves, 1994) as teachers have to overwrite the former curriculum that they were accustomed to and to learn the new one (Connell, 2009). In her study, Hughes (1999) found that the increased workloads depicted the washback impact of educational reforms with regard to changes in reporting and assessment. Another study by Comber and Nixon (2009, p. 339) found that educational reforms related to standardised tests were described as the "quantification of quality" and were not developing teacher professionalism; instead, they made teacher practices more time-consuming. Furthermore, according to Hargreaves (1994), teacher practices are becoming more intensified, and teachers need to comply with multiple innovations and react to greater pressures either under best circumstances or at worst deteriorating circumstances. Within this perspective, expanded professionalism is a strategy used to get teachers to voluntarily participate in their own exploitation as they are required to exert more and more effort. These changes to the nature of teacher practices can be seen as intensification (Hargreaves, 1994).

One idea behind intensification is derived from Larson's (1980) theory of labour process. Larson states that intensification is one of the most obvious ways that shows how educated workers' work privileges are eroded. Some of Larson's discussions of intensification contain the claims that

intensification results in teachers' lack of time to develop their skills and unrelenting and chronic overload.

Another concept of intensification by Apple and Jungck (1990) shows that intensification has led to longer working hours, an increase of administrative and assessment tasks, as well as elimination of chances for more imaginative and creative practices. According to Apple and Jungck's study, one specific impact of intensification on the quality and meaning of teacher practices is the decrease in opportunity and time for teachers to demonstrate connectedness to and care for their students due to their preoccupation with assessment and administrative burdens. They further state that the growing intensification and mechanisation of the teacher practices is misinterpreted as a symbol of teachers' enhanced professionalism.

Arguments organised around the intensification of teacher practices also develop from Marxist theory of labour process (see Hill, 2001; Marx & Engels, 1974; Shannon, 2006). Marx and Engels (1974, p. 17) name the intensification of teacher practices as the "alienation" of labour. In Marx and Engels' explanation of what constitutes the alienation of labour, the neoliberal environment that dominates schools today is described as 'external' to teachers, which is not in accordance with their nature; consequently, they feel distressed, unhappy and unsatisfied with their practices, become mentally depleted and physically exhausted and cannot freely develop their mental and physical energies because their practices are imposed from outside.

All of the arguments around intensification highlight major trends towards a de-professionalisation and deterioration of teacher practices. In accounts of de-professionalisation and deterioration, teachers' work is described as becoming more de-skilled and routinised, more like the substandard work of labourers and less like the work of independent professionals who are expected to hone their expertise and use their judgement in their classrooms as they know best (Barth, 1990). Teachers have been increasingly governed by mandated programmes, prescribed curricula and detailed instructions (Densmore, 1987). Arguments around the principle of professionalisation have put emphasis on the realisation of higher teacher professionalism through

expansion of teachers' roles (Hargreaves, 1994). In this account, teaching is becoming more skilled and more complex.

The everyday impact of neoliberalism on English language teachers can vary in its scope and scale. Vinson and Ross (2006) state that teachers (who teach any subjects, including English) in neoliberal conditions are governed through prescribed curricula, administrative burdens and most particularly test scores. They were hindered from advancing their professional skills by prescribed curriculum demands (Starkey, 2010; Williams, 2018). According to Williams' (2018) study on the integration of spoken word poetry by English language teachers in the USA, some teachers were unable to integrate this art form into their pedagogical practices due to a number of secondary school curriculum mandates. Similar to this, Starkey (2010) noted how New Zealand's beginning secondary school teachers were hindered from incorporating technology into their lessons since it was viewed as peripheral to the main subjects covered in the curriculum.

With regard to administrative burdens, a study by Basalama (2010) on EFL teachers in Indonesia found that as part of a curriculum, the lesson plans that the teachers made became one of the factors affecting their professional practices because they had to make detailed lesson plans and develop teaching and learning materials not only in written forms, but also in spoken forms, as English is not the first language in Indonesia. Therefore, they regarded their work as heavier than that of teachers teaching other subjects. For them, teaching EFL created additional work. However, no matter how detailed the lesson plans prepared by the teachers were, they could not be implemented in the actual English classroom practices because their lesson plans were merely made for administrative purposes, instead of being prepared for use in the classroom.

In addition to all the complexities of teacher practices, the primary areas of knowledge that English language teachers are required to possess to perform their practices include familiarity with English structures and culturally relevant pedagogies in connection to the theoretical knowledge basis for teaching English (Kubanyiova, 2020). However, in the neoliberal times, English language teacher professional practices are changing. Teaching language(s) with subject-matter expertise is

now a requirement for language teachers (Johnson & Golombek, 2020). Therefore, understanding the materials and knowing how to utilise them to teach English has become a crucial part of the English teaching knowledge base. Moreover, in order to effectively advocate for the teachers and communities of language learners who are under-served by the socio-political system, language teachers have to be responsive meaning-makers (Kubanyiova, 2020).

New approaches in conceptualising pedagogy are shaped by the changes in the redefined classroom content of English curriculum. For instance, it is becoming more common for English to be taught alongside other content areas (Johnson & Golombek, 2020) using approaches like Content-Based Language Teaching (CBLT), Content-Based Instruction (CBI), Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and Text-Based Approach (TBA), the approach currently employed in the English curriculum in Indonesia (see Chapter 2). Additionally, there are tendencies in bilingual or multilingual education in which teachers are expected to consider how languages might be combined with these other content areas in their teaching practices (Fielding, 2015).

The need for students to advance and achieve their success in their disciplines has resulted in a growing demand for both Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) within language teaching (Cummins, 2008). This has had an impact on English teaching methodology. Furthermore, there is a growing expectation for English language teachers to deliver their lessons utilising web-based technology (Nguyen, 2019). As part of their evolving responsibilities, English language teachers are now required to deliver instruction that is both culturally and linguistically relevant (Lucas & Villegas, 2013). Consequently, English language teacher practices increasingly involve extremely culturally varied tasks that require various types of knowledge, abilities and experience than in the past. These tasks relate not only to English instruction but also to the fields of curriculum and technology implementation in order to ensure students' success. With these changing demands, unlike 20 years ago, the majority of English language teachers now work in environments outside their "inner circle" and engage in new types of teaching (Freeman, 2020, p. 9).

The challenges and wide range of settings that English language teachers are required to operate in are the primary hurdles in their professional practices in the neoliberal age. English language teachers are being pushed into complex and demanding professional practices and instructional contexts by the globalisation of English (Johnson & Golombek, 2020). Arguably, some tasks always take up a large amount of teachers' emotion and time. In this age of managerialism and market forces, teaching is like a labour process and has often been intense (Gewirtz, 1997). This mainstream labour process theory has been extensively marked by an emphasis on teacher identity and agency and their impact on practices (Marks & Thompson, 2010), which the next sections now turn to.

3.3. Understanding Teacher Identity

While scholars from different fields of study define identity differently as it is a multifaceted and complex notion, the definitions have some similarities in that identity generally refers to an understanding of oneself as a person and as a member of familial, institutional, social or cultural groups (Danielewicz, 2001; Smith, 2006). Identity, according to Maclure (1993), is something that individuals use to make sense, explain and justify themselves within the situations where they operate and where they are in connection with other individuals. It is described as the essence of the self, expressed as representations that are recognisable by individuals themselves or by others, signified through lifestyles, attitudes and beliefs based on the interpretations of their ongoing interactions in a context (Barker, 2004; Canrinus et al., 2011; Gee, 2001, & Tickle, 2000). Identity is generated within a rich and complicated system of relations of practices, which accounts for its rich complexity (Wenger, 1998). Finally, it might be summed up as the ways in which individuals identify themselves or how they see and imagine themselves as individuals in their social interactions (Jenkins, 1996; Ottensen, 2007).

Some theoretical perspectives on identity (e.g. Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Duff & Uchida, 1997) note that identity is changing, multiple and relational in context. It is not a stable entity that individuals possess. It is multiple, meaning that an individual might have more than one identity at

the same time (Afrianto, 2015). For example, a female English language teacher, depending on the contexts, might not only hold an identity as a teacher, but also hold other identities as a daughter for her parents, a wife for her husband, a mother for her children, a friend for her colleagues or a member for her community association. In a professional context, English language teachers might also have multiple identities, as with EFL teachers in Afrianto's (2015) study who had multiple identities as multi- skilled beings with a set of competencies and multiple role agents, which they specified as English knowledge transmitters and moral educators.

Identity is also relational in that it is produced in interactions with other people and the world (Beijaard et al., 2004). It is a social construct; hence, it cannot exist in a vacuum since it is closely tied to political, cultural and social settings that influence teachers' professional development, engagement with education reforms and professional practices (Beijaard et al., 2004; Duff & Uchida, 1997). This shows that teachers, whom Kelly (2006, p. 507) refers to as "social beings," constantly remodel their conceptions of themselves in their professional practices in connection with others, workplace traits, professional goals and teaching culture (Clandinin & Connelly, 1996).

Miller (2009) emphasises the significance of identity of language teachers by positioning it at the core of language teaching and learning. Varghese et al. (2005) also assert that in order to fully grasp language teacher identity, it is crucial to integrate the notions of two categories of identity: claimed identity and assigned identity. They refer to Buzzelli and Johnston's (2002) difference between the two broad categories of identity with regard to individuals' conceptions of themselves. As opposed to claimed identity, the identity that is claimed by someone without being imposed or given by others, assigned identity is one that is imposed or given by others (Buzzelli & Johnston, 2002).

Teacher identity is the way teachers see themselves and their responsibilities or roles in their work environments, whereas teachers' roles are what teachers do in their professional practices (Keiler, 2018). For example, teachers might continue to serve as subject matter experts in

the classroom; hence, their identity mediates how they carry out that job, such as through acting as a content resource (Keiler, 2018). Keiler's definition of teacher identity advances the claim made by Grier and Johnston (2009) that teacher identity is founded upon the basic idea that teachers have about being teachers and about teaching that is constantly growing and changing depending on professional and personal experiences.

To understand these claimed and assigned identities, multiple perspectives in identity construction need to be presented because in their professional lives teachers might have more than one identity. Therefore, the next section discusses this issue drawing on different theories about identity construction.

3.4. Perspectives on Identity Construction

This section reviews several perspectives in understanding how language teachers form their identity. According to the social identity theory, individuals' identity construction is based on their membership in groups (Tajfel, 1978). To put it another way, the nature of the groups to which someone belongs might define and shape a part of who s/he is. From this perspective, identity is thus defined as the distinctive characteristics that belong to a certain person or are shared by all members of a certain social group or category (Naz et al., 2011). The focus on the distinctive characteristics in defining identity further encourages the recognition of certain types of identity that might be distinguished and asserted in accordance with various socio-cultural categories, such as nation states, ethnicity, gender and occupation (Bamberg, 2010). Identity is then categorised in literature as national, ethnic, socio-cultural, personal and professional identities based on these categories, as discussed in the following.

3.4.1. National Identity

Language is a crucial factor in the formation of national identity in many nations. People in a country possess a sense of national identity in countries where there is a formalised national language of the country and where this is used to encourage a sense of national unity through

language (Basalama, 2010). As concluded in Demirezen's (2007) study, the shape of national identity of non-native teachers of English is highly influenced by the employment of a standard national language since it serves as the identity of the country and as the most recognised emblem of the nationhood.

In the case of Indonesia, because the Indonesian language was established as the country's official language in 1928, a strong sense of national identity has linked language and identity for most Indonesians. All institutions have formally used Indonesian since 1928. Being the language of national unity, Indonesian language plays a crucial role in the country's growth (Alisjahbana, 1975). It serves to bring the numerous ethnic groups with varied linguistic and cultural traditions together.

3.4.2. Ethnic or Community Identity

Language teachers might also have ethnic or community identities (Suryani et al., 2018), while constructing their teacher identity. The language spoken by an ethnic group can be used to identify the group in many locations where other similar ethnic groups coexist. Demirezen (2007) states that being a part of a community gives one a sense of ethnic identity. Additionally, according to Demirezen, individuals' experiences of belonging to a community and having a sense of shared characteristics of a single language variation is what causes them to be attached to the ethnic language.

An ethnic, regional language or dialect is frequently used to indicate a sense of belonging as a member of an ethnic community. Each member of the social group develops an ethnic speech pattern as a result of living together and sharing the collective heritage traits of the same dialect. Ethnic speech patterns refer to the way teachers use the language to represent their self-perception and set themselves apart from others by virtue of their ethnicity (Eastman, 1990).

3.4.3. Socio-Cultural Identity

In terms of the socio-cultural identity of language teachers (Duff & Uchida, 1997), its development involves two aspects: social identity (Morgan, 2004) and cultural identity (Norton,

1997). Social identity is interconnected social structures and traits (e.g. hobbies, profession, family and gender), whereas cultural identity is connected to specific cultural communities or groups (e.g. religious and regional or ethnic communities or groups). Demirezen (2007) explains that cultural identity is defined as the sense of self due to being a part of a nation, community or group that has many things in common, such as beliefs, values, attitudes and customs.

Additionally, Petkova (2005) asserts that it might be challenging to distinguish between social and cultural identities. The phrase *socio-cultural identity* was created as a result of the difficulties in making a clear difference between the two aspects (social and cultural aspects). Socio-cultural identity acknowledges the connection between individuals and others in a socio-cultural network, such as society, community and family, who are probably of a similar ethnicity, lead similar lifestyles and speak the same language. A school is viewed as a socio-cultural setting that is significant in the formation of individuals' identity, which includes teacher professional identity.

The aspects of identity construction from a socio-cultural perspective suggested by Wenger (1998) include a learning trajectory, negotiated experience, relation between the local and the global, community membership and nexus of multi-membership. Identity involves a learning trajectory because teachers define who they are based on their past experiences and future plans. It involves a negotiated experience in that teachers determine who they are based on how they experience themselves via involvement and how they and others reify themselves. In making connections between the local and the global, teachers negotiate local means of becoming a part of larger constellations and of embodying larger discourses and styles. This is how they define who they are. In community membership and nexus of multi-membership, teachers define who they are respectively, based on the unfamiliar and the familiar and on how they integrate different kinds of membership into one identity.

3.4.4. Personal Identity

Personal identity is related to the notion of self that cannot exist independently but is instead socially constructed as it is created via social interactions (Mead, 1962). This means that

personal identity can only exist within a social context. To understand individuals' self-image, social identity is essential; hence, social identity and personal identity are intertwined (Liebkind, 1999).

For instance, language teacher personal identity and the commitment to the language(s) that teachers use are inextricably linked to larger social attitudes of the language(s) in question. Their personal identity begins to form when they enrol in language teacher education and develops throughout personal formation and growth in their lives (Kubota, 2001; Norton, 1997; Pennington, 2002; Pennycook, 1994). It has a significant role in the construction of their professional identity that occurs throughout their professional practices (Korthagen, 2004).

3.4.5. Professional Identity

In the written works on identity and teachers, the most crucial perspective of identity to consider is teacher professional identity. While there are various underlying tensions with teacher identity, which include the dynamics of cultural and professional identities, Johnston (2003) examines an EFL teacher in Japan and argues that professional identity is the most potent.

Teacher professional identity is how teachers represent themselves in their professional practices, either to themselves or to others, through the values, beliefs, resources and discourses used in their profession (Maclean & White, 2007). It offers a framework in which teachers might create their own concepts of "how to understand" their work, "how to be," and "how to act" in society (Sachs, 2005, p. 15).

Teacher professional identity is neither something that teachers bring, already well constructed, into their practices, nor something that accidentally appears due to the acquisition of certain knowledge or skills (Lave, 1996; Wenger, 1998). Instead, it is developed as teachers engage in practices. This is what Varghese et al. (2005) term as *identity-in-practice*, referring to identity that is observable in teacher practices. The identity-in-practice concept gives an idea of a mutual relationship between teacher identity and practices. Identity and practices are so closely entwined that changes to one will inevitably have an impact on the other (Kanno & Stuart, 2011).

Language teacher professional identity will be reflected in and constructed by the pedagogical choices that teachers make and is important in establishing their pedagogical patterns and practices (Cowie & Sakui, 2012). For example, Scotland (2014) investigated the pedagogical adaptation made by EFL teachers in Qatari educational institutions. The findings demonstrated a connection between their pedagogy and identity. Their identity was also shaped by their sense of agency which served as a mediator in the interactions between their pre-existing identity and their institutional environment. A community of practices where language teachers learn by exchanging understanding about the ways of being and doing in the community might help to shape and build their professional identity (Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Teacher professional identity is formed and developed by conditions and through the circumstances provided by the situational conditions which are consistently dynamic and established in the process of interactions in the work setting inside schools and in more extended networks (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009). For instance, Han (2017) and Scotland (2014) state that educational systems and policies are related to EFL teacher identity. Han (2017) investigated the identity of Korean EFL teachers based on their reactions to the ELT-related policies and curriculum. The results of this study show that a number of identities, which included national identity, gender identity, personal identity, learner identity, public servant identity, teacher identity and EFL teacher identity, were ingrained in the professional identity of the teachers.

Teacher professional identity is neither fixed nor imposed; rather, it is negotiated via experience and how that experience is interpreted (Sachs, 2005). It is not context-free, but connected to various factors, not only economic, contextual, institutional, social and cultural factors, but also individual and religious beliefs, knowledge, learning investment, self-efficacy, intentionality, purposes, level of commitment and motivation, attitude or behaviour which includes teaching behaviour, emotions, personal development, social beliefs and expectations, as well as attitudes to gender, socialisation, job effectiveness and satisfaction, others' recognition and general perceptions of what teachers should know and do (Basalama, 2010; Beijaard et al., 2004; Chong et al., 2011;

Cowie & Sakui, 2012; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Pennington, 2002; Yazan & Peercy, 2018). All of these denote that what teachers discover as important in their professional lives and practices depends on their personal backgrounds and experiences that they gain through all these factors.

According to Buchanan (2015), to some extent teacher identity can be potentially shifted by teacher agency, and teacher agency is the manifestation of teacher identity. Edwards (2015) characterises this connection as the interwoven relationship between identity and agency. In addition, Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) underline that if a researcher wishes to develop a more comprehensive image of teacher identity, it is essential to take into account the concept of teacher agency. As found in Sanczyk's (2020) study, English language teachers' perceptions of themselves or identity as a result of their experiences might enable or constrain their practices and capacity to act (agency). The next section then discusses an understanding of teacher agency, followed by another section discussing the conditions that can enable and constrain EFL teacher professional agency.

3.5. Understanding Teacher Agency

A shift towards the teachers being the focal point of curriculum development is signalled by recent curriculum regulations with accountability systems and other types of output regulations of teacher professional practices in many nations. This increasing focus on teachers is often directly linked to their agency, which is frequently constrained by aspects of the environments in which they operate.

A sense of agency is thought to be ingrained in humans and has been generally acknowledged in prior studies to separate humans from animals (Basalama, 2010). For instance, Taylor (1977) argues that while self-reflection and self-evaluation do not occur in animals, they are possible for humans. According to Bandura (1997), this agency starts in early infancy. Being able to act and exert control over something is a sign of agency. The newborns must acquire self-recognition, so that they might consider what they can and cannot accomplish, as well as any possible outcomes of their actions.

Furthermore, Bandura (1997) states that the essence of agency is individual's deliberate activities to attain his/her goals. This indicates that the individual's ability to act is what constitutes his/her sense of agency, i.e. the individual is being empowered to do things (Basalama, 2010). When describing agency, Lightfoot (1986) links the chances to practise agency with the idea of empowerment. In Lightfoot's description, when an individual has agency, s/he acts, might choose to act, bears responsibility for it and has control over it. This definition of agency is derived from the sociological idea of agency, which sees agency as a property or capacity living in an individual (Priestley et al., 2015). However, understanding agency from an ecological perspective, which sees agency in concrete settings, is what interests me in understanding the agency of teachers in this study (see Biesta & Tedder, 2006).

Despite viewing agency as teachers' capacity or property, the ecological concept views agency as a phenomenon that emerges from ecological circumstances through which the agency is practised (Biesta & Tedder, 2006). From an ecological perspective, the idea of agency emphasises how an individual always acts through his/her environment rather than simply in it. As a result, agency will always be achieved through the interactions of individual efforts, resources that are available, as well as structural and contextual aspects that come into play in particularly unique circumstances (Biesta & Tedder, 2007; Priestley et al., 2015). Biesta and Tedder (2006) state that agency, or autonomy in Archer's (2000) terms, is the individual's ability to critically modify his/her reactions to challenging circumstances. It is something an individual does, or to be more accurate, something s/he achieves, not something s/he can have (Biesta & Tedder, 2006). It refers to a characteristic of how an individual interacts with temporal-relational environments for actions rather than a characteristic of the individual himself/herself. This perspective on agency in this context offers me some understanding of how an individual is empowered and hindered by his/her material and social circumstances, as well as how an individual is capable of being reflective and creative while acting in defiance of society's norms.

From the understanding of agency, teacher agency refers to agency that is explicitly considered with regard to teachers' activities in schools (Priestley et al., 2015). This is what is known as teacher professional agency—agency that is practised when school communities or teachers make choices, take stances and exert influence in ways that have an impact on their identity and professional practices (Eteläpelto et al., 2013). To put it another way, it is teachers' capacity to use their control over the quality and nature of their professional lives and to critically shape responses to problematic situations (Bandura, 2001; Biesta & Tedder, 2006; Goller & Paloniemi, 2017).

As seen in the ecological perspective as temporal, teacher professional agency emerges as a temporally embedded process of social interactions between teachers and other individuals of various structural settings (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). It is also relational (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998) in the ecological perspective; hence, in supporting it, a collegial community (e.g. English language teachers' community) is important because within the community teachers might have more in-depth discussions about educational challenges, co-design and modify instructional materials, supplement another teacher's class (e.g. through collaborative English teaching) and strengthen their relationships with other teachers (Nguyen & Dang, 2021; Pappa et al., 2019).

Emirbayer and Mische (1998) argue that teacher professional agency does not come spontaneously but develops through patterns of actions, past achievements and understanding, routinely incorporated in practices, thereby helping to sustain identity and interactions. It is associated with teachers' decisions and actions, work practices, student learning (Finley, et al. 2000; Goller & Harteis, 2017; Goller & Paloniemi, 2017) and the qualities that teachers bring to classroom practices, which comprise beliefs, identity and values (Archer, 2000).

To exist or be realised within continuously evolving contexts over time, professional agency depends on the interactions between what teachers bring to the situations or conditions and what situations or conditions bring to them, which encourage or inhibit (Priestley et al., 2015). According to Priestley et al. (2013), some teachers might be innovative and reflexive, working against societal constraints in response to the difficulties they face in these circumstances, while others might be

enabled and constrained by their material and social settings. The notion that teacher agency is impacted by their experiences in certain conditions or contexts is a further implication of this. These conditions, with an emphasis on English language teacher professional agency, are unpacked from literature across different studies presented in the following section.

3.6. Conditions Enabling and Constraining English Language Teacher Professional Agency

The conditions under which English language teachers work both can support and constrain their professional agency in complex ways (Chisholm et al., 2019), as explained in the following.

3.6.1. Conditions Enabling English Language Teacher Professional Agency

As found in different studies, access to resources (e.g. material resources), administrative support (including professional development), interpersonal relationships or collaborations, as well as teachers' confidence and expertise, can support English language teacher professional agency. All of these conditions are explained below.

3.6.1.1. Access to Resources. Studies on the professional agency of English language teachers emphasise the advantages of having access to a wider variety of resources, which include mentorship and time, in contrast to the popular belief that funding is the most-needed resource in education. For instance, Weaven and Clark (2015) examined the reasons behind secondary English language teachers' refusal to include poetry in their classes in spite of the apparent advantages that studying poetry would seem to have for students. The authors argue that to consider their classroom complexity, teachers required resources and a non-restrictive but clear curriculum that could foster their creativity, i.e. a curriculum that legitimised poetry to be taught in classes without prescribing particular poems to be taught and particular ways of teaching the poems. Teachers can practise their professional agency if they obtain what they need and have the conviction that they possess the authority to do so (Starkey, 2010).

Lopez (2011) also emphasises the significance of mentorship and time for reflection. Lopez specifically mentions that mentorship encouraging and offering spaces outside the conventional

expert-protégé mentorship relationship where tensions can be unpacked would be beneficial for teacher agency.

3.6.1.2. Administrative Support. In addition to providing tangible resources, researchers also emphasise the significance of administrative assistance in order for English language teachers to express their professional agency at the most fundamental level. This includes professional development experiences (Chisholm et al., 2019). For example, administrative assistance for a writing project had a beneficial impact on teacher agency, according to Whitney (2008), while Starkey (2010) emphasises the significance of administrative assistance for facilities utilisation.

Baker-Doyle and Gustavson's (2016) study found that teachers were willing to explore new things if they were given freedom by the administrators. Their findings suggest that teachers used the idea of permission, which is frequently perceived as being disempowering, to support the development of their professional agency and risk-taking in their teaching. Similar to this, as found in Pease-Alvarez and Samway's (2008) study, when teachers were confronted with a top-down prescribed curriculum, even very experienced teachers frequently justified the implementation of agency in the programme's tweaking by referring to the programme's administrators' approval, not to their own expertise.

As reported by Francois (2014), the impact of professional development experiences was extended when the principals provided an opportunity and administrative assistance for teachers who joined the professional development programmes to share their experiences with other colleagues. Charteris (2016) also emphasises the empowerment of teachers that came from treating them as co-leaders of a new assessment project. When Dierking and Fox (2013) examined the professional development experience in an intensive writing project, they discovered that the participation in a writing project and the availability of other instructional resources increased teachers' confidence in their abilities to broaden their knowledge through consistent writing strategies and practices that they learned from the project. They also found that networks of assistance were much more helpful to teachers than the cutting-edge approaches for teaching

writing that they learned during the project, and knowledge alone was insufficient to boost teacher professional agency. In fact, the new knowledge combined with multi-level support networks throughout social settings strengthened teachers' sense of agency.

3.6.1.3. Interpersonal Relationships/Collaborations. Another condition that supports English language teacher professional agency is interpersonal relationships or collaborations. These interpersonal connections or collaborations happen through professional development opportunities between schools and within the community.

As shown by Bender-Slack (2010) in their research, activism beyond English classes was highlighted by English language teachers when they involved their students in a social project in a community. Another study by Lopez (2011) found that a university English researcher and an English language teacher working together for collaborative mentorships became a key form of assistance in implementing culturally relevant pedagogy to encourage teacher enquiry. Francois (2014) also discusses a collaborative school-wide initiative that aids in the development of teacher agency and promotes a culture of literacy. Francois notes that when teachers show agency, they anticipate that their teaching will affect students' learning because they think that they have the authority and responsibility to act. In this situation, administrators and teachers can collaborate to grow and to be their own team of collaboration facilitators.

When teachers collaborating in groups begin to see themselves as crucial to their colleagues' professional growth, their agentive practices are encouraged (Simpson, 2017). In Simpson's (2017) study, participating in teacher enquiry groups of collaborative meaning-making helped three Australian urban primary school teachers use their pedagogical agency. They worked together to discover how to employ prompts to challenge, question and support students during discussions in order to enhance their literature-based assessment. With regard to how students and teachers engaged, discussions changed from being monologic to dialogic. Teachers saw how they supported the professional growth of others and strengthened their agency by working as an enquiry group. Simpson credits teachers' choices to use agentive teaching strategies for the enhanced learning

outcomes achieved by primary school students through dialogic discussions. Simpson argues, then, that teacher professional agency mediates student learning and teaching quality.

3.6.1.4. Teachers' Confidence and Expertise. Teachers' confidence and expertise are the most commonly stated factors enabling the implementation of English language teacher professional agency (Chisholm et al., 2019). According to a study by Huang and Yip (2021), teachers' positive attitudes towards developing a strong sense of agency were influenced by how optimistic they felt about their future career as teachers. Teachers can practise their agency even in difficult situations because of their confidence and expertise (Chisholm et al., 2019). For example, in their study, Dierking and Fox (2013) reported that the improved self-assurance of teachers gave them the freedom to experiment with different strategies when the classes were not working as usual and to develop their assessment approaches.

Buchanan (2015) identifies that teachers' prior professional experiences significantly affect the agency that teachers exercise in response to the challenges posed by policy decisions. According to Baker-Doyle and Gustavson (2016), teachers' growing skills at one school could change the way teachers exercise their professional agency throughout the whole school community. For example, administrators at a school considered a teacher as an expert because she had a long-term cooperation with a local university; hence, her practice of asking for approval before implementing new concepts across the school was valued by the administrators (Baker-Doyle & Gustavson, 2016).

3.6.2. Conditions Constraining English Language Teacher Professional Agency

On the other hand, lack of expertise or teaching strategies, lack of interpersonal relationships and material resources, as well as structural impediments (e.g. administrator and curriculum mandates) and testing culture as features of neoliberal policies can constrain English language teacher professional agency, as explained below.

3.6.2.1. Lack of Expertise. In a study of English language teacher professional autonomy, Dierking and Fox (2013) argue that lack of knowledge of effective teaching strategies became the

reason for the lack of professional learning initiatives. An illustration of lack of expertise is taken from Smagorinsky et al.'s (2011) study, i.e. a new teacher trained to teach English writing. In contrast to student-centred and progressive teaching strategies that she learned from her teacher education programme, she employed the teacher-centred and authoritarian teaching strategies developed by the school in which she worked. Due to the absence of a coherent idea of how to exercise agency in a way that represented her educational values, she fell back on control-oriented strategies that were institutionally prevalent. Her personal decision and response to the students reflected that her practice was agentive but did not align with her ideology. According to Smagorinsky et al. (2011), the teacher used the authoritarian and control-oriented strategies encouraged at the school since she lacked the necessary knowledge on how to teach writing.

3.6.2.2. Lack of Interpersonal Relationships and Material Resources. Lack of interpersonal connections and material resources, such as a lack of access to technology (e.g. computers, projectors, laptops, cameras and websites), can also constrain teacher professional agency (Starkey, 2010). Huang and Yip's (2021) study concludes that teachers only desired to react to the demands of the school when they ran into challenges and setbacks (such as under-appreciation from both their colleagues and students) and when they perceived insufficient collaborations among colleagues and connections to the teaching community. However, when given the opportunity for productive contact with co-workers and suitable teamwork (such as shared resources in an English department), they demonstrated proactive agency in teaching innovation in their school. Starkey's (2010) study also found that the level of professional agency exercised by teachers depended on how easily they could access the material resources that they needed.

3.6.2.3. Structural Impediments. Structural impediments (e.g. administrator and curriculum mandates) can also constrain teacher professional agency. For example, inequitable resource allocation across various teaching assignments under the direction of the school's administrators for new high school English language teachers was found by Bieler et al. (2017) in a study conducted in

the USA. In their study, they found that less academically accomplished and younger-level high school classrooms were more frequently given to beginning teachers. Furthermore, these teachers had lower likelihood of receiving a permanent classroom or employment. These situations showed a variety of agency-thwarting factors for those beginning English language teachers, preventing them from acting agentively and with purpose.

A study by Vaughn and Faircloth (2011) also found that curriculum mandates constrained English language teacher professional agency by requiring them to concentrate on skills-based learning. The narrative analysis by Golden (2018) demonstrates how curriculum demands were internalised to form teacher professional agency. Golden (2018, p. 9) found that the narrative of one teacher often used the term "we were told" to describe the agency outside of herself. The narratives of the teachers also revealed their perception that packaged curriculum was given more credit than professional educators. Weaven and Clark (2015) also show how English language teachers in Australia wanted to include creative activities in their classes but did not feel empowered to do so because they lacked the necessary agency.

3.6.2.4. Testing Culture. In addition to the aforesaid conditions that can constrain English language teacher professional agency, according to Baker-Doyle and Gustavson (2016), English language teacher professional agency is shown to be impacted by an explicit and implicit testing culture in a variety of contexts at schools. The working environments of teachers are described as being centred on market-driven textbooks, test-driven curricula and educational resources (Golden, 2018). These emphases permeate schools and leave teachers feeling constrained since they work in environments where much of the discretionary space to make judgments on intricate pedagogical and curriculum matters is shut down. In Weaven and Clark's study (2015), teachers cited a lack of agency over the lessons they would teach and a lack of opportunities for meaningful reflection on their professional practices. According to Simpson (2017), in a political context where controlling teachers is a goal, assessment treats education as an experimental science.

3.7. Conceptualising Professional Practice, Identity and Agency

The literature review in the previous sections of this chapter helps conceptualise teacher professional practice, identity and agency in the context of this study, as briefly explained in the following.

3.7.1. Professional Practice

Teacher professional practices can be divided into two types of practices (Sockett, 1993; Stronge, 2002). The first is teaching practices (i.e. the hows of teaching, curriculum design and implementation, which include the pedagogical knowledge and skills, classroom management and organisation), and the second is work practices (e.g. teachers' responsibilities and obligations, such as instructional planning, monitoring students' progress, working relationships beyond the classroom and collaborating with other teachers, students' parents and the public).

While there are two categories of teacher professional practices, this study examined the EFL teacher work practices only in order to respond to the first research question. There are three reasons for this focus. First, since neoliberal reforms have led to the intensification of teachers' work (e.g. administrative tasks, preparation for tests or reporting) (Hargreaves, 1994; Hughes, 1999; Vinson & Ross, 2006), the main focus of the study was on this, rather than on classroom teaching (e.g. using materials, teaching strategies or classroom activities). Second, only teachers, not the students, were used as the participants of the study. Third, the data collected did not involve observation of the interactions between teachers and students. However, in some places, the teaching practices of the teachers are discussed within the chapters, but not in detail, as these were emerging from the findings rather than key aspects sought in the data collection. Specifically, this study investigated the way the work practices in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms were performed by EFL teachers at a public senior secondary school in an Indonesian city.

3.7.2. Professional Identity

Contemporary views of identity are based on four tenets, as outlined by Rodgers and Scott (2008). First, identity is shaped by multiple historical, cultural, social and political factors. Second, identity formation is influenced by connections and emotions. As according to Kemmis et al. (2012), individuals' existence and identities are maintained by interconnected connections not only with other individuals, living beings and objects, but also through and in their practices. These practices are located inside the specific conditions and circumstances of specific sites, known as site ontology (Schatzki, 2006), for example a school as the particular site of teachers. Third, identity is multiple, unstable and shifting because it is continuously changing since in the process of constructing a professional identity, teachers interpret and reinterpret their experiences on an ongoing basis. Fourth, identity requires the reconstruction of historical narratives.

In order to understand how various historical, cultural, social and political forces interact with teachers' personal and professional histories to construct their identity in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms and how this identity is understood and shifting, this study focused on these tenets to answer the research question.

3.7.3. Professional Agency

This study sees teacher agency as a teacher's capability to act, to take a standpoint, to make choices and decisions and to impact matters (Vahasantanen, 2015). Biesta and Tedder (2007) contend that rather than focusing just on how individuals act in a context, more understanding should be given to how a context interacts with individuals. Consequently, individuals interact with the constraints and affordances of the context to create agency.

Priestley et al. (2016) argue that agency is not only the result of individual characteristics or social action variability. Instead, they assert that agency depends on the teachers' involvements in their contexts of actions. They emphasise how teacher agency is always shaped by their previous experiences, oriented towards the future by a combination of hopes and aims and expressed in the current actual conditions.

Based on this conceptualisation, teacher agency in this study was seen in light of the constraints and affordances of the practice arrangements (cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements), in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms. This study considers these constraints and affordances since agency cannot be understood simply as a collection of apparent actions–that is, desirable or ideal ways of acting without noticeable constraints and affordances (Damsa et al., 2021).

Given a history of neoliberal reforms in the Indonesian education system, there was evidence of teachers' internalisation of performative culture. Therefore, while acknowledging the impact of top-down discourses of power, this study sought to examine how the teachers enacted their agency to influence change as they were subjected to standards-based policies and disciplinary regulations. In doing so, it drew on Butler's (2010) concept of performative agency. In performative agency, teachers discipline themselves through subjection, and through performative iterations they imbue themselves with alternative formats which can eventually enable them to perform in many different ways (Butler, 2010; Grisard et al., 2020). Subjection is the process of becoming a subject subordinated by power, who is still capable of taking responsibility for creating a future (Butler, 2010).

Butler (1990, 1993, 2010) explores the process by which the subjects come into being by developing such concepts as representations and performative iterations. Representations relate to the normative or expected identities imposed on teachers (Butler, 1990). They govern the process of submission to the compliance regime of accountability (Messner, 2009). In other words, the process of submission happens via the disciplinary reproduction of predetermined behaviour. Teachers repeatedly execute the representations in successive iterations, which is known as performative iterations (Butler, 1993). Instead of being fully static, the representations should be seen as being continuously generated and regenerated by the teachers during their performative iterations (Grisard et al., 2020).

3.8. Relevant ELT Studies in the Indonesian School Context

In the Indonesian school context, EFL teacher practices, identity or agency have been subjects of interest of some researchers despite the fact that there are relatively few studies on these topics. Afrianto (2015), Basalama (2010), Desmaizayatri (2020), Kuswandono (2013) and Rahmi (2022) conducted studies in these areas in various contexts in Indonesia. Afrianto (2015) and Kuswandono (2013) were interested in the teaching practicum and novice EFL teacher identity, while Basalama (2010), Desmaizayatri (2020) and Rahmi (2022) conducted studies on teaching practices, identity and agency of in-service EFL teachers.

Afrianto (2015) investigated why students chose to become EFL teachers and how teaching practicum affected their identity. The participants participated in focus group discussions prior to and after the teaching practicum programme. The findings demonstrate that financial, Islamic and social factors had an impact on the novice teachers' decision to select the teaching programme. Together with the teaching practicum, these factors played a role in the development of their identity.

Kuswandono (2013) examined how novice teachers understood their identity as prospective EFL teachers. The data were gathered through the teachers' reflections as they were enrolled in a teaching practice programme at a university. The findings show that the construction of their identity was complex due to the context of Indonesian standardised education and their various reasons for enrolling in the programme.

In-service teachers were also the focus of teaching practices, identity and agency studies of EFL teachers in Indonesia. For instance, Basalama (2010) investigated the pedagogical practices and identity of in-service teachers in response to concerns about the unsuccessful EFL curriculum implementation. Interviews were used to obtain the data. The findings demonstrate how the teacher identity was shaped by the pre-service teaching course, as well as the environments in which they lived and worked.

Using a socio-cultural perspective as the theoretical lens and a qualitative research approach, Desmaizayatri's (2020) study investigated the EFL teachers' perspectives on how they negotiated the ELT curriculum requirements and their practices within their socio-cultural settings. Semi-structured interviews and documents were used to collect the data. The findings of the study suggest that the ELT curriculum offered constraints and possibilities as well as spaces and contradictions that shaped their agency achievement. The teachers ingeniously negotiated with the tensions and dilemmas within the requirements of the curriculum. Their active participation in communities of practices, teaching experience and teaching expertise all informed and affected their creativity and manoeuvres.

Rahmi's (2022) study sought to better understand the factors that affected the identity construction of EFL teachers and to explain how their identity affected their agency. With the use of observation outside the classroom, in-class observation and in-depth interviews, the data were gathered from EFL teachers in three different areas. The study found that interactions, career phases and teachers' beliefs—including their religious beliefs—all had an impact on how they constructed their identities. The teacher identity also aided in the development of their agency, which they showed by exercising their professional autonomy, developing their self-efficacy, investing in their work and employing multilingual instruction in their pedagogical practices.

3.9. Concluding Remarks

After reviewing the literature on relevant ELT studies in Indonesian school contexts, some gaps were identified. The researchers used the term or concept of practice, without actually revealing what counts as teacher 'practice'. Though participants of some of these studies were in-service EFL teachers who had worked for several years, none of the studies examined teacher practices, particularly their work practices, identity and agency in the context of neoliberal times. Hence, we need to turn to the ontological understanding of teacher practices, identity and agency and how this understanding informs teacher practices, identity and agency in neoliberal conditions.

In addition, none of the researchers discussed the TPA as the theoretical lens and digital ethnography as the methodology. Therefore, by using this theoretical framework and methodology, the present study investigated the EFL teacher practices, identity and agency in the context of neoliberal times and involved participants who had worked for several years to see how their practices and agency were enacted in the context of neoliberal times and how their identity was constructed and understood in this context. The next two chapters present the theoretical framework and methodology of this study.

Chapter 4

Theoretical Frameworks

As one of the crucial elements in research, a theoretical framework functions as a basis within which knowledge is developed, aims to structure the research, supports the research background, problem statement, significance, research questions and objectives and serves as a foundation for the methodology (Grant & Osanloo, 2015). Lysaght (2011, p. 572) highlights why identifying a theoretical framework is significant for research:

> A researcher's choice of framework is not arbitrary but reflects important personal beliefs and understandings about the nature of knowledge, how it exists (in the metaphysical sense) in relation to the observer and the possible roles to be adopted and tools to be employed consequently, by the researcher in his/her work.

The framework makes the research vision and structure clear, like a building that is constructed with a blueprint, which will be stronger and more solidly structured. Therefore, a research plan that has a theoretical framework provides structured and strong organisation of the chapters (Grant & Osanloo, 2015).

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the objectives of this study are to explore how Indonesian EFL teacher professional practices and agency are performed in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms and how their identity is constructed and understood in this context. Therefore, for the frameworks of the data collection and analysis, as well as the interpretation of the findings of teacher professional practices, identity and agency, Schatzki's (2002) Theory of Site Ontology (TSO) and Kemmis et al.'s (2014) Theory of Practice Architectures (TPA) were employed as mutually complementary approaches that are helpful for understanding and representing teacher practices, identity and agency in school sites. Looking at the enabling and constraining arrangements described in the theories is helpful for identifying contradictions and tensions that are addressed by education

practitioners, realised in their sayings, doings and relatings, to change education. The following subheadings present the frameworks used in this study.

4.1. Theory of Site Ontology (TSO)

"Ontology is the study of being, or of what it means for something to be what it is" (Fernandez, 2018, p. 28). According to Heidegger (1999, p. 20), the contemporary meaning of the term "ontology" refers to "theory of objects". Nevertheless, contemporary ontology is not an isolated field of study, "but rather is connected in a peculiar manner with what is understood by phenomenology in a narrow sense" (Heidegger, 1999, p. 21). Ontology is also phenomenology because ontology and phenomenology are closely related concepts that have the same pursuit and meanings (Giles, 2008).

Phenomenology perceives reality not as an external entity, but as something that exists in the individual's location (Schubert & Giles, 2019). The process relies on the specific phenomena under investigation, is influenced by phenomenological researchers and philosophical literature and incorporates the researcher's own firsthand experiences (Giles, 2010).

In his phenomenological concept of ontology, Heidegger characterised human condition as "thrownness," implying that humans are "thrown into human existence" and find themselves as human beings, as "who" (Cowles, 2017, p. 62) and that "beings" born into an already existing universe grapple with the uncertainties of daily life (Gorner, 2007, p. 26). When humans have intentions, they often rely on others to fulfil them.

Heidegger's approach to phenomenology focused primarily on ontology, which is the study of *being*. He highlighted the importance of understanding *being*, particularly how humans behave in and interact with the environment (Gutek, 2004). Heidegger's preoccupation might be characterised as the contextualised significance of humans within the universe, i.e. the actuality of humans' experiences that are both apparent and concealed from consciousness (Laverty, 2003). Heidegger used a word *Dasein* to refer to the existential state of being human and is closely associated with the concept of being-in-the-world (Heidegger, 1973, p.49).

Based on Heidegger's examination of thrownness, individuals consistently discover themselves as specific “who” in a certain environment; they are not just thrown into existence as Dasein, but rather as *this* particular Dasein. Being thrown into such specificity entails finding oneself inside a specific social context (Cowles, 2017, p. 72).

Ontological approaches to social context or social ontology are divided into two major categories: individualist and non-individualist or socialist ontologies.

According to individualist ontology, social reality is “constructed out of interrelated individuals” (Schatzki, 2000, p. 22), and individualists attempt to interpret social affairs in this light (Schatzki, 2002). Individuals and individualist self-sufficiency are the focus of this ontology (Fisher & Owen, 2008). In accordance with this ontology, any social phenomenon is made up of a constellation of (inter-related) individuals, including a religion, an economic system, a government, a family and an interaction encountered on the street (Schatzki, 2002). The concept of individualism rejects the notion that the identities of the fundamental components of social life, such as mental states and acts, are inexorably connected with those of other individuals. According to individualism, the only thing that connects arrays of actions—which are only collections—is the conjunction of the pertinent, contingently interwoven or identical features of individuals (Schatzki, 2002).

Schatzki (2005) states that there are two categories of individualist ontology—constructionists and institutionalists. According to the first category of individualists, the constructionists, social phenomena are made up of individuals and their relationships, for example groups of people who are connected by interlocking actions (such as in a market) or individuals who maintain particular interactions for commonalities (such as a club or an ethnicity). The second category of individualists, institutionalists, claim that social phenomena arise as a result of individuals performing particular actions and adopting particular beliefs and attitudes and that some social realities exist because certain people have specific mental states and behave in certain ways. For instance, it might be argued that coins and sheets of paper are money because of the widespread assumption that they are. Similar to that, the fact that structures, people and activities

constitute a university is only due to the widespread acceptance of this notion and the numerous acts taken in support of it.

The thesis proposed by individualists that social formations can be understood only in terms of individual occurrences is refuted by non-individualist or socialist ontology. The socialist camp includes a wider range of ideas than the individualist camp. According to Schatzki (2005), the majority of ontological social scientists concur that not all social phenomena are created by or derived from individuals and their relationships. Sociologists sharply dispute among themselves about what is necessary in addition to the characteristics of individuals, individually or collectively, for the analysis or explanation of social phenomena.

Schatzki (2003) mentions that there are three prominent socialist ontologies—structuralism, wholism and Durkheimian sociology. Structuralism acknowledges that the social is made up of individuals' activities under the control of abstract structures. Numerous structuralists concur that abstract structures regulate and consist of phenomena like languages, religions and myths, in addition to large-scale political, economic and social formations. Wholism emphasises the unity of complex phenomena like societies and economic systems. This suggests that the nature and dynamic principles governing these entities are separate from and applicable to the individuals who occupy them. According to this perspective, the only aspect of society that is immune to individualist analysis is social wholes. Durkheimian sociology argues that social facts differ from social wholes because the category of social facts is far more expansive than that of social wholes. It encompasses crowd phenomena, population migrations, customs and language, in addition to economic organisation and financial systems.

Socialism emphatically recognises contexts of the sort that Schatzki (2002) terms as contexture. Structures, social facts, societies and institutions qualify as contextures since they influence individuals' actions and interactions, sometimes through affordances and constraints and sometimes causally. Despite the fact that both individualist and socialist ontologies recognise that events and social phenomena take place in contexts, none of these contexts are sites.

Therefore, Schatzki (2002) proposed site ontology. Site ontology is merely a new non-individualist approach, not a categorical novelty. To emphasise that the concept of a site has no dependence on both individualist and previously well-known non-individualist or socialist ontology, Schatzki has opted to distinguish site ontology from those referred to as individualist and socialist ontologies. Site ontology runs counter to individualism by asserting that individual behaviour, constellations of individuals and groups exist in the social realm. It also differs from socialism because it utilises contexts (sites) that socialist ontology does not recognise. It differs from wholism in that it holds that there are no universally applicable rules for the social sphere. By recognising sites, site ontology distinguishes itself from individualist and socialist ones.

The Theory of Site Ontology (TSO) examines social life as it is created by a site viewed as a particular social field, context or place in which coexistence takes place as a result of a continuous web of interconnected practices and material arrangements, consisting of the set-ups of various kinds of entities like things and human beings (Schatzki, 2000; 2005). According to Schatzki (2000), the teleological, spatial and temporal aspects of social life form context. He contends that in analysing sociality through a site, we have to realise that social life's nature and transformation are firmly and inherently linked to the context in which it occurs. In contrast to a focus on the individuals and their mental processes, the focus of site ontology is on arranged collective individual acts as the primary aspect of social life (Schatzki, 2000). In addition to the orders of artefacts, organisms and things, social life is made up of the arrangements of individuals who are connected by corporeality, emotion and commonalities of purpose via the network of teleological structures that underlie arranged practices (Schatzki, 2000). As such, social life exists on the site where it takes place and is immersed in a web of orders and practices. A significant aspect of site ontology is the concept of the body, i.e. an entity that exhibits and symbolises psychological states in its sayings, doings and their sensations, as the representation of practices and as crucial to practices (Schatzki, 1996). Therefore, most site ontologists are also practice theorists (Schatzki, 2002).

Since the TSO emphasises the fact that practices are formed by the social site where they happen (Schatzki, 2002; 2005), researchers cannot investigate practices without considering how the social site where practices take place influences them. Practices, e.g. teacher practices, in Schatzki's term refer to organised individuals' activities in the form of a nexus of *sayings* and *doings* (Schatzki, 2005). Schatzki (2005, p. 471) further states that "any practice is an organised, open-ended spatial-temporal manifold of actions. The set of actions that composes a practice is organised by three phenomena: understandings of how to do things, rules and teleoaffective structure". By this definition, Schatzki (2005) contends that the *sayings* and *doings* that compose practices are organised by (1) action understandings that include understandings to recognise, perform and respond to actions, (2) rules that include explicitly formulated instructions, orders, admonishments and directives to perform or refrain from undertaking certain actions and (3) a teleoaffective structure that includes prescribed or acceptable goals, enjoined or acceptable projects to achieve those goals and prescribed or acceptable actions to carry out as part of those projects.

Schatzki (2010) refers to practices that take place or unfold as activity time-space, where activities take place or unfold in real time and where materials in physical space are arranged and connected as bundles by particular activities. Schatzki's (2010) practice-arrangement bundles suggest that practices use, effect, are inseparable from and give meaning to arrangements, and that arrangements prefigure, channel, facilitate and are vital to practices. These ideas of activity time-space and site ontology led Kemmis et al. (2014) to the realisation that practices take on forms that are prefigured by the particular, historically given conditions and contents connected with particular moments in particular sites.

Looking at the TSO, Kemmis et al. (2014) propose the Theory of Practice Architectures (TPA) that shows links between the particular *sayings* and *doings* of the practices, with an additional dimension—*relatings*. Practice architectures include both arrangements and practices since arrangements shape and maintain practices as well as are reshaped and transformed through

practices. This interplay of arrangements and practices is referred to as architectures. Further explanation of this theory is presented in the next section.

4.2. Theory of Practice Architectures (TPA)

The 21st century's globalised politics, economies and cultures have resulted in significant reforms to education. In reaction to worldwide student achievement comparisons, nations concerned about the performance of their education systems are forced to modify national curricula, schools, pedagogies, assessments and evaluations. Consequently, the term *education* becomes contested as it presents more as schooling. Kemmis et al. (2014) note the difference between schooling and education. They believe that the word *education* is heavily distorted today. They argue that the term *education*, referring to activities that aim for the benefit of the individuals concerned and for the benefit of humanity, as well as activities that have political, social and moral consequences, whether positive or negative, for individuals participating in and impacted by it, is often used when it actually refers to *schooling*. This refers to routine activities that take place in various institutions of schooling, which might or might not be educational since the institutions of schooling are now viewed as elaborate machines, and educational system managers have sought to encourage reforms in the schooling outcomes by transforming the curriculum contents, the deliveries of instruction, as well as the assessments and evaluations.

According to Kemmis et al. (2014), the transformation of the world has resulted in changing practices. In this ever-changing world, education and schooling will remain as they were yesterday and as they are now if there are not any substantial reforms to practices. If education and schooling institutions are unable to identify, create and maintain modified and innovative educational practices, they will be unable to face the current historical issues of the 21st century. Therefore, education is said to have a twofold function (Kemmis et al., 2014). As Kemmis et al. (2014, p. 28) state:

> the practice of education, properly speaking, must always be conducted as praxis in both the neo-Aristotelian and the post-Hegelian, post-Marxist senses. It is praxis in the

> neo-Aristotelian sense because it aims to be 'right conduct' aiming at the good for persons and the good for humankind. It is praxis in the post-Hegelian, post-Marxian sense because it aims at the formation of rising generations of children, young people and adults into modes of personal and moral life and modes of social and political life that are oriented towards the good for each and for the good for all.

Thus, according to Kemmis et al. (2014) as well as Kemmis and Edwards-Groves (2018), the TPA focuses on educational practices, or more precisely, schooling practices, emphasising how they are enacted on site relationally or intersubjectively, rather than just focusing on the underlying knowledge that guides them. From this view, it is clear that the TPA does not use an epistemological perspective of practices but uses an ontological perspective of practices.

The TPA is informed by Schatzki's (2002, 2005, 2010) TSO. The TSO considers practices as an arranged nexus or array of *sayings* and *doings* that exist in practice arrangement bundles. It is an ontological viewpoint where arrangements influence how people are enabled and constrained to coexist and how they perform actions. It emphasises the semantic features (like the specialist discourses and languages) that enable and constrain how individuals interpret something (*sayings*) and the material aspects (like school facilities, finances, furniture or resources) that enable and constrain individuals' actions (*doings*).

These *sayings* and *doings* are added by Kemmis et al. (2014) with social aspects that enable and constrain the ways individuals act in relation to others—*relatings*. While in Schatzki's theory of practice, Schatzki's conceptualisation focuses on the *sayings* and *doings*, it is clear that he states that individuals make meaning through negotiating with others through *sayings* in a particular site, leading to ways of interacting (Schatzki, 2002). Also, in their *doings*, individuals are directed towards other humans or entities, and this directedness is understood as not only doing actions in a way that affects other individuals, but also possessing beliefs, thoughts and feelings about others (Schatzki, 2002). Therefore, according to Kemmis et al. (2014), these *sayings* and *doings* imply relationships between individuals and objects arranged and organised in space and time. They contend that the

relationships (*relatings*) aspect of practices should be explicitly addressed. They further state that addressing the *relatings* explicitly emphasises the social-political dimension of practices, calls attention to the medium of solidarity and power that is constantly present during practices and takes into account the social-political arrangements in sites that help the maintenance of practices. Hence, in the TPA:

> A practice is defined as a form of socially established cooperative human activity in which characteristic arrangements of actions and activities (*doings*) are comprehensible in terms of arrangements of relevant ideas in characteristic discourses (*sayings*), and when the people and objects involved are distributed in characteristic arrangements of relationships (*relatings*) and when this complex of *sayings*, *doings* and *relatings* 'hangs together' in a distinctive project (Kemmis et al., 2014, p. 31).

These *sayings*, *doings* and *relatings* do not exist separately and are enabled and constrained by cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements brought to or found on sites (Kemmis & Edwards-Groves, 2018).

According to Kemmis et al. (2014), cultural-discursive arrangements occur within the semantic space dimension. These arrangements are related to thought and speech, raising the idea of the semantic space about what is feasible to think and say in practices (Kemmis & Grootenboer, 2008). Kemmis and Mahon (2017) state that these arrangements that exist in a site of a practice include discourses and languages that enable, constrain or make feasible the *sayings* about and in that practice. In the context of this study, these arrangements might include things like shared languages (e.g. regional language, Indonesian or English) or specialised discourses pertaining to certain areas (e.g. curriculum) or professions (e.g. teaching) (Kemmis & Mahon, 2017). They enable and constrain the teachers' use of language (*sayings*) to convey ideas or express themselves, such as how teachers identify themselves, how they encounter each other in a language they share in

common or how they communicate the curriculum with others that will provide them with clarification and support to help them understand the curriculum.

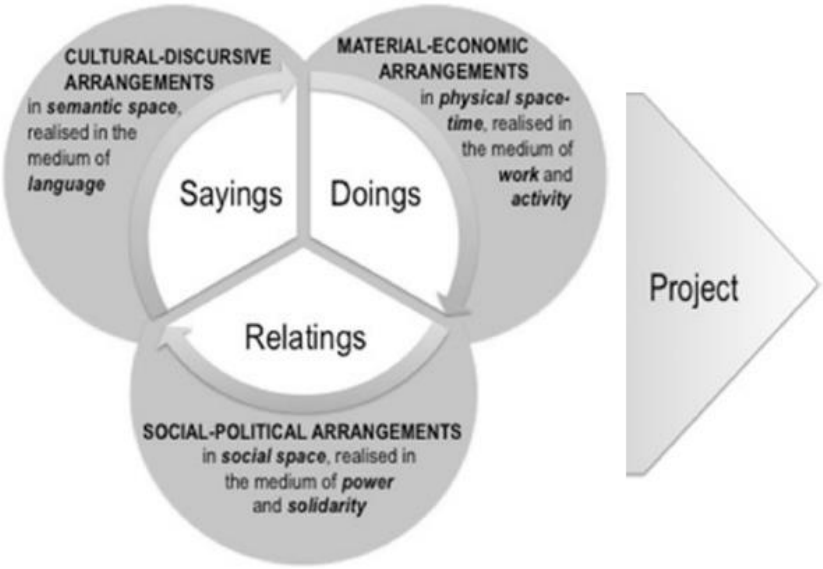
Material-economic arrangements occur within the physical or material space dimension (Kemmis et al., 2014). In a school setting, these arrangements are related to aspects which influence practices, such as aspects of the surrounding environment, the layout or physical space of the school buildings, teaching and office spaces, learning platforms, financial and material resources used in the practices, as well as the funding arrangements underpinning the material resources, division and schedules of labour arrangements (staffing arrangements and timetables) and employment contracts (Kemmis & Mahon, 2017). They enable and constrain how teachers can act in the medium of activities or work (*doings*), such as what teachers can do within the material arrangements or how they use their control in their practices.

Social-political arrangements occur within the social space dimension (Kemmis et al., 2014). They are connected to relationships and power structures, characterising the social spaces of the practices (Kemmis & Grootenboer, 2008). They enable and constrain how teachers relate with one another in the medium of power and solidarity (*relatings*). In a school setting, these arrangements include such things as the relationships between teachers and colleagues or teachers and students in a work organisation, the connections between teachers and the non-humans (e.g. roles, rules, policies in an organisation or practical agreements about what to do), line-management structures, research collaborations and team-teaching arrangements (Kemmis et al., 2017a; Kemmis & Mahon, 2017).

These three types of arrangements together influence the *sayings*, *doings* and *relatings* respectively and constitute the architectures of practices. The TPA framework can be seen in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1

The TPA (Kemmis & Edwards-Groves, 2018, p. 122)



4.3. Connecting the Frameworks to the Study

There are three concerns addressed in this study—EFL teacher professional practices, identity and agency, and this section briefly discusses how the frameworks are connected to these concerns.

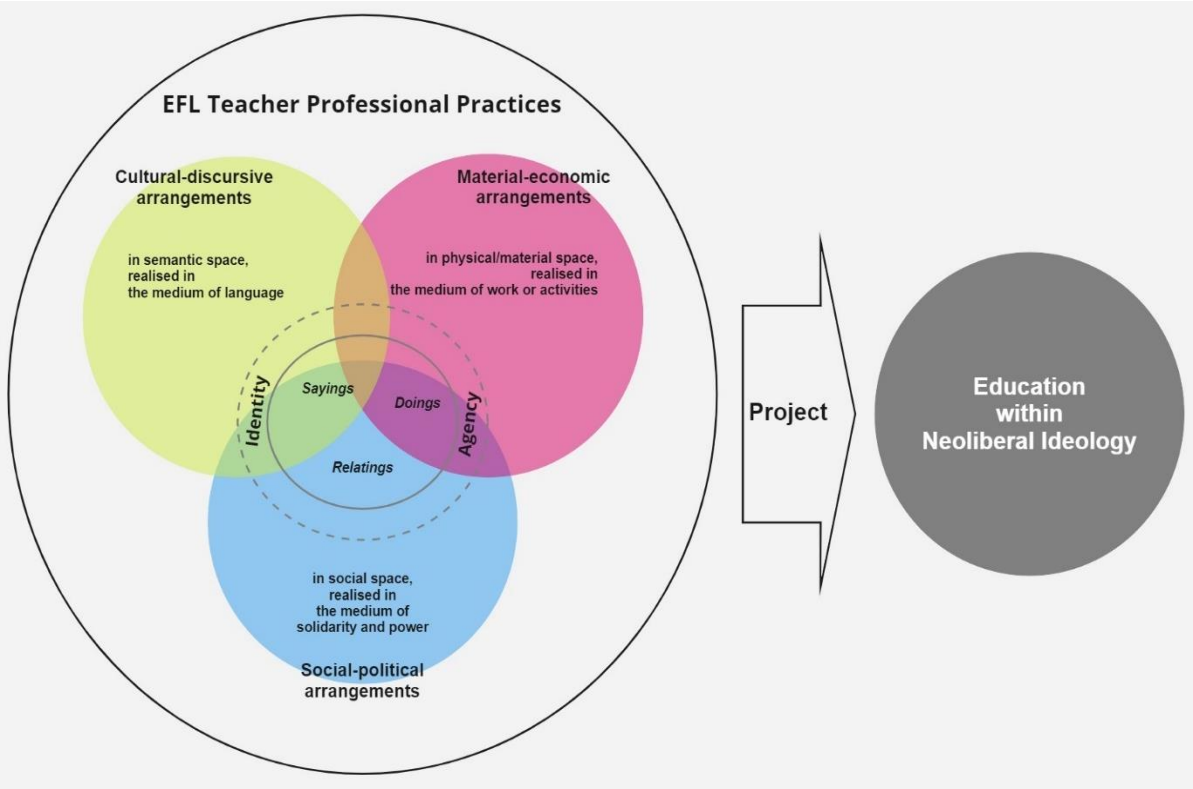
Due to the neoliberal education reforms, such as the implementation of a new national curriculum, teachers now spend a significant portion of their professional lives in a social entity like 'schooling' as individuals who act as operatives in the systems where they engage in their profession. This sits opposed to individuals who possess the collective professional and moral responsibility, autonomy and agency to engage in their profession (Kemmis & Smith, 2008). A social entity like schooling where teachers perform their professional practices is maintained by the cumulative effects of teacher practices through negotiating with others in *sayings* realised in shared language and symbols in a particular site within cultural-discursive arrangements, through actions (*doings*) within the material-economic arrangements that the teachers inhabit (Schatzki, 2002; Kemmis et al., 2014), as well as through interactions (*relatings*) realised in solidarity and power within social-political arrangements (Kemmis et al., 2014). All of these give teachers their *identity* as members of

organisations and communities (Kemmis et al., 2014) and set up the conditions of possibility for *agency* to be performed (Kemmis et al., 2017a; 2017b).

When teachers understand who they are within their professional context realised in *sayings* (related to professional identity), they take actions realised in *doings* (related to professional agency) based on that understanding, and their actions are also formed in and through social relations realised in *relatings* (Buchanan, 2015). Teachers connect with one another in a variety of ways that enable a variety of roles to be enabled via relationships that give rise to various positions of power, solidarity and agency (Kemmis et al., 2017a). All of these show how identity and agency are interrelated in practices, as explained by Kemmis et al. (2014; 2017a; 2017b) in the TPA. This has led to the development of the framework for this study, showing the aspects of identity and agency within the framework (see Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2

The development of the TSO and TPA, incorporating ideas from Kemmis and Edwards-Groves (2018), Kemmis et al. (2014) and Schatzki (2002, 2005, 2010)



The data collection and analysis as well as the interpretation of the findings of this study were guided by this developed framework. Using this framework, the study explores and analyses what arrangements enable and constrain the Indonesian EFL teacher practices and agency, how the teacher practices (in terms of *sayings*, *doings* and *relatings*) and agency in the context of curriculum reforms within neoliberal education ideology were exercised on-site provided with resources (cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements) brought to or found in the site and how the teachers understand their identity. The framework for teacher professional practices is presented in Table 4.1, with a brief description of the key terms.

Table 4.1

The Development of the TSO and TPA, incorporating ideas from Kemmis and Edwards-Groves (2018), Kemmis et al. (2014) and Schatzki (2002, 2005, 2010)

Professional Practices	Practice Architectures (Arrangements)	Intersubjective Space/Medium
Individuals' *sayings/thinking* (forms of saying/understanding, described as the *cognitive*, related to professional identity)	in cultural-discursive arrangements brought to or found in the site (e.g. language, meanings, ideas, discourses)	within semantic space, realised in the medium of language
Individuals' *doings* (actions, skills, and capabilities, described as the *psychomotor*, related to professional agency)	in material-economic arrangements brought to or found in the site (e.g. devices, material arrangements)	within physical space, realised in the medium of activities or work
Individuals' *relatings* (norms, values, and ways of relating, described as the *affective*)	in social-political arrangements brought to or found in the site (e.g. relationships between individuals as well as between individuals and non-human objects)	within social space, realised in the medium of solidarity and power
Teacher professional practices: teachers' activities in cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements, within semantic, physical and social spaces, involving a set of arrangements of *sayings*, e.g. how teachers identify themselves, how they encounter each other in languages they share in common or how they communicate the curriculum with others that will provide them with clarification and support to help them understand the curriculum; *doings*, e.g. how teachers do their actions and use their control in their practices within the material arrangements of the site; and *relatings*, e.g. how teachers relate with each other in the social space, connect with people in a work organisation (principal, other teachers, students), or deal with non-human objects (roles, rules, policies or practical agreements about what to do).		

4.4. Concluding Remarks

This study combines empirical and conceptual frameworks, drawing on the ontological foundations of practice as projects or tasks consisting of sayings, doings and relatings. Using the TSO and TPA as the theoretical frameworks in this study signifies the adoption of site ontology and practice theory as the paradigm of the study. This is explained in the next chapter together with further aspects of research design.

Chapter 5

Research Design

This chapter commences by providing a philosophical background for the practice theory that underpins this study, which is crucial for demonstrating why studying practices is essential. It covers the research paradigm and methodology. Efforts to obtain the research ethics and the researcher's role are then described. Next, the research setting, including its material-economic arrangements, and the participants are explained. The chapter subsequently discusses how this study approached the validity and reliability as qualitative research requirements. Finally, the data collection and method of analysis are outlined.

5.1. Research Paradigm: Site Ontology and Practice Theory

One noteworthy characteristic of the theoretical frameworks used in this study, the TSO and TPA, is their social ontological assertion. This claim, as elucidated by Lammi (2018) and Schatzki (2003), entails an examination of the fundamental aspects of social existence. Social ontology is categorised into individualist, socialist and site ontologies (Schatzki, 2002), as elaborated in the following sections.

5.1.1. Site Ontology

Individualist ontology posits that social reality is comprised of individuals and their interactions (Schatzki, 2002). Schatzki (2005) divides individualist ontology into constructionists and institutionalists.

According to constructionists, social phenomena are constituted by individuals and their interactions, including instances where individuals share commonalities and engage in specific activities, such as participating in an English club. Constructionists argue that the essence of social phenomena lies in the amalgamation of individuals' cognitive processes, acts and relationships that exist among individuals (Schatzki, 2005).

Institutionalists argue that social phenomena arise from the interplay of individuals' beliefs, attitudes, actions and interpersonal interactions (Schatzki, 2005). These phenomena are established through individuals' possession of specific attitudes, beliefs, thoughts or their engagement in specific actions (Searle, 1995). In individualist ontology, arrays of acts are understood as mere collections and the governing factor for these arrayed actions is the conjunction of identical, relevant or connected features of individuals involved (Schatzki, 2002).

In contrast, socialist ontology posits the notion that some social phenomena cannot be "treated as features or constructions out of acting individuals because some social phenomena cannot be so analysed. Some phenomena are distinct from facts about events befalling or collections of interrelated individuals" (Schatzki, 2000, p. 22). Socialists argue that a society encompasses more than a mere collection of individuals who are interconnected within it. They contend that it is governed by dynamic principles that do not directly pertain to the actions of individuals. Rather, it establishes the constraints and conditions within which individuals' actions are shaped or influenced by the arrangement of practices, institutions and subsystems (Schatzki, 2002). Socialists strongly see this as a "contexture" (Schatzki, 2002, p. 140). A contexture is constituted by practices, institutions and subsystems as they exert influence on individuals by shaping their activities and interactions, and this influence might occur via causal mechanisms or through constraints and enablement (Schatzki, 2002). Nevertheless, the contexture that socialisms advocate does not represent a physical location where it takes place (Schatzki, 2002).

Site ontology distinguishes itself from individualist and socialist ontologies by acknowledging the significance of locations (Schatzki, 2002). According to Schatzki (2002), an event occurring at a particular site is inherently linked to the context where it happens. Site ontology embraces the notion that a practice is a primary feature of social life. It posits that knowledge is influenced by its local context, situated within a specific location and perceived as a social context. This context is characterised by a network of interconnected practices and arrangements, facilitating coexistence. Within this context, individuals engage in embodied, informed and collective practices, while also

interacting with the material objects present in the site, e.g. those found in a school setting (Lloyd, 2010; Schatzki, 2000).

In contrast to the individuals and their psychological states, site ontology emphasises structured collective actions of individuals as the primary feature of social existence (Lloyd, 2010; Schatzki, 2000). Social existence is influenced by the arrangements of individuals who share similar emotions, material possessions and goals through a network of purposeful structures and actions that define particular practices (Schatzki, 2000). The primary feature of site ontology is the conceptualisation of the body as the embodiment of practices and as essential to practices (Lloyd, 2010). According to Schatzki (1996, p. 55), “the body is an entity that in its sayings, doings and sensation manifests and signifies psychological states.”

Serving as the paradigm of this study, site ontology is particularly well-suited for the socio-cultural perspective on information. This implies that to be meaningful, information must be comprehensible and located within the contextual framework of social existence or placed inside a certain context. Consequently, it is shaped by practices within the social site rather than outside the social site (Lloyd, 2010). In accordance with Barad's assertion (1996, p. 179), “knowledge is always a view from somewhere.” This concept suggests that knowledge representation serves to display the localised knowledge assertions of a specific community (a social field in Schatzki's framework) and intersubjective interpretations, along with a collective understanding of the nature of knowledge. This collective understanding is shaped over time through material, technical and socio-cultural arrangements. Practices within a social site serve as manifestations of the knowledge claims inherent in that site. Consequently, these practices possess an inherent ontological nature since the mechanisms governing practices, including their interpretations, enablement or constraints are integral components of the shared experiences within social life (Lloyd, 2010).

5.1.2. Practice Theory

To examine the understanding of reality in the social site or epistemology as defined by Creswell and Poth (2018), this study employs practice theory. From an epistemological standpoint,

practice theory, which falls under the umbrella of cultural theory, understands and elucidates practices by reconstructing symbolic knowledge structures that constrain or enable individuals' capacity to see the world in certain ways and then behave accordingly. According to Reckwitz (2002), social order is intertwined with cognitive, symbolic and communal structures, serving as a means of collectively attributing social significance to the environment, and this social order does not seem to arise only from adherence to commonly accepted normative norms.

Schatzki (2002, 2016) and Reckwitz (2002) provide explicit theoretical frameworks that include sayings and doings as key elements in the structuring of practices. They particularly categorise sayings and doings as an analytical component that constitutes and elucidates practices. Practice theory emphasises the cognitive capacity of sayings and doings, including significant aspects such as texts with ontological significance, discourses and narratives.

Practice theory provides a perspective that regards practices as structured and intertwined with materiality (Schatzki, 1996; Schatzki, 2002). Schatzki (1996) posits that within this theory, the word *practice* encompasses not just individuals' actions, but also the social context in which they occur, emphasising their situated and material nature. The theory underscores the notion that practices serve as the sites in which intelligibility is expressed and understanding is organised. The concept posits that the sites, including both arrangements and practices, serve as fundamental realities that give rise to broader phenomena and that individuals can only be understood within the context of these practices. Practice theory places significant importance on the social context, specifically the environment in which social interactions occur. This context comprises of practices and arrangements, and these arrangements are composed of various entities such as individuals, artefacts and elements from the natural world. These entities collectively define the tangible aspects of individuals' coexistence and facilitate the occurrence of social life (Schatzki, 2002).

5.2. Research Methodology: Digital Ethnography

The study of the arrangements—the ways in which individuals and objects are interconnected—is a fundamental aspect of ethnography (Orr, 1996). According to Orr (1996),

ethnography plays a crucial role in enhancing researchers' understanding of the changing nature of work. An essential aspect of ethnography of work practices is observing the practices within their natural environment, emphasising the need to situate the practices within their respective contexts (Orr, 1996). Consequently, this study employed an ethnographic approach that included examining individuals' experiences and interactions with others within the material arrangements. This methodology facilitated my immersion in the participants' typical work environment in which they engaged in interactions with others and executed their professional practices. Additionally, this enabled me to get comprehensive information from some participants over a certain duration of time. According to Crenshaw (2014), ethnography entails the construction of a comprehensive depiction of the subject or enquiry at hand. This methodology encompasses the delineation of a broader context, the identification of several forces at play within a given scenario and the presentation of diverse views. It relies upon concepts and issues derived from a specific local context, as opposed to presenting concepts and issues sourced from the existing literature or another context (Deetz, 1996).

Ethnographic study is traditionally carried out by the researcher's personal presence on site or by means of physical travel. Nevertheless, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, researchers' ability to do fieldwork is hindered, which creates uncertainty on the possibility of further ethnographic research (Ghosh, 2020). This has led many social anthropologists to suggest that doing long-term conventional fieldwork might become impossible in the future (Günel et al., 2020). Hence, in response to the global implementation of border closures and travel restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic, there was a need to renegotiate and reconstruct ethnographic practices (Mosse, 2006). During such a period, the use of digital ethnographic methodology presents a feasible alternative for the execution of analytical, descriptive and voluminous research (Beneito-Montagut et al., 2017). Hence, this moment presented an opportune occasion to investigate the potential contribution of digital ethnography facilitated by digital technologies in the domain of educational practice research.

Digital ethnography is a research methodology that involves the description of real-life occurrences by combining narrative aspects with the distinctive properties of digital media (Underberg & Zorn, 2013). This method involves using digital media to enhance understanding of cultural experiences and their associated significance (Hine, 2000), serving as a means of researching cultures in a digital context (Blommaert & Dong, 2009). According to Boellstorff et al. (2013), it provides researchers with adaptability in addressing developing and novel phenomena.

Understanding of space, encompassing the notion of ethnographic field, expands beyond physical movement. With the advent of digital devices, which serve as means for mobility, ethnographic researchers are no longer required to physically relocate in order to experience a shift in context (Varis, 2014). According to Kaur-Gill and Dutta (2017), researchers in the field of digital ethnography have the ability to engage in the observation of virtual worlds, analyse the collection of photos or videos obtained from digital media and interpret the conveyed meanings embedded within these visual media.

Bajc (2012) asserts that ethnography encompasses participant observation, meticulous documentation of conversations and focused dialogues pertaining to specific aspects of individuals' thoughts and feelings. Additionally, ethnography incorporates an examination of the aesthetics of spaces, encompassing both physical and socio-cultural spaces within which the dynamics occur. In the field of digital ethnography, the interactions between the ethnographer and participants are characterised by an indirect kind of contact, whereby communication is facilitated via the use of digital technologies (Pink et al., 2016). According to Lupton (2015), mediated studies have the potential to foster novel practices by using digital media to establish connections and derive significance from them.

Nevertheless, doing ethnographic research “at home” poses a significant obstacle, i.e. the limitations imposed by the ethnographer’s and the participants' online presence, which restrict the nature of data that can be gathered (Goralska, 2020, p. 50). To mitigate this issue, other methods of data collection can be used on the research site, such as online phone communication, video

conversations and streaming (Pink et al., 2016). The present study employed digital media, such as ethnographic photographs and videos, which were sent to the researcher's Google Drive as a means of conveying cultural information. Additionally, storytelling or narratives can also be utilised (Underberg & Zorn, 2013). The specific data collection methods used for each research question in this study are shown in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1

Research Design

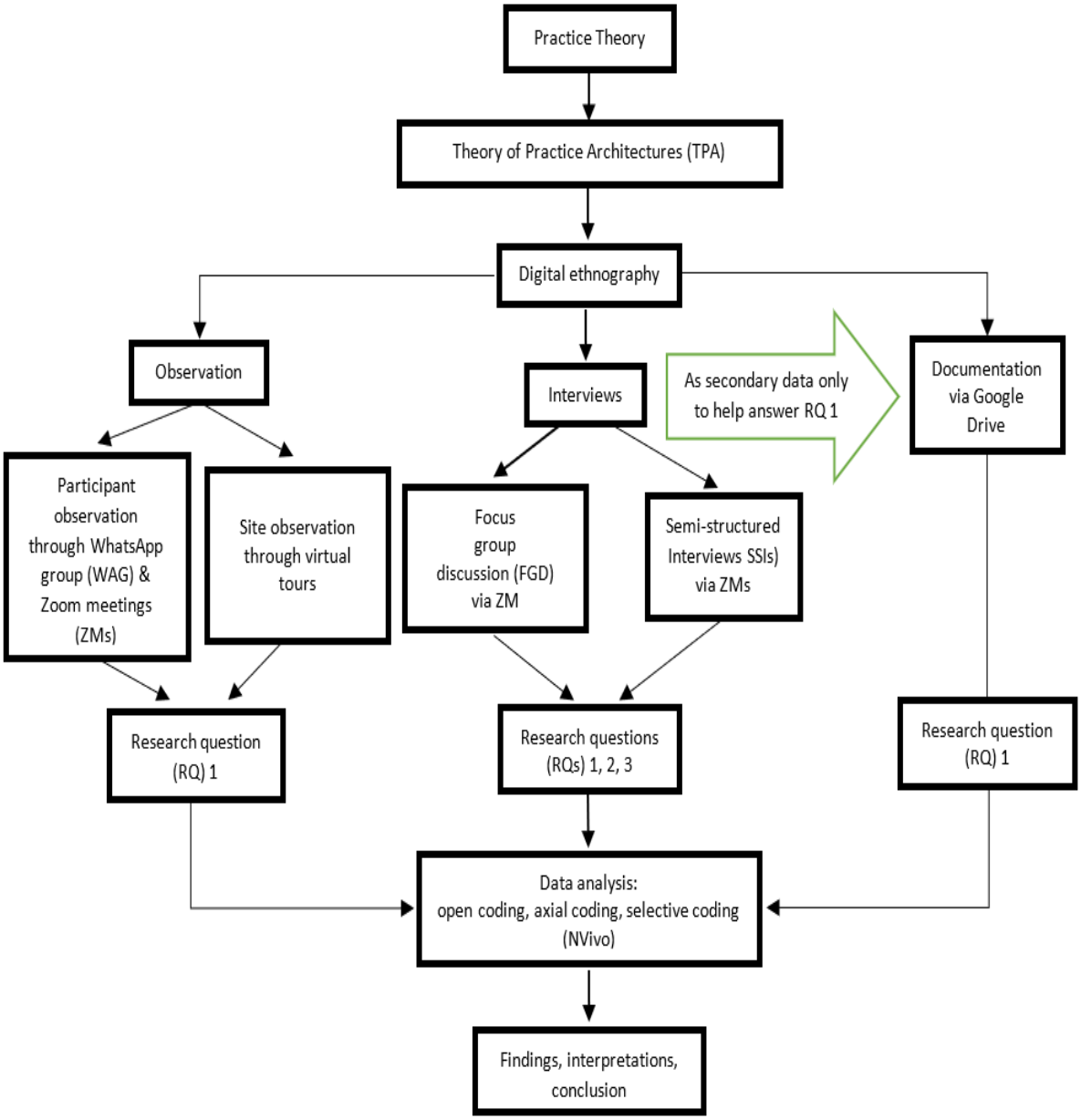


Table 5.1

Further Explanation of the Research Design

No.	Research Questions	Methods of Data Collection	Sites	Data Presentation
1.	How are the professional practices of Indonesian EFL teachers performed in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms?	Observation	WAG, Zoom	Arrangements of cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political aspects
		Focus group discussion, semi-structured in-depth interviews	Zoom	
		Documentation	Google Drive	
2.	How is their professional identity constructed and understood?	Focus group discussion, semi-structured in-depth interviews	Zoom	Narratives
3.	How is their professional agency enacted?	Focus group discussion, semi-structured in-depth interviews	Zoom	Arrangements of cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political aspects

5.3. Ethical Considerations

The significance of the ethical concerns associated with this study is fully understood. In relation to the ethical issues, I used Lindorff's (2010) four fundamental ethical principles: fairness, beneficence, respect for individuals and conflict of interest.

According to Lindorff (2010), the idea of *fairness* necessitates the equitable distribution of burdens and benefits, ensuring that some individuals are not unduly burdened in terms of time, energy, disclosure and discomfort or distress. Consequently, before securing the participants' consent, the participants were provided with comprehensive basic details about this study and its nature. Subsequently, I requested their voluntary involvement by signing a consent form, allowing them the freedom to choose whether or not to participate. This form verified their voluntary involvement. Prior to their voluntary participation in the study, they were provided with comprehensive information on the purpose and methodology of the study, including explicit disclosure that both the observation and interviews would be subject to recording.

The concept of *beneficence* is grounded in the belief that activities are deemed appropriate when they optimise potential advantages and reduce potential dangers of damage (Lindorff, 2010). In accordance with this idea, I tried to demonstrate sensitivity towards the needs of the participants and foster positive rapport with them during the course of the research fieldwork.

The idea of *respect for individuals* encompasses several aspects such as maintaining the privacy and confidentiality of participants, as well as being sensitive to their cultural backgrounds (Lindorff, 2010). The foundation of this concept is based on a paradigm whereby individuals possess certain entitlements, including autonomy and privacy. Hence, the act of recording observation and conducting interviews was accompanied by a clear articulation of the confidentiality concern in the consent form. Specifically, it was explicitly stated that the original observation and interview data would be kept private, with no external parties granted access to the primary data of the study. The issue of anonymity was handled by refraining from disclosing the location and name of the school and giving pseudonyms to participants.

Lastly, to maintain the integrity of their study, it is essential for researchers to actively avoid any potential internal *conflict of interest* (Lindorff, 2010), such as through achieving economic benefits. Hence, with regards to this matter, I elucidated to the school principal and the participating teachers that the study constituted an academic investigation, devoid of any financial support or donations from other parties. The participants were not subjected to any kind of coercion in order to induce their participation. Hence, there was no conflict of interest between the participants and me as the researcher.

In accordance with the ethics protocol, prior to seeking the ethics approval from the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC), it was necessary to acquire consent to conduct an educational study in an Indonesian school. On the 20th of April 2021, an ethics approval certificate was acquired for this study with the project number 28098. This certificate was gained subsequent to the completion and submission of all necessary paperwork to the MUHREC, as detailed in Appendix 2. The procedure effectively addressed the primary procedural and ethical

concerns associated with the implementation of social research inside an educational institution. The procedure was initiated by a series of correspondence: an invitation sent to the participants, a comprehensive explanation of the study and the provision of consent forms. All of the correspondence was sent in two languages: Indonesian and English, with the exception of the invitation, which was only issued in the Indonesian language.

5.4. Researcher's Role

As an academic researcher, my own biography and values were introduced into the research context, influencing the behaviour of the research participants (Cohen, et al., 2018). According to Denscombe (2014, p. 88), research is not begun "with a clean sheet"; instead, conceptual frameworks derived from many sources, such as cultures and values, are used. Researchers possess their own politics, theories, age, gender, prejudices, experiences, knowledge, values, beliefs, personal characteristics and background, which inevitably influence their research endeavours (Bettez, 2015). These factors are interconnected with concerns pertaining to power and status (Berger, 2015). They influence the research topic and enquiries, access to the site, connections with the participants, as well as data collection, analysis and interpretation (Berger, 2015). To summarise, it is possible for me to project myself or include personal elements into my study.

In any field of study, it is possible for various influences to arise. As a qualitative researcher, I acknowledged my own presence as a crucial component of my study (Drake, 2010). To ensure the trustworthiness of my study and the credibility of my findings, I employed reflexivity as a means to monitor the delicate balance between my involvement and detachment, while also considering my own bias, values, beliefs and knowledge (Cutcliffe, 2003).

To negotiate reflexivity, this study incorporated several methodological strategies, which included prolonged engagement, repeated interviews, triangulation and member checking (Berger, 2015). Prolonged engagement involved extended interactions with participants over a period of time. Repeated interviews were conducted with the same participants to gather multiple perspectives and deepen my understanding of their experiences. I used a research journal for self-

supervision, allowing me to reflect on my own bias and assumptions throughout the study. Multiple sources of perspectives and data were used to triangulate the findings to improve the validity. I conducted member checking to verify the findings.

According to Mason (1996), the utilisation of reflexivity facilitated the identification and elucidation of the tangible or possible impact of contextual, personal and circumstantial factors on the process and results of my study. Additionally, it ensured that I remained cognisant of my role as an observer inside the environment that was under investigation (Mason, 1996). Consequently, it became necessary for me to engage in introspection on my involvement in both the procedural and outcome aspects of my study (Berger, 2015). In this study, I engaged in a process of self-evaluation pertaining to my dual positionality as both an outsider and an insider.

The location of the study—in my city—facilitated a comprehensive understanding of the background due to my status as an insider, enhancing the depth of knowledge the study could achieve. Furthermore, I have personal experience as a teacher who encountered the intricacies associated with being a civil-servant teacher. Hence, this particular experience had the potential to enhance my understanding of the study via reflection on my own experience. This is deemed appropriate within the context of qualitative research, as according to Flick (2002, p. 16):

> The subjectivity of the researcher and of those being studied becomes part of the research process. Researchers' reflections on their actions and observations in the field, their impressions, irritations, feelings and so on, become data in their own right, forming part of the interpretation.

However, the position of the researcher might be fluid rather than static, affecting the emic-etic balance (Eppley, 2006), i.e. the dual perspective of recording someone’s lived experience (emic) and objectively interpreting it from an outsider's perspective (etic) (Padgett, 2008). To maintain impartiality in my study, I consistently reminded myself of the need to adopt an outsider perspective, thereby mitigating the influence of my personal preconceptions. I acknowledged the information that I acquired from the participants in its original form.

5.5. Selection of the Site

A commonly used method in qualitative research, purposive sampling, selects participants depending on particular criteria. This sampling technique, categorised as a kind of non-probability sampling, does not seek to achieve generalisability outside the sample itself (Cohen et al., 2018). Hence, the process of selecting the school as the sample of this study involved the application of purposive sampling. The school was chosen based on the categorisation system used in Indonesia, which classified senior secondary schools into three categories: A, B and C. In this case, a state senior secondary school belonging to the highest category (A) was picked. The classification of these categories was established based on the accreditation status, which reflects the overall quality of a school, in addition to the academic performance of its students.

The rationale to select a school in the A category was based on the school's ability to meet the national standards imposed by the government. This choice was made in order to observe the implementation of the teacher professional practices and identify any contradictions or tensions that might arise in the teachers' efforts to adhere to these standards. The rationale to choose a state school was based on the observation that teachers in such institutions are frequently subjected to politicisation as a result of education decentralisation policy. These teachers might be used by local authorities to further their own political agendas, or they might exploit the prevailing political climate to secure political or financial benefits (Sulisworo et al., 2017).

A state senior secondary school (*Sekolah Menengah Atas Negeri* or *SMAN*) in the capital city of an Indonesian province, founded in 1957, was chosen for this study (refer to Figure 5.2 of the school entrance). The school's distinctiveness compared to nearby schools influenced this selection. The school was unique in that it provided free education, whereas other schools charged parents via the School Committee regardless of the government funding. As a zoning scheme has been in place for student admission to schools since 2019, most applicants were middle to low socio-economic students. This was because the area where the school was located was surrounded by middle to low income families.

Figure 5.2

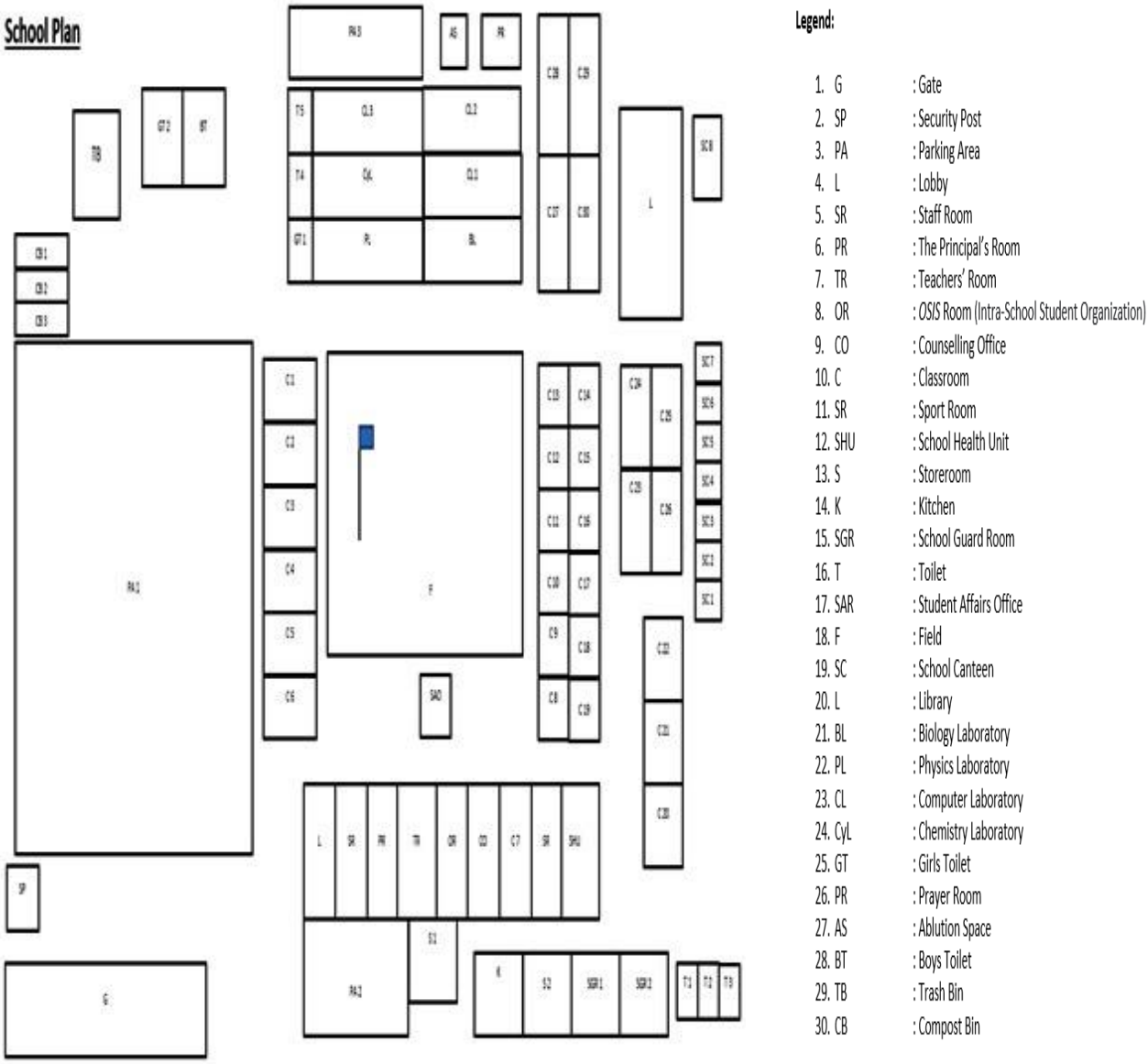
School Entrance

The school was in a crowded neighbourhood. It had 30 classrooms (see Figure 5.3 of the school plan) for 1,117 students and one medium-sized teachers' room to accommodate 61 teachers (based on 2020/2021 Academic Year statistics).

The school was designated by the Provincial Education Office (PEO) to deliver inclusive education, which was officially announced in 2004. Inclusive education allows students with special needs to learn alongside other students in conventional classrooms (O'Neil, 1994).

Figure 5.3

School Plan



5.6. Participants

This study used non-probability sampling for the participant selection. Non-probability sampling does not adhere to predetermined norms for sample size, resulting in potential variability in the sample size (Marshall & Rossman, 2016). Ethnographic studies encompass the inclusion of all individuals under study, sometimes with the aim of capturing essential characteristics of a larger

community and at other times without any goal of generalising to a wider group (Cohen et al., 2018). Hence, the individuals included in this study comprised all the EFL teachers. The principal was included as an informant to give insights on the material-economic arrangements of the school, the education policy and his thoughts on curriculum changes in the country (refer to Appendix 3 for the topics for the informant).

Despite the large number of student population, there were only five EFL teachers: Fareeha, Sadia, Rukhsana, Dafiyah and Amara. Four were government-hired, and one was school-hired. Fareeha, Sadia and Rukhsana began their professional career in 1989 and have been employed in the school since 1991, 1995 and 1999, respectively, whilst Dafiyah commenced her professional career in 2003 and has been working in the school since 2014. Amara, the lone school-hired EFL teacher, began her career in 2004 and has been employed in the school since 2011, mostly teaching non-English subjects. It was not until January 2021 that she assumed the responsibility of teaching English in the school.

Regarding the educational qualification of the teachers, four teachers had Bachelor's degrees, and Dafiyah had a Master's degree. In addition to her role as an EFL teacher, Dafiyah held a position as a classroom teacher and served as the coordinator of *Organisasi Siswa Intra-Sekolah* (Intra-School Student Organisation) or *OSIS*. In contrast to the other four teachers who fulfilled roles as both classroom teachers and EFL teachers, Amara exclusively assumed the position of an EFL teacher. Table 5.2 summarises the participants' profiles.

Table 5.2

Summary of the Participants' Profiles

Names	Educational Background	Employment Status	Years of Teaching Experience	Types of Subject Taught	No. of Classes Taught (Academic Year of 2020/2021)	Grades & Types of Classes Taught	No. of Teaching Hours (Academic Year of 2020/2021)	Curriculum Phases Experienced (until this study was conducted)
Fareeha	Bachelor's degree	Civil servant	32 years (2 years teaching English at another school, 30 years teaching English at the school)	Elective English	7 classes	Grade 10 & 11 *MIPA* classes, Grade 11 & 12 *IPS* classes	26 hours	*CBSA, KML, KBK, KTSP, K-13, K-13 Revisi, Kurikulum Darurat*
Sadia	Bachelor's degree	Civil servant	32 years (6 years teaching English at another school, 26 years teaching English at the school)	Compulsory English	12 classes	Grade 10 *MIPA* classes, Grade 10 & 11 *IPS* classes	24 hours	*CBSA, KML, KBK, KTSP, K-13, K-13 Revisi, Kurikulum Darurat*
Rukhsana	Bachelor's degree	Civil servant	32 years (10 years teaching English at another school, 22 years teaching English at the school)	Elective English	6 classes	Grade 12 *MIPA* classes	24 hours	*CBSA, KML, KBK, KTSP, K-13, K-13 Revisi, Kurikulum Darurat*
Dafiyah	Master's degree	Civil servant	18 years (11 years teaching English at another school, 7 years teaching English at the school)	Compulsory English	12 classes	Grade 11 & 12 *MIPA* classes, Grade 12 *IPS* classes	24 hours	*KML, KBK, KTSP, K-13, K-13 Revisi, Kurikulum Darurat*
Amara	Bachelor's degree	Non-civil servant	17 years (6 years teaching English at another school, 10 years teaching non-English subject at the school, 1 year teaching English at the school)	Compulsory English, Life Skill and Entrepreneurship	13 classes	Grade 11 *MIPA* & *IPS* classes, Grade 12 *MIPA* classes	26 hours	*KBK, KTSP, K-13, K-13 Revisi, Kurikulum Darurat*

5.7. Validity and Reliability

Validity in qualitative research pertains to the suitability of the data collecting procedures for ascertaining the research aims (Winter, 2000). This study used validity concepts as outlined by Ary et al. (2002) and Flick (2009): (1) the study should adopt a holistic approach, considering all relevant aspects and factors; (2) the researcher should actively engage with the subject being studied and play a central role in the research process; (3) the perspective of the participants should be prioritised when observing and reporting on the situation; (4) the primary source of data should be derived from the natural environment or context where the research happens; (5) the description of the research findings should be rich in detail and provide a comprehensive understanding of the subject matter; (6) the meaning is of utmost importance in the research process; (7) the data collected should be descriptive and situated within the social context, and the analysis should be conducted inductively rather than relying on a priori category and (8) emphasis should be placed on understanding the underlying process rather than solely focusing on the outcome.

According to Maxwell (2009), enhancing the validity of qualitative research might be achieved by many means, including the use of rich and comprehensive data, engaging in extensive participation, critically examining alternative explanations for the observed phenomena and using triangulation techniques. As previously mentioned, a variety of data gathering approaches were used, including semi-structured in-depth interviews, a focus group discussion, observation and documentation. Data triangulation or diverse data gathering techniques was employed to augment the research validity. Additionally, Agar (1986) posits that the comprehensive and detailed responses provided by participants, together with the researcher's personal engagement in the qualitative data collecting process, should contribute a degree of validity and reliability.

In the context of qualitative studies, according to Bogdan and Biklen (1992), the concept of reliability pertains to the degree of correspondence between the actual occurrences within the natural environment under investigation and the data recorded by the researcher. This encompasses the extent of coverage and the level of correctness in capturing the observed phenomena. The

reliability includes honesty, detail, depth of responses, meaningfulness to the respondents, situation- and context-specificity, comprehensiveness and authenticity (Cohen et al., 2018). To establish the autonomy of the participants, I explicitly communicated to them that their involvement in the study was voluntary and they could terminate their participation at any point or decline to participate altogether. This was to guarantee that the individuals included in the study were motivated to participate and provide data without any undue pressure or obligation. To maintain the accuracy of the data, the participants were requested to review the transcribed interviews for any instances of misunderstanding or omitted ideas.

5.8. Data Collection Methods

As delineated in the preceding sections, this study employed digital ethnography, with data collecting procedure based on the TPA. Consequently, the teacher practices were examined digitally within intersubjective spaces, including semantic, physical and social spaces. This examination included the analysis of sayings, doings and relatings, while taking into account the many resources available, including cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements within the site.

I used the TPA, which includes methods such as interviews and observation, in order to achieve comprehensive understanding of social reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In addition to interviews and observation, documentation was included to enhance the data. The use of several data gathering methods was to achieve triangulation and provide thorough understanding of the execution of the teacher practices. According to Patton (2002), research that uses only one method of data collection is more susceptible to errors and bias compared to research that employs many methods. The inclusion of diverse types of data in a study allows for cross-data consistency checks, hence enhancing the validity and reliability of the findings. The summary of the data collecting process is shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Description of Data Collection

Data Sources	The Timeline of Data Collection					
Observation	Observation through the participants' WAG & ZMs to get data of the participant work practices					
Virtual Tours	3 times to get data of material arrangements of the site					
Documentation (D)	D	FGD	SSI 1	SSI with the principal	SSI 2	SSI 3
Focus Group Discussion (FGD)						
Semi-Structured Interview 1, 2, 3 (SSI 1, SSI 2, SSI 3)		45 minutes	30 minutes	30 minutes	30 minutes	30 minutes
Time	April	1st week of May	4th week of May	4th week of May	June	July
	24 April to 19 July 2021					

5.8.1. Observation

Given that ethnography primarily relies on observation (Cohen et al., 2018), it is imperative to engage in fieldwork using participant observation to gather the data within the designated location. This involves taking detailed descriptive notes and providing analytical commentary on the culture of the participants under study. Subsequently, these findings are documented in a way that is both amenable and accessible to the intended audience (Bryman, 2008). According to Bajc (2012), conducting close observation enables researchers to discern the gradual development of social life within a certain context and carefully consider many aspects that impact the result of social practices. The researchers are able to gather data pertaining to the physical settings (the physical environment), the human settings (the characteristics of the individuals being observed), the interactional settings (various types of interactions such as formal, informal, planned, unplanned, verbal and non-verbal) and various aspects of the programme (such as the curriculum and its organisation) (Morrison, 1993).

The observation centred on the professional practices of the teachers across semantic, physical and social realms. This included examining the cultural-discursive, material-economic and

social-political arrangements of their practices. This study looked at the teachers' sayings—the discourses used by the teachers while discussing neoliberal curriculum reforms. It also explored how they engaged with one another and with students using shared languages. Furthermore, it examined their doings, i.e. how they carried out their practices in different physical spaces, both indoors and outdoors, and within the economic arrangements. Additionally, it explored their relatings, i.e. how they formed relationships with each other and with other individuals in the medium of power and solidarity, such as with students, other teachers or the principal, as well as how they navigated the bureaucratic control and interacted with non-human objects, such as practical agreements, policies, rules or roles.

I observed using Merriam's (1988) observation guide, which encompasses several field note components. The first component included the physical surroundings. I conducted virtual tours of the location and then composed a textual depiction of the site to obtain a visual description of the actual surroundings. Next, the details of the participants were documented. Then, I discussed the interactions and activities on the site. I utilised the TPA framework (Kemmis & Edwards-Groves, 2018; Kemmis et al., 2014; Schatzki, 2002, 2005, and 2010) and LeCompte and Preissle's (1993) instructions to lead the observation (refer to Appendix 4).

Observation has both strengths and weaknesses. The virtues of observation lie in its ability to accurately document events as they occur and to provide a comprehensive understanding of the background of the case being observed (Yin, 2009). Observing teachers might be a lengthy process and might lead them to behave differently due to the presence of the observer. This means that the events that occur during the observation could deviate somewhat from what often occurs in non-research conditions. This is because the participants are conscious of being watched (Yin, 2009). Nevertheless, Borg (2006) contends that researchers might lack the means to accurately gauge the magnitude of distortion, and in observational studies, classroom activities are often seen as inherently natural. Providing an explanation of the objectives of the study and the need of observation in the study alleviated the problem of the teachers' reactions, which are mostly caused

by the teachers' lack of information of the aims and nature of the study (Borg, 2006). Furthermore, the responsive behaviour of the teachers has a tendency to diminish as time progresses. Thus, I carried out lengthy observation to increase the reliability of the data.

The observation was supplemented with an observational note (refer to Appendix 5) to document field notes (Creswell, 2013) that might take different forms, such as an observer's remarks, verbatim descriptions and quotations (Merriam, 2009), including enquiries to be made, reflections and topics for additional discussions and investigations (Kawulich, 2005).

The teacher practices were monitored via their WhatsApp Group (WAG) while they conducted their practices online. This was facilitated by the existence of a shared WAG among the school community, which acted as a platform for sharing and fostering connections among their principal and colleagues. The observation was conducted during Zoom sessions with the principal and co-workers in order to gather data on their practices. The observation period ran from April 24th to July 19th, 2021 (from the middle of the second semester of the 2020 Academic Year to the second week of the 2021 Academic Year). Furthermore, due to the use of digital ethnography, this study included video tours to facilitate my investigation into the material-economic arrangements of the school (Pink et al., 2016). Section 5.5 presented one of the images captured from the virtual tour recording. To get authentic data and eliminate any potential bias from the photographer, it is recommended to use the first-person viewpoint in qualitative research (Pink, 2015). Hence, to mitigate any potential photographer bias, as the researcher I personally conducted and guided the virtual tours, using my own viewpoint to analyse the image of the site.

5.8.2. Interviews

Another method to collect the data involves conducting interviews to get the participants' narratives, which refers to how the participants articulate their life experiences (Tiainen & Koivunen, 2006). Although interviews might be time-consuming, they provide researchers the opportunity to get insights into the participants' perspectives and experiences, making them a valuable method for gathering information (Patton, 2002). They might also be advantageous as further enquiries to

certain participants to delve deeper into their responses. The interview method is essential for generating data because it allows for a thorough analysis of each participant's subjective narrative, which helps record the topics to be researched. The interviews were conducted to examine the professional practices of the EFL teachers and gain understanding of their professional identity and agency, as well as the complicated challenges associated with these. I opted to conduct a focus group discussion (FGD) and semi-structured in-depth interviews (SSIs), which were conducted in Indonesian or the local tongue to ensure clarity and understanding. They were also videotaped for reference. However, on occasion, the participants sometimes provided their responses to the interview questions in English.

An FGD is a research method that involves a group interview format, whereby participants engage in interactive discussions facilitated by a researcher (Morgan, 1997). The purpose of an FGD is to generate a collective perspective on a given issue, rather than focusing on individual viewpoints (Cohen et al., 2018). During an FGD, the participants engage in interpersonal communication inside the group setting, rather than engaging directly with the interviewer. The emergence of data is contingent upon interactions, thereby highlighting the significance of group dynamics (Denscombe, 2014). The researcher’s role includes serving as a facilitator who guides the conversation, exercises control over the group when necessary and ensures that the participants remain focused on the topic of discussion. An FGD is deliberately designed to deviate from natural conversation patterns but is adhering to a predetermined framework and concentrating on a certain topic. Consequently, this method has the potential to provide unique insights that might not be easily obtained via a conventional interview format (Cohen et al., 2018).

To delve into the personal experiences, perspectives and biographies of the participants, in-depth interviews were utilised. These interviews aim to uncover participants' knowledge on a given topic, values, meaningful experiences, emotional responses, opinions, attitudes and sentiments towards specific issues (Newby, 2010). For guidance purposes, in-depth interviews tend to be semi-structured. Therefore, in this study an interview schedule was used to maintain focus throughout

the interviews and to elicit additional information that had not been obtained in earlier interviews (Cohen et al., 2018).

The FGD was administered prior to the SSIs to establish familiarity with the EFL teachers. The FGD lasted around 45 minutes. Several subjects were identified over the course of the debate, and subsequently, these issues were explored in further depth. The SSIs were administered throughout three distinct sessions with each teacher individually, lasting around 30 minutes each interview per participant. The division into three sessions was necessitated by the presence of three distinct research issues that needed to be addressed. The question guidelines for the FGD and SSI can be found in Appendices 6 and 7 respectively.

The FGD and first SSI were held respectively in the first and fourth week of May. The second and third SSI respectively followed in June and July. The rationale for conducting interviews at intervals of three to four weeks was to assess the teachers' consistency in their statements on comparable topics over a period of time. The purpose of this was for the cross-checking of the data sources to ensure the reliability and validity of qualitative data. Patton (2002) recommends evaluating the consistency of information gathered at different points in time using various qualitative methods.

5.8.3. Documentation

Gathering documentation has both advantages and disadvantages. According to Yin (2009), documentation has many key characteristics that make it a valuable kind of data in research. First, documentation is stable, allowing for repeated examination and analysis as necessary. Second, it is unobtrusive since it is generated independently from the case study itself. Finally, it is precise, providing accurate and detailed information. Nevertheless, some challenges arise in relation to the accessibility and selection of documents due to purposeful withholding of information (Yin, 2009). Documentation can be enhanced by the inclusion of mass-mediated information and other forms of physical or digital materials, such as images. These resources can assist researchers in understanding the intricate social dynamics they are investigating (Bajc, 2012).

To enhance the comprehensiveness of the research findings, supplementary data in the form of various documents were gathered as secondary sources, where deemed essential, to address RQ 1. The documents provided included several components of the educational framework, including the prevailing curriculum policy, circulars, English textbooks, teaching schedule and supplementary materials generated by the teachers. These additional materials consisted of lesson plans, syllabi, minimum completeness analysis, effective week details, as well as semester and yearly programmes. In addition, the teachers were requested to fill in forms about their profiles using Google Forms.

5.9. Data Analysis Methods

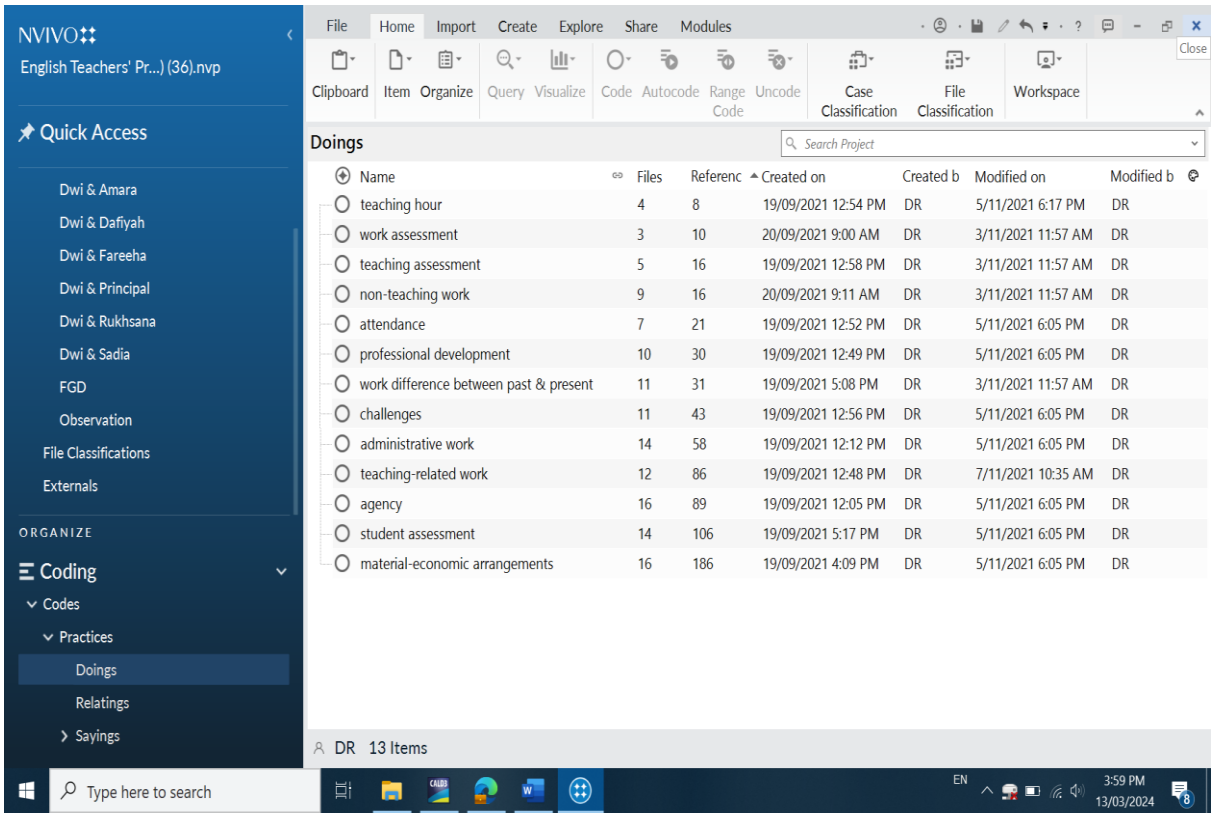
In contrast to the deductive approach used in data gathering, the data analysis was undertaken using an inductive approach. Inductive data analysis involves the systematic categorisation of data into distinct categories, which are determined by identifying recurring themes, patterns and interrelationships within these groupings (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993). According to Flick (2002), it comprises three distinct stages that serve as the fundamental basis for discussions in the research process. The stages consist of open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Throughout the open coding phase, all identified themes are grouped together. In the axial coding phase, these groups are interconnected with one another. Finally, during the selective coding phase, only topics that are deemed potentially significant and relevant are chosen for the research discussions. The process of selective coding necessitates the researcher's understanding of the pertinent concerns. Hence, it is important to consistently consult the literature review.

The data analysis of the teacher practices, identity and agency were guided by the TSO and TPA frameworks based on the teachers' sayings, doings and relatings. However, while the findings of the teacher practices and agency are presented in terms of the arrangements that enable and constrain the teacher practices and agency, the findings of the teacher identity are presented using a narrative approach.

Following the transcription of the data obtained from the observation and interviews (Busetto et al., 2020), in addition to documentation as secondary data, a coding process was conducted wherein the data were assigned labels or markers consisting of concise descriptors representing the substance of each sentence or paragraph (Punch, 2014). The process of coding involves the linkage of unprocessed data with theoretical terms, enabling the categorisation of the data (Busetto et al., 2020). The coding procedure was performed via the software tool NVivo. The codes were condensed and organised into groups or categories (open coding) (Flick, 2002), aligning with the TPA framework. Subsequently, the groups were interconnected (axial coding), and ultimately, only pertinent themes were selected to address the research questions (selective coding) (Flick, 2002). An example of the coding can be seen in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4

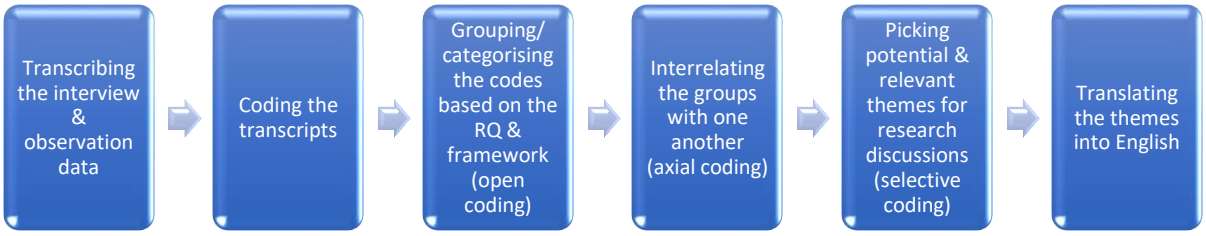
Coding



To preserve the nuance and the intended meaning of the original language, the data were transcribed and analysed in their respective native language. Subsequently, the findings were translated into English for the purpose of presenting and discussing the data. The data analysis procedure is shown in Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5

Data Analysis Procedure



The responses of the teachers exhibited significant variations and were provided in the form of anonymous quotations derived from the translated interview data. I condensed the content of the interviews to extract the essential content from a transcript (McArdle, 2018). The condensing serves as a valuable method for elucidating significant categories (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The process was conducted by prioritising the inclusion of more significant data for presentation purposes, while removing any unnecessary responses that were deemed unrelated to the research questions.

5.10. Concluding Remarks

This chapter presents an analysis of my research methodology, beginning with the selection of my research paradigm and followed by an explanation of the reasons behind the data collection methods that I used. This chapter has restated that the study being conducted is a qualitative digital-ethnography, which utilises site ontology and practice theory to understand how reality is seen. The focal point of the discussion centred on the study's aims to thoroughly investigate specific issues instead of pursuing generalisation, as is often done in quantitative studies. The explanations provided in this chapter seek to establish a strong rationale for selecting a methodological approach that supports this study.

Chapter 6

The Practice Architectures of EFL Teacher Professional Practices in Times of Neoliberal Curriculum Reforms

This chapter discusses the research findings in response to RQ 1: How are the professional practices of Indonesian EFL teachers performed in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms? It presents EFL teacher professional practices by examining their experiences and how they performed their practices.

Using the TPA lens for the analysis of the execution of the teacher professional practices, the findings of this study reveal that the teachers' sayings drew on a range of cultural-discursive arrangements, such as discourses around curriculum reforms, accountability and neoliberal governmentality, which are presented in Subsection 6.1.1. These sayings were bundled together with the teachers' particular activities or doings enabled and constrained by particular material-economic arrangements found in the site (refer to Subsection 6.1.2). The sayings and doings were prefigured by social-political arrangements and enmeshed with changes in teachers' relatings (refer to Subsection 6.1.3). It is crucial to remark that the theory has performed an analytical role in this regard. The three facets of practices (sayings, doings and relatings) are woven in a distinctive project (Kemmis et al. 2014). The project of the practices that this study is mapping is the teachers' attempts to implement the EFL curriculum reforms that are informed by neoliberal ideology.

The next section presents a discussion section on the findings. However, some discussions are presented directly after the findings, either to clarify them or to emphasise a point from the findings.

6.1. The Practice Architectures of EFL Teacher Professional Practices

The arrangements, consisting of the cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements, in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms in an Indonesian school setting reveal how praxis-oriented and neoliberal conditions coexisted in both policies and practices. In real-

world practices, these interrelated arrangements simultaneously enable and constrain how the practices are conducted (Kemmis & Grootenboer, 2008; Kemmis et al., 2014; Rönnerman et al., 2017).

The findings are presented in different parts to see how the set of arrangements impacted the EFL teacher professional practices, especially their work practices at the school, i.e.:

1) how the cultural-discursive arrangements made their sayings possible or enabled and constrained their sayings, what discourses became the bases of their sayings or how they understood, perceived or realised their practices or something in relation to their practices,
2) how the material-economic arrangements enabled and constrained their doings in their workplace in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms and
3) how the social-political arrangements enabled and constrained their relatings with their authorities, colleagues, students and school organisation.

Though the arrangements are presented as such, I acknowledge that they are interrelated, and the intertwining of the teachers' sayings, doings and relatings creates coherence and leads to the sustainability of the teacher practices. This enmeshment acts as an amalgamation that shows how integrated their practices are.

6.1.1. The Cultural-Discursive Arrangements Enabling and Constraining the EFL Teachers' Sayings

The teachers' sayings in the school settings are examined within semantic space in cultural-discursive arrangements. These arrangements can be found in the language, discourses, thinking and understanding, referred to as the semantic space which shapes practices (Cooke & Francisco, 2021; Kemmis et al., 2014). According to Kemmis et al. (2014, p. 32), they might be seen as "what language or specialist discourse is appropriate for describing, interpreting and justifying the practice", such as employing words or phrases like 'accountable', 'tighter control', etc. to perform the neoliberal ideology.

From the discourse analysis of the interactions between the EFL teachers and their colleagues, either through the school WAG or through the ZMs, as well as from the FGD and SSIs, it was evident that their sayings were heavily influenced by the cultural-discursive arrangements within neoliberal practice architectures. These arrangements were mediated by the discourses of curriculum reforms, accountability and neoliberal governmentality, which are presented in the following subsections.

6.1.1.1. Discourse of Curriculum Reforms. This section discusses how the participants' sayings were shaped by the discourse of curriculum reforms in the country. The data were generated from the FGD and SSIs.

The reforms of Indonesian education and, specifically, curriculum have continuously occurred as the result of broader neoliberal ideology and are part of the government's initiatives to increase the effectiveness of education and to make it more competitive internationally. Therefore, the discourse reflected in the WAG, ZMs, FGD and SSIs was mainly the discourse of curriculum reforms. According to the teachers, new English curriculum documents constrained their sayings (and understanding). For instance, Amara perceived that new curriculum documents constrained her understanding of "how to make the correct lesson plans based on the English curriculum currently used, except there is training that invites English curriculum experts who explain about the new English curriculum" (SSI, May 25, 2021). Even Dafiyah stated, "It might take more than one explanation from the English curriculum experts to make us understand what actually the new English curriculum wants from us" (SSI, May 25, 2021). The teachers emphasised that they understood the curriculum as an essential policy development that could more clearly define how they might use their expertise and professional knowledge.

In regard to these reforms, the teachers realised that the reforms had both positive and negative effects. As Rukhsana stated:

> The positive effect is the provision of rewards from the government for us in the form of teacher certification allowance. With this allowance, we're required to work

> professionally. Unfortunately, the government doesn't see our ability to fulfil all the demands and doesn't measure the extent to which we can professionally fulfil all the demands (FGD, May 4, 2021).

Rukhsana's statement shows that the certification allowance they received was not commensurate with the demands they had to respond to.

In spite of what Rukhsana said, Dafiyah mentioned a positive aspect of the current curriculum policy, i.e. the policy of a one-page lesson plan. The policy means that the lesson plan could be brief, only one page, with the condition that it still contained the core components that had to be included in the lesson plan: the learning objectives, the learning steps (activities) and the learning assessments. However, all the teachers said that the policy from the central government, which advised the lesson plan structure and its length, was not actually implemented by the provincial government because the supervisory team sent by the provincial government to the school wanted a complete lesson plan with clearly defined activity plans that also contained attachments of exercises.

In contrast to Dafiyah's statement, Fareeha remained sceptical about the government's curriculum policy. She argued, "Behind the policy of the minister [the MEC] regarding the one-page lesson plan, teachers aren't aware that in fact the government still makes teachers busy in a different way" (SSI, May 25, 2021). According to the teachers, although the lesson plan requirements were simplified, the assessment process required more work. The assessment aspects were even extended, not only in cognitive and psychomotor areas, but also in affective areas, which should be described in detail. The national exam was replaced by a national assessment—*AKM*—, most likely termed as a PISA- and TIMSS-inspired test because it was designed like PISA and TIMSS test items (Indahri, 2021).

The teachers agreed that while the assessment reflected a shift from the high-stakes test that the students used to do, it might create the possibility of a different rat race. If the central government fell into the trap of making school success all about rankings, the regional governments

and schools, especially teachers, would be pressured to do everything they could to achieve the highest score. It would just be another national exam but with a 'different skin'. This is what Fareeha mentioned as "the government still makes teachers busy in a different way" despite the policy of one-page lesson plan and the replacement of the national exam.

Sadia also pointed out that one of the main differences between previous curricula and the current curriculum was the addition of affective assessment to the cognitive and psychomotor ones. As she stated, "Teachers are required to assess students. In the previous curricula, assessment focused on students' academic abilities. Now in *K-13 Revisi*, the assessment focused on students' attitudes. This is what makes *K-13 Revisi* different from the previous curricula" (FGD, May 4, 2021).

Furthermore, according to the participants, the reforms were implemented too fast, without sufficient time to reflect on and evaluate the results of the previous curricula changes. Dafiyah made a medical care analogy to describe this situation:

> The constant change of the curriculum is quite confusing for us. Every time the minister [MEC] changed, the policies also changed and the learning methods also changed. Ultimately, we have to learn again from the beginning. An analogy to describe this situation is that if we're sick, we take a medicine, but before the medicine runs out and shows results, we take a new medicine. Therefore, we, as the frontliners and implementers in education, feel a little overwhelmed (FGD, May 4, 2021).

Dafiyah likened the curriculum reform to a medicine for the ailing education system in the country. Her statement reflects that before the curriculum was successfully implemented and remedied the ailing education, the government rushed to change it again. In consequence, the education system could not experience the expected recovery due to the frequent curriculum reforms occurring in a very short timeframe. This suggests that the government did not do a thorough evaluation of each curriculum reform prior to introducing a new one.

Another teacher, Amara, reinforced this perception by likening teachers and students to guinea pigs in education experiments. She said, “The constant curriculum reforms have been around for a long time. I don't understand what 'game' the government is playing. Maybe teachers and students have become guinea pigs in education” (SSI, May 24, 2021). Although the teachers understand that the curriculum reforms aim to improve the education in the country, their perceptions reveal the criticisms of the constant reforms, such as Amara’s reference to being guinea pigs in educational experiments.

As the curriculum reforms are relatively recent, the teachers indicated that they were struggling to understand the curriculum ever since the latest reforms and expressed feelings of being “overwhelmed”, as in Dafiyah’s statement above. This shows that curriculum reforms also uncover an emotional impact of the change process on teachers (Mellegård & Pettersen, 2016), i.e. being overwhelmed. Hargreaves et al. (2001) state that there is duality in educational change, which includes intellectual and emotional elements, and teachers have to deal with the intellectual and emotional effects when they experience changes. As revealed by the EFL teachers at the school, due to the frequent curriculum reforms, they were overwhelmed with the changes of syllabi, lesson plans and other teaching and learning resources.

In regard to the frequent curriculum reforms, Dafiyah’s medical analogy to describe the curriculum reforms in the country was also in line with the view of Maaz, the school principal:

> It’s commonly known that in Indonesia curriculum changed when the minister [MEC] changed. We actually don't have an idea why the policy-makers keep changing the curriculum, instead of continuing or simply revising the previous curriculum. This sometimes makes us wonder what they really want. When we were just about to understand the previous curriculum, suddenly another new curriculum appeared. If we look at the reality, indeed, we haven’t seen the result of each curriculum change yet. Honestly, these changes often confuse us as school stakeholders, especially if the new curriculum is completely different from the previous one. Consequently, we have

> to learn from scratch again (SSI, May 29, 2021).

The use of the word 'suddenly' in Maaz's response emphasises the unwarranted frequency of curriculum changes. His statement shows an effort- and time-consuming process in the implementation of a new curriculum, which affects them emotionally. This suggests that before deciding to make a curriculum reform, the government should consider not only the intellectual capacities of the teachers and other school stakeholders, but also their emotional capacities. As Mellegård and Pettersen (2016) state, the core of a curriculum reform is an interaction between intellectual and emotional labour. Goodson (2000) argues that when entering a complex change process, the latter cannot be neglected. As shown in this study, the teachers did not feel that their emotional labour was acknowledged or even noticed.

The data show that although both the teachers and the principal did not really understand the actual aims of the reforms, they realised that the frequent policy changes in the country were due to the political intervention of the authorities in response to the external challenges they faced. As mandated by the MEC through the Regulation Number 69/2013, *K-13 Revisi* was created because of external challenges arising from global economic changes, technological advancement and quality demands on the education sector.

In terms of English curriculum reforms, Fareeha perceived that "Curriculum reforms indeed require us to think about students' future, so that they can compete with others in the current era, communicate in English and enjoy English" (FGD, May 4, 2021). However, in her opinion:

> One of the shortcomings of the past and present English curricula is that they've placed too much emphasis on reading skills, where students are required to be able to understand reading texts, so the activities mostly done by students in class are silent reading [intensive reading] activities. As a result, the other English skills [listening, speaking and writing] as well as English pronunciation and structure, are not emphasised. In fact, all of these must be taught as well (FGD, May 4, 2021).

Other teachers supported Fareeha's statement by mentioning that the focus of the English curriculum on reading skills has resulted in students' reticence and passivity in English classrooms. This finding is in line with Cahyono and Widiati's (2006) analysis of EFL pedagogy in Indonesia. They assert that intensive reading has been the primary emphasis of EFL reading instruction in Indonesia, despite the advantages that extensive reading could provide for students' English vocabulary and language development.

The teachers realised that English subject was more difficult to understand than other subjects as English is not students' first language and not many students liked English; hence, not only reading and writing but also listening and speaking should be emphasised in the curriculum, while practical teaching approaches involving these skills could help develop students' motivation in learning English.

6.1.1.2. Discourse of Accountability. The most frequently occurring theme in analysing an accountability discourse was student progress or achievement, often defined narrowly by students' test scores or students' success. This discourse was central to the zoom meeting (ZM) where the VPAA mentioned the requirements for students to fulfil in order to graduate, and it was the responsibility of the teachers to ensure that the students passed these requirements. In regard to the English subject, an example of the statement of the VPAA is:

> For subjects with practical exams [such as English], the graduation score is taken from the average of the theoretical and practical test scores of the school exams. [...] the lowest *USP* [*Ujian Satuan Pendidikan* or Education Unit Examination] average score for all subjects is in accordance with the *KKM*, approved at the teacher council meeting and reach at least 50% [of the teacher council votes] (the student graduation ZM, April 30, 2021).

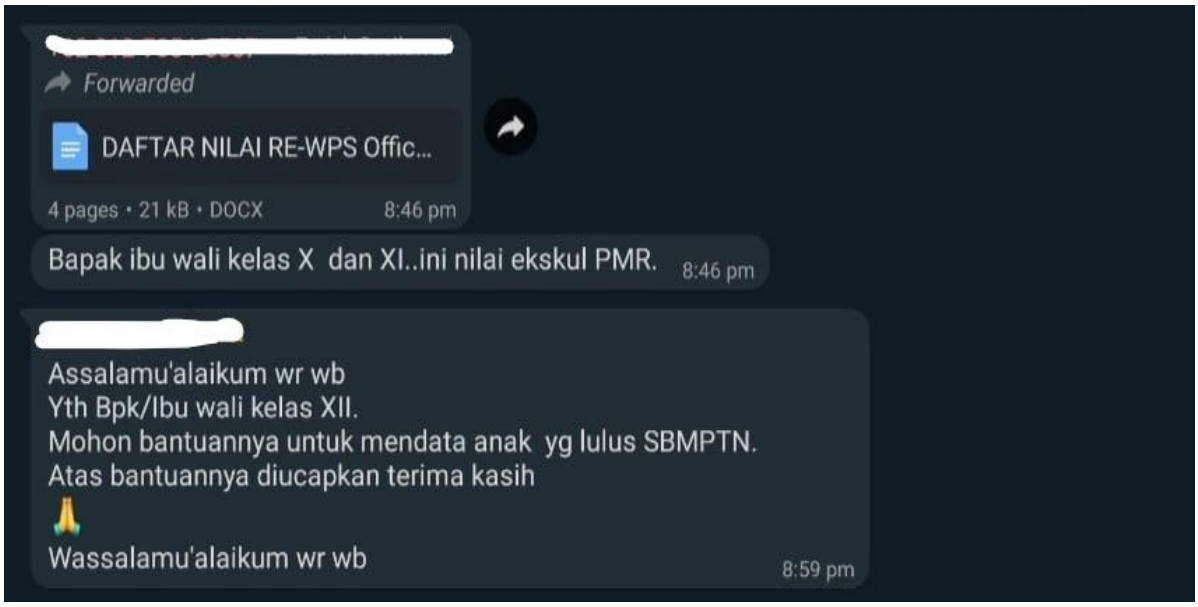
The teachers' sayings in the ZM were about the challenges they faced with students who had some issues in fulfilling the minimum score requirements and the solutions to these issues.

Unfortunately, during the discussions about this, the ZM was muted due to the confidential issues addressed in the meeting. The challenges they experienced with students were also discussed in their WAG, but no clear solutions to these challenges were given in the group. I assume that the solutions were given to the teachers privately due to my existence as a researcher in the group.

Teachers' realisation that they were part of an agenda of external priorities and narrow, test-based definitions of student academic progress or achievement enabled their sayings towards what is meant by success in their practices. This was exemplified in Fareeha's simple definition of her own successful practices, i.e. "As long as my students score well in English, I'm doing my job well" (SSI, May 25, 2021). This sentiment was certainly not unique to these teachers at this time because the ways the school implemented an accountability-based discourse were seen in WAG when there were messages that listed students' scores as well as names of students who were accepted in state universities or colleges at the end of academic year, June 2021 (refer to Figure 6.1. for this discourse).

Figure 6.1

Discourse about VPAA's Request to List Students Who Were Accepted in State Universities/Colleges

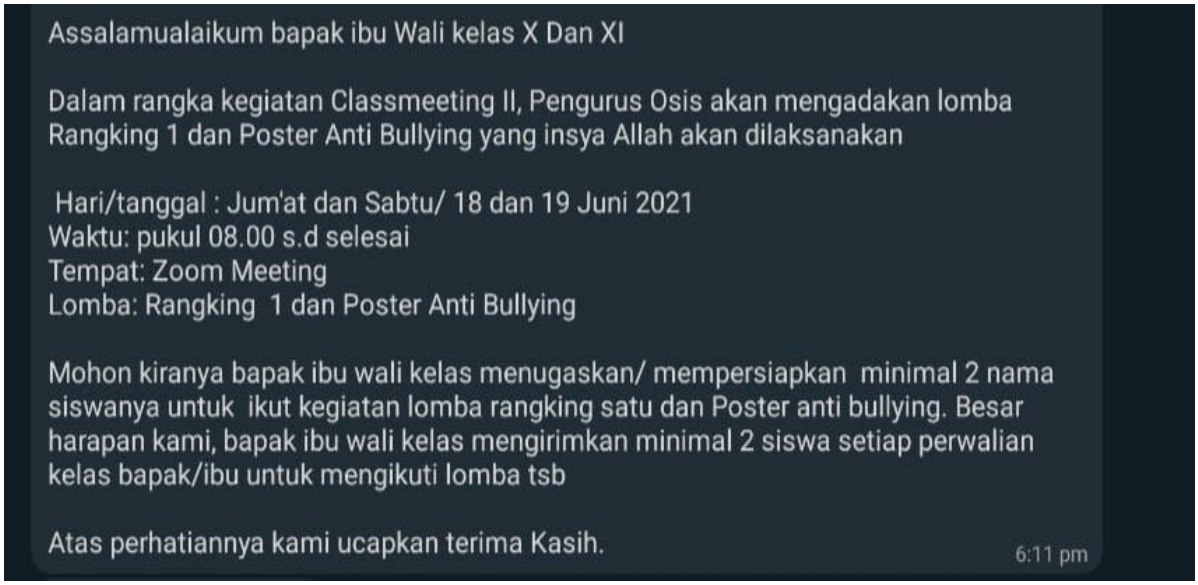


In Figure 6.1, the first message was about students' scores, and the second one was the message from the VPAA asking teachers to list students who were accepted in state universities or colleges. The following messages responding to this request were teachers' messages listing their students' names accepted in state universities or colleges (due to confidentiality issues, I cannot display students' names).

The ways the school implemented an accountability-based discourse on measuring and displaying student achievement were also seen in WAG when, for example, the vice principals shared information about exam try-outs and webinars conducted by external private institutions in collaboration with the school to improve students' scores in their school exams and to discuss topics about strategies or tips in order for students to be accepted into favoured state universities and state-affiliated colleges, and teachers were instructed to send their students to join these try-outs and webinars. Another instruction was also given to teachers by an EFL teacher, who was also an *OSIS* coordinator, to send at least two students from each class to participate in competitions, such as Ranking 1 and Anti-Bullying Poster competitions. The poster competition could be either in Indonesian or English (refer to Figure 6.2 for this discourse).

Figure 6.2

Discourse about Competitions in WAG


Assalamualaikum bapak ibu Wali kelas X Dan XI

Dalam rangka kegiatan Classmeeting II, Pengurus Osis akan mengadakan lomba Rangking 1 dan Poster Anti Bullying yang insya Allah akan dilaksanakan

Hari/tanggal : Jum'at dan Sabtu/ 18 dan 19 Juni 2021
Waktu: pukul 08.00 s.d selesai
Tempat: Zoom Meeting
Lomba: Rangking 1 dan Poster Anti Bullying

Mohon kiranya bapak ibu wali kelas menugaskan/ mempersiapkan minimal 2 nama siswanya untuk ikut kegiatan lomba rangking satu dan Poster anti bullying. Besar harapan kami, bapak ibu wali kelas mengirimkan minimal 2 siswa setiap perwalian kelas bapak/ibu untuk mengikuti lomba tsb

Atas perhatiannya kami ucapkan terima Kasih.

6:11 pm

Because the teachers were required to meet the formulated standards of student achievement, this became the basis of their sayings. This arrangement constrained the teachers' English sayings with students inside and outside the classroom, as described in Sadia's statement, "With students, the languages I use are mixed, the local language, Indonesian and English. Sometimes they don't understand if I use only Indonesian or English" (SSI, May 25, 2021). The teachers' choices of the languages (local language, Indonesian and English) used inside and outside the classroom were based on what language was more comfortable with students. By doing this, they felt that there was no gap between them and their students in communication, while at the same time they could correct the students who were confident to speak in English if they made mistakes. For instance, Dafiyah said:

> I inevitably have to respond to any language [local language, Indonesian and English] used by my students inside and outside the classroom, so that the communication between me and them can run smoothly and so that if they make mistakes in the communication [in English], I can correct them (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Their choices of languages were based on what they saw to be the most efficient one to achieve the education standards since they felt compelled to enact the notion of student outcomes, as Dafiyah said, "English education in Indonesian schools is more likely product-oriented because the end goal is students' scores" (SSI, May 25, 2021).

I included the languages that the teachers used with their students in the teachers' sayings in the cultural-discursive dimension because the languages used were not only in the context of the teacher teaching practices, but also in the context of the teacher work practices. The reason for this is clear in that the communication between teachers and students happened not only in the classroom, but also outside the classroom as part of their work practices.

Besides the accountability discourse of student achievement, there was also an accountability discourse of the enhancement of teacher overall performance. An example of the cultural-discursive arrangement in relation to this was indicated when the principal mentioned

teacher professional development programmes in the class promotion ZM on June 24, 2021. He stated, “In regard to teacher professional development programmes, based on the mandate from the Head of Provincial Education Office, teachers are expected to participate in any professional development programmes to improve their professional expertise.” Therefore, the teachers’ sayings were enabled by this arrangement, such as what motivated the teachers to join the professional development programmes. For instance, Dafiyah stated:

> The certificates that we receive from the programmes are to update our credit points, so that we can get promoted. However, if we rarely update our credit points, it’s not because we’re lazy to do so, but because we’re busy with our work (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Dafiyah’s statement shows that their motivation to join the programmes was mainly instrumental and that one of the reasons that might constrain them from joining the programmes was due to the amount of work expected. She added these sayings by also mentioning financial issues as another reason for this instrumental motivation, so she only participated in free professional development programmes or the ones funded by the school. This statement was supported by Rukhsana who perceived that:

> Teacher professional development programmes from the government haven’t been maximised because not all teachers are included to take part in these programmes. The selection of teachers who’re included in the programmes is based on the readiness of the teachers and the available funds of the schools. In the past, the government allocated funds for teachers who wanted to participate in the *MGMPBI*, and teachers were even given money for transportation, but now schools are required to pay the fee for teachers who want to participate in *MGMPBI*. Our school usually only pays for one English language teacher to participate in this programme. If there are other English language teachers who also want to take part in the programme, they must pay the fee by themselves (SSI, June 14, 2021).

Similarly, Sadia and Amara respectively asserted that usually the teachers involved in professional development programmes were junior teachers who knew about technology (Sadia, SSI, June 14, 2021), and this opportunity was mainly given to civil servant teachers (Amara, SSI, May 25, 2021). As a non-civil servant teacher, Amara further stated that:

> If all civil servant English language teachers have already participated in the programmes or if the assigned English language teacher can't participate, I'll then be asked to participate or to replace her in the programmes. However, for the programmes run in another city, only civil servant teachers will be sent to participate (SSI, May 25, 2021).

The selection of civil servant teachers to be involved in teacher professional programmes is "because they are officially employed by the government, while non-civil servant teachers are only employed by the school" (Maaz, SSI, May 29, 2021).

6.1.1.3. Discourse of Neoliberal Governmentality. In addition to the accountability discourse, the cultural-discursive arrangements were also grounded in neoliberal governmentality discourse—control mechanisms and disciplinary power—as two technologies of governmentality (Foucault, 1991). The control mechanisms and disciplinary power discussed were dealing with sanctions for both students and teachers. For instance, in the class promotion ZM, it was mentioned that students would not be promoted to the next grade or to graduate if their scores were below *KKM* (refer to Table 6.1 in Subsection 6.1.2.2 for *KKM* explanation).

Another sanction discussed in the meeting was a sanction for teachers in the form of financial punishment. This discourse took place when the principal forwarded information from the provincial government about the teachers' obligation to come to school whether they had teaching schedules or not and the obligation to teach at least 24 teaching hours a week to get the certification allowance. Specifically, Maaz stated:

> Teachers are highly expected to fill out the manual attendance list at school. If there are teachers who don't fill in the attendance list and the sum of their attendance

> doesn't meet the minimum requirement of teachers' attendance at school, their salary will be stopped. If they want their salary back, they have to go to the Provincial Education Office or to the Provincial Government Office to deal with this matter (the class promotion ZM, June 24, 2021).

Maaz's discourse shows the authorities' domination over the teachers' lives. This reflects that the neoliberal governmentality results in rationalism that defines how the government controls individuals' actions via technologies of dominance and how the individuals regulate their own actions via technologies of the self (Lemke, 2002). However, the authorities might not realise that being absent might be the workers' deliberate act of animosity towards management if they are experiencing physical or mental weariness (Edwards & Scullion, 1982).

In addition, a compliance culture that characterises the schools in neoliberal governmentality became the cultural-discursive arrangement that directed the teachers' sayings. For instance, Maaz said, "An institution must comply with the government regulations" (SSI, May 29, 2021). This arrangement was also reflected in the teachers' sayings, that is, when Sadia said, "As a teacher, I have to obey my superiors and establish good relationships. If they ask me to do something, I have to do it" (SSI, June 14, 2021). However, though they said that they had to obey their superiors, their sayings during the SSIs implied their disagreement with the regulation of the local school supervisory team that asked them to make a lesson plan in detail that required many pages despite the one-page lesson policy issued by the MEC. Therefore, their sayings implied their resistance towards the local policy. They felt constrained by two different regulations or policies, the central and local ones, resulting in confusion in their practices of making a lesson plan. This is further explained in the next subsection discussing how material-economic arrangements found in the school enabled and constrained the EFL teachers' doings that hung together with their sayings within the aforementioned cultural-discursive arrangements.

6.1.2. The Material-Economic Arrangements Enabling and Constraining the EFL Teachers' Doings

Within a site of practices, material-economic arrangements are physical arrangements in space and time that enable and constrain the doings of those practices, for example, aspects of the surrounding environment, division of labour or material and financial resources (Kemmis & Mahon, 2017). Four key material-economic arrangements enabled and constrained the teacher professional practices in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms that hung together with their sayings in the aforesaid cultural-discursive arrangements. These material-economic arrangements include the provision of material-textual resources (e.g. the physical space, education and curriculum policies, English teaching allocation policy) and financial-economic resources. The arrangements are presented separately.

6.1.2.1. The Physical Space Arrangements. In regard to the school buildings, rooms and furniture, from the virtual tours, I could see that the buildings looked old, there was still a noticeable lack of facilities, and there were some untidy spots. When I first entered the school from one of the virtual tours, I saw achievement highlights, both achieved by the school as fulfillment of standardisation and achieved by students in various competitions. For instance, on the inner side of the school entrance wall there was an inscription of the accreditation grade achieved by the school, including the type of the school, i.e. *Rintisan Sekolah Standar Nasional* (national standard school) (see Figure 6.3), and in the school lobby there was a collection of trophies (see Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.3

The Inner Side of the School Entrance

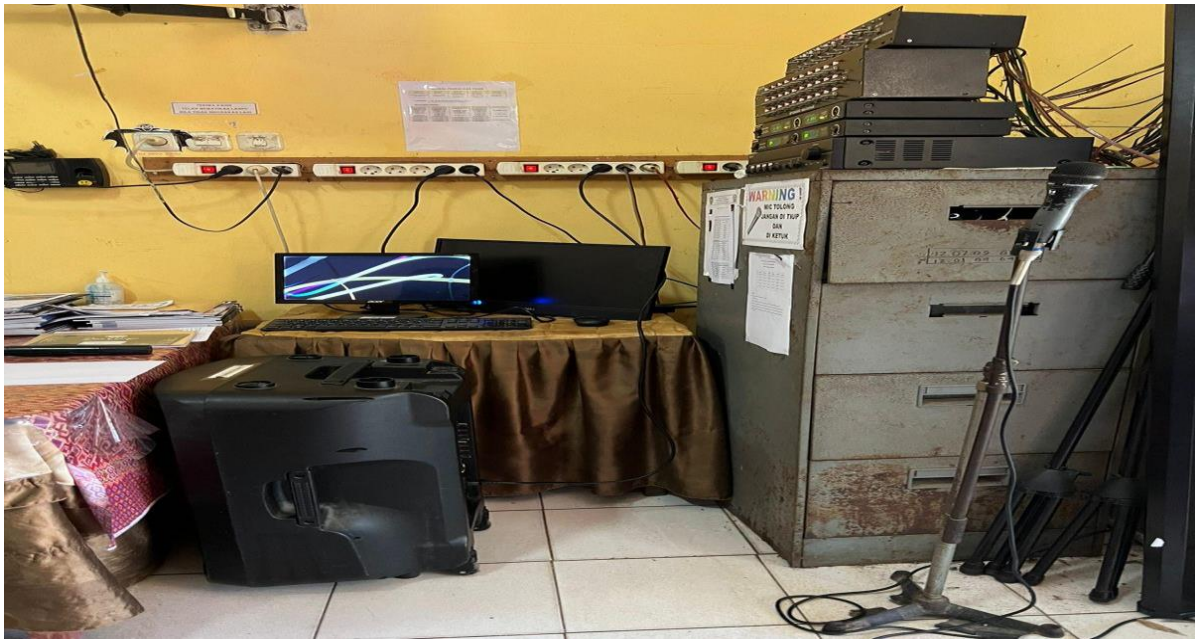
Figure 6.4

The School Lobby

Generally, the school looked good when it was viewed from the front side. However, when I entered further inside the building, I could see that the cleanliness and the material arrangements in the school were more of an issue. The teachers' room looked untidy due to the rusty filing cabinets and the electronic cords ending up in a tangled mess on the wall and on the floor that cluttered up the space (see Figure 6.5). More than being unsightly, improperly maintained cords could pose a safety hazard. They were also not in accordance with the basic school safety requirements stated in the manual of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which says that electrical wires should be properly fastened and secure (UNESCO, 2017).

Figure 6.5

Electronic Cords in Teachers' Room



According to the teachers, previously, the teachers' room was stifling. When this study was conducted, the room was already air-conditioned, so it was no longer stifling, and the teachers felt a little more comfortable. However, the fact that it was crowded with people and objects created an unpleasant atmosphere. It was cramped since the desks in the room were tightly arranged, and some of the desks were filled with books and other objects because there were not enough storage facilities available for teachers (see Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6

Teachers' Room

One desk in the teachers' room was supposed to be allocated to one teacher. However, based on the interview data, the teachers stated that some desks were allocated to two teachers due to the lack of space and the imbalance between the number of teachers and the desks available in the school. Some teachers expected that the desks in the teachers' room were a bit smaller, so that they could freely move around the room. However, some others disagreed if the desks were smaller because there were many students' exercise books or assignments that they needed to put on the desk for marking, so they indicated that they needed the room to be larger. Also, the teachers' desks were not grouped based on school subjects, as expected by the teachers, so that teachers who taught the same subject, such as English, could discuss the lessons among EFL teachers. For instance, Dafiyah said:

> I sometimes visit other schools in connection with my work, and I see that the physical arrangements in our school aren't well organised if I compare them with the ones in other schools. This is due to the limited funds that this school gets from the government. Other schools that can make their own money have good material

> resources, and the teachers' desks in these schools are grouped by subjects (SSI, June 12, 2021).

The physical arrangements in the teachers' room constrained them in that there was a lack of space and organisation in which to perform their work. Rukhsana shared her opinion:

> The teacher's desk in the teachers' room is actually large enough to put the teachers' books on, but it's not enough to put the students' exercise books or assignments. If all students' assignments are placed on the teachers' desks, these assignments will pile up. That's the problem. Each class should have a bookcase, so teachers who teach the class can put their students' assignments in that bookcase. Consequently, teachers can be more comfortable in working. Unfortunately, there's no bookcase in the classes (SSI, June 14, 2021).

With these inadequate facilities, teachers were inhibited in performing their practices effectively and constrained in implementing the school policies.

The arrangement of the teachers' desks in the teachers' room also enabled teachers to chat, which then constrained them from completing their activities. In other words, the arrangement constrained their doings, as Dafiyah said:

> If the teachers' desks are arranged tightly, teachers tend to chat because they sit close to each other. For example, if a friend wants to share her story, or even food, we should respond first because we should be able to socialise in the workplace. This becomes a habit and often prevents us from doing our activities (SSI, June 12, 2021).

In this statement, Dafiyah mentioned workplace culture that was shaped by the physical arrangements found in the site. According to Bayot et al. (2020), workplace culture is related to the perceptions, beliefs or attitudes of employees connected with the principles and practices adhered to by an institution. It is "a communicative construction" when people engage (communicate) (Modaff & DeWine, 2002, p. 88) and can be in the form of work habits (Mahanani et al., 2014), e.g. chatting, as in Dafiyah's statement.

This finding is consistent with Mahanani et al.'s (2014) study. They found that employees' work culture affects their commitment to work. As found in this study, teachers were distracted from doing their activities due to inopportune work cultural practices, and this culture emerged due to the inappropriate physical arrangements in the site. The arrangements in the teachers' room did not provide private spaces for teachers to do their work, such as administrative work or work dealing with students' academic or personal behavioural matters. As a consequence, they sometimes marked the students' assignments in class, using their teaching hours while students were doing their exercises. As Rukhsana said, "Because students' assignments have piled up on my desk, I sometimes mark them in class if there's time left. If the teaching hour is two hours or 90 minutes, I use half an hour to do this in class" (SSI, June 14, 2022).

In contrast, Fareeha, Sadia and Amara marked their students' assignments in the teachers' room when they did not have classes to teach on that day. However, Fareeha said that she would bring assignments home if she did not finish marking them at school. She stated:

> I have a special room for me to work at home. At home I can focus more than at school. As I'm teaching a foreign language, not the language that I normally use every day, I need to focus more on marking students' English exercises or assignments. That's why I prefer marking them at home, not at school with crowded people and objects. Usually in my home office, I put all documents in relation to my work as well as my students' exercises or assignments. As a classroom teacher, I keep my students' data from the first time I teach them in Grade 10 until they are in Grade 12. When they finish their study, I'll just destroy their data (SSI, June 12, 2021).

While Fareeha could be more focused doing her work at home, Dafiyah chose to do her work at school. Since she also had a leadership position as an *OSIS* coordinator, Dafiyah had her own desk in another room at school where she normally did her work.

Besides inadequate facilities, Dafiyah also commented on the school field that was positioned in the centre of the school and which created a noisy atmosphere to work in (see Figure 6.7). She said:

> If students are doing sports on the field during the Sport hours, not only learning activities are a bit hampered, but it's also hard for me to focus on my work because of the noise from the field. Besides, the school doesn't have a language lab or soundproof room where English language teachers and students can do listening activities without any noise from the outside. All of these conditions make me feel uncomfortable. Such an uncomfortable physical arrangements definitely affect my work or how I feel at work (SSI, June 12, 2021).

Figure 6.7

School Field

6.1.2.2. Education and Curriculum Policies. Fundamentally, the EFL teachers' doings were enabled and constrained by the arrangements of education and curriculum policies. As mentioned previously, one of the aims of *K-13 Revisi* was to face external challenges of international competition, such as PISA. Therefore, the skills emphasised were related to the students' reasoning

abilities in the field of basic literacy and numeracy (reading, mathematics and science). These three basic literacy subjects were considered to represent the needs of the international labour market, and all teachers, including EFL teachers were enabled in carrying out the literacy programme by the current education policy.

However, according to the teachers, this programme did not run smoothly, as Dafiyah shared her opinion:

> Before the first learning hour starts, students are given an English reading text or another kind of text to improve their literacy skills; then, they make a summary about what they have read. However, this programme doesn't run smoothly. In my class, only one or two students usually sent the summary (SSI, June 12, 2021).

There were still pros and cons in the implementation of the literacy programme. This programme was expected to foster students' interest in reading through regular reading for 15 minutes. However, the teachers stated that this programme seemed to add to the students' burden because they also had to write summaries of what they had read and still had to do many assignments, not only from EFL teachers, but also from other teachers.

As PISA has set the agenda in the education and curriculum policies and is a crucial factor in bringing about changes to teacher practices or steering their practices at a distance, all of the teachers were enabled by these policies to be more productive and accountable. Therefore, their current workload became increasingly heavier. In regard to the changes of the teachers' work, Dafiyah argued that:

> Due to the curriculum reforms, teachers' work has also changed. What has changed is the work related to administration. When I first became a teacher in 2003, the administrative tasks I did were not as many as the administrative tasks I do now. In the past, the teaching and learning resources were simple because teachers were only asked to make lesson plans. Now the teaching and learning resources have changed somewhat (SSI, May 25, 2021).

The teaching and learning resources as stated by Dafiyah were all files related to the planning and the implementation of the teaching and learning activities, as well as the student assessment and the learning follow-ups (refer to Table 6.1 to see what files that the teachers deal with in each of these areas).

Table 6.1

Teaching and Learning Resources

Planning Area	Implementation Area	Student's Assessment Area	Learning Follow-up Area
Annual program: outlines to achieve the core and basic competencies as formulated in the curriculum for one year	Learning agenda: a workbook that contains notes about teacher activities during the teaching and learning process	Cognitive score form: a form for filling in students' scores in cognitive domain Students' cognitive levels assessed are memorising, understanding, applying, analysing and evaluating.	Test item analysis: an analysis of the exam question items When students' scores in the cognitive aspect is below the minimum standard score, the teachers must analyse the test items, i.e. the analysis of students' ability to answer each test item.
Semester program: outlines to achieve the core and basic competencies as formulated in the curriculum for one year	Student attendance book: a book where students' attendance record is kept	Affective score form: a form for filling in students' scores in affective domain There are two kinds of affective assessment, i.e. spiritual affective and social affective assessments. Spiritual affective assessment is an assessment related to the practice of the religions that students adhered to, while social affective assessment is an assessment related to the attitudes needed in social interaction, such as honesty, discipline, responsibility, tolerance, mutual cooperation and politeness.	Test item correction: a revision of the exam question items Based on the results of the test item analysis, the teachers revise the test items.
Effective week details: details of the week available for learning activities		Psychomotor score form: a form for filling in students' scores in psychomotor domain Psychomotor assessment is an assessment that requires a response in the form of skills to perform activities in accordance with the target competencies as formulated in the curriculum.	
Syllabus: a set of plans designed for one academic year for the implementation of learning and assessment, which are systematically arranged to achieve mastery of basic competencies			
Lesson plan: a set of plans developed from the syllabus and designed for one meeting to direct students' learning activities to achieve basic competencies			
Kriteria Ketuntasan Minimal (KKM) or Minimum Completeness Criterion analysis: an analysis of the average results of students' admission scores, the learning material complexity and the school facilities The average score from the analysis is used as the basis to determine the minimum standard score that students must achieve to pass a school subject. For example, if the average results of students' scores of English admission test, the English material complexity and the school facilities are 70, 75 and 70 respectively, this means that the minimum score that students must achieve to pass English subject is 71.66.			

Although the policy of the central government enabled the teachers to make one-page lesson plans, the policy of the regional authorities constrained them in doing this. The number of pages of the lesson plans depended on the respective local school supervisors. Even though the teachers followed the *MB* policy from the central government that they only needed to make one-page lesson plans, if the school supervisors asked for the lesson plans with attachments, such as exercises for students for one semester, they had to make lesson plans as requested. This shows that the one-page lesson plan policy from the central government was, in fact, not implemented by the regional government. Besides this, teachers whose classes consisted of students with special needs were required to make English lesson plans not only for regular students, but also for students with special needs.

The teachers, who were civil-servant teachers, also had to complete administrative requirements related to professional or certification allowance. They were required to fill out a series of forms to be submitted to the PEO in order to get the certification allowance. With so many administrative burdens, they said that all of these requirements were extremely draining their energy.

The heavy administrative burdens and the limited time the teachers had at school sometimes caused them to bring their administrative tasks home, such as marking students' work or transferring students' marks to the gradebook. Due to these onerous tasks, two senior EFL teachers stated that they usually paid another EFL teacher to make all the English lesson plans for the classes they taught. However, they still revised the syllabi and lesson plans made by that teacher before submitting them. The teachers who did this argued that they did it only to meet the administrative requirements, otherwise there would be sanctions, such as no disbursement of certification allowance. Additionally, they were more concerned about teaching instead of doing the administrative tasks. As Rukhsana said, "How can I teach optimally if I also have to make pages of lesson plans? The issue is the time" (SSI, May 25, 2021).

In addition, Rukhsana mentioned that all of them were enabled by the policies to be accountable for various standards that they had to demonstrate, such as content, process and assessment standards. Therefore, they felt that they worked merely for instrumental reasons—just to demonstrate the evidence of meeting the standards. Unfortunately, according to Sadia, "The fulfilment of standards that we're required to do isn't accompanied by the government's actions that can support the achievement of these targets. For example, there's still a lack of facilities to support student learning and our work" (SSI, June 14, 2021).

In regard to these standards, Fareeha stressed more the assessment standard, which resulted in the increased administrative work related to student assessment. All of the teachers agreed that the assessment in the current curriculum was much more difficult because they needed to assess students in three areas—cognitive, affective and psychomotor. Dafiyah criticised the mismatch between the amount of the administrative work related to assessment and the time allotted to teachers for doing this work. She stated, "Indeed, teachers are given time to assess students, but sometimes there isn't enough time because we work on these assessments within a certain time limit" (FGD, May 4, 2021). This condition often made teachers feel that they 'rushed' to assess students in cognitive, affective and psychomotor aspects. As Fareeha said:

> The point is that we feel that we rush to provide assessments to students, that is, cognitive, affective and psychomotor assessments, so we should give exercises or assignments to students in almost every meeting to score them. This makes us feel like we rush (FGD, May 4, 2021).

The different types of assessments that the teachers were required to provide for the students conditioned the learning in the school to be assessment-focused or product-oriented. As Dafiyah commented on this condition:

> When the learning process takes places, there are indeed a lot of assessments that take up a lot of our time. Therefore, it can be said that education in Indonesia tends to be product-oriented rather than process-oriented. Actually, the most important thing

> is how the learning process takes place and how teachers interact with students in the classroom. If the learning process is prioritised over assessment, the results will be good (FGD, May 4, 2021).

As teachers were required to be accountable for their practices, their teaching performance and all related aspects of teaching were also assessed. This supervision was conducted once a semester. The assessor was usually from the local supervisory team. For some teachers, this supervision was a routine, so they did not consider it as a burden because what was assessed was actually their daily work. However, they had to do extra work to prepare for the performance review. As Dafiyah said, “I don’t feel burdened with the supervision because what’s assessed in the supervision is actually my daily work. Only the preparation for the supervision needs extra work” (SSI, May 25, 2021). Other teachers considered it as a challenge and sometimes felt nervous during the review because the supervisor sat in the class to assess their teaching. In addition, according to the teachers, there was an assessment to measure teachers’ work performance to see their level of compliance, responsibility, honesty, cooperation, initiative and leadership. This assessment was conducted by the principal and recorded in *Daftar Penilaian Pelaksanaan Pekerjaan* (List of Work Performance Assessment) or *DP3* (report cards for teachers).

Additionally, teachers were expected to join professional development programmes or seminars, either funded by the school or self-funded. The certificates that the teachers received from the programmes were to update their credit points, so that they could be promoted. In regard to this, teachers were grouped into three zones, i.e. the green zone for diligent teachers, who annually updated the number of credit points they had, the brown zone for teachers who rarely updated the number of credit points they had and the black zone for teachers who had not been promoted for ten years or more. According to the teachers, if they rarely updated their credit points, it was not because they were negligent, but because they were busy with their workload.

6.1.2.3. English Language Teaching Allocation Policy. The reforms in English curriculum, such as the division of English subjects into compulsory English and elective English, the reduction of teaching hours for the compulsory English subject and the inappropriate allocation of teaching hours for the elective English subject, also provoked the teachers' criticisms. In the previous curriculum, there was only one English subject, but now there is also an elective English subject. An elective subject is a subject chosen by students based on their passion for self-development, whether for entrepreneurship or for continuing their education (MPKRTRI, 2022).

Previously, the teaching hours for the English subject was four hours a week allocated between two meetings a week. In the current curriculum, the teaching hours for compulsory English is only two hours a week for all grades (10, 11 and 12), while the teaching hours for elective English is three hours for Grade 11 and four hours for Grade 12 and is allocated within one meeting. According to the teachers, since they were required to teach 24 hours a week in order to get the certification allowance for civil-servant teachers, they were required to teach from six to twelve classes a week depending on what grade they taught. Non-civil servant teachers were also required to teach 24 hours a week although they did not get the certification allowance and were paid every three or four months due to the late distribution of *Bantuan Operasional Sekolah* (School Operational Assistance) or *BOS* and *Program Sekolah Gratis* (Free School Programme) or *PSG* funds from the governments.

Based on the conditions in the field, as reported by the teachers, the workload of 24 teaching hours, put pressure on the teachers because, in fact, after school they still undertook other activities, such as bringing students' work home to be marked and preparing for tomorrow's activities in the classes because they generally made preparations at home. They experienced difficulties in teaching effectively as they were also required to do a lot of administrative work, as Sadia said:

> This semester I teach 12 classes. In *K13 Revisi*, the administration in the form of assessments for students is complicated because there's an additional assessment,

> that is, the affective assessment, consisting of spiritual and social attitude assessments for each individual student. If I teach 12 classes a week, it means that there are 24 affective assessment forms I have to fill in. This number of assessment forms for 12 classes is only for the assessments of spiritual and social attitudes. Although the lesson plan in *K13 Revisi* is simpler than the previous curriculum, the assessment is more complicated (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Rukhsana also expressed her reaction towards this condition as the following:

> A negative effect of K-13 Revisi is the reduction of learning hours for English in a week that makes us teach too many classes, that is, 12 classes, to fulfil the minimum teaching demands in a week, that is, 24 hours a week to get the certification allowance. Teaching 12 classes a week is difficult and can deprofessionalise us (FGD, May 4, 2021).

6.1.2.4. Economic Resources. In spite of the onerous tasks of the teachers, the government did not give sufficient financial support to the teachers. According to Maaz, the only sources of finances to assist the school were *BOS* funding from the central government and *PSG* funds from the provincial government because the school did not charge fees due to community demand. Maaz further stated that the funds given to the school to help the cost of education for economically disadvantaged communities through *BOS* and *PSG* funds from the central and provincial governments respectively were still insufficient for a school offering free education to be able to function independently. This is because the funds were used not only to support the school's facilities, but also to pay non-civil servant teachers and staff who worked at the school.

Non-civil servant teachers were paid from the *PSG* fund. They could also be paid partially from the *BOS* fund, but this was only for non-civil servant teachers who already had *Nomor Unit Pendidik dan Tenaga Kependidikan* (Teacher and Education Staff Unit Number) or *NUPTK*. The total amount of money that could be taken from *BOS* funds to pay them was at most 50% of the total allocation of *BOS* funds received by the school. However, bureaucratic constraints resulted in

frequent delays in the distribution of the funds, so the payment for non-civil servant teachers was also late. Furthermore, the payment that the non-civil servant teachers received was below the regional minimum wage. As Amara, the only non-civil servant EFL teacher at the school, expressed:

> Though I've taught here for about ten years, I've still got a low salary, even below the regional minimum wage. That's it. I've no more words to express this. Sometimes my salary was paid every three or four months, even six months (SSI, May 25, 2022).

Amara further stated that due to her low salary, she accepted the request of senior teachers who asked her to make syllabi and lesson plans for them and she also operated an online business that she ran to cover her family's living costs. She said that this condition was what limited her professional integrity because she knew that writing other teachers' lesson plans in exchange for payment was against her ideals as a good teacher.

Fareeha also criticised the excess teaching hours, beyond the mandatory 24 teaching hours a week, unpaid because at the time of this study she taught more hours than required. She said:

> There should be more money for extra teaching hours, but we can't do anything about this. Even non-civil servant teachers are paid once every three months due to bureaucratic constraints in the country. In this case, it's impossible for the school principal to lend his own money to pay the teachers, so that they can be paid monthly. It's the government that can provide solutions to problems like this, not the school (SSI, June 12, 2022).

The constraints that the teachers experienced in the material-economic arrangements also affected their relatings to their students. This is presented in the next subsection discussing how the social-political arrangements found in the school enabled and constrained the EFL teachers' relatings that hung together with their sayings and doings within the material-economic arrangements.

6.1.3. The Social-Political Arrangements Enabling and Constraining the EFL Teachers' Relatings

Social-political arrangements are the relationships connected to power and solidarity that shape practices (Cooke & Francisco, 2021; Kemmis et al., 2014). Relatings in the workplace existed through the interplay between person to person, which are contextualised within the social spaces. Such relatings occurred with different levels of complexity and intensity in the social spaces within and outside the site due to certain kinds of systems applied in the country. Three key social-political arrangements enabled and constrained the teacher practices in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms: relationships with the authorities, relationships with colleagues, as well as relationships with students and school organisation.

6.1.3.1. Relationships with the Authorities: Feudal System. Politically, the feudal system applied by the colonials in the past is still practised in Indonesian education. Colonialism in Indonesia lasting for approximately 350 years has an enduring negative impact (Widodo, 2016). There were two forms of feudal system that could be seen from the interviews, which limited the teachers' relationships with the authorities. They were anti-criticism and discrimination which resulted in teachers' submission.

As this study found, one of the forms of feudal system seen in Indonesian education was anti-criticism, reflected from the teachers' reluctance to criticise the government's policy on the regular curriculum reforms and labor intensification, which they could channel through *Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia* (Indonesian Teachers Association) or *PGRI*. According to the teachers, their reluctance was because they realised that the feudal system had taken root in Indonesia. Rukhsana stated that, "I think it's useless to criticise the government policies that are sometimes not in line with the on-site facts because teachers' criticisms won't be heard. Well, *PGRI* itself does't work as it's supposed to be" (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Another feudal system that was clearly seen was discrimination. According to the laws, justice should be guaranteed by the government. However, in practice, there was still unequal treatment experienced by the teachers, connected with their relatings to the authorities outside the

site. For instance, according to the teachers, when they had urgent things to do in the PEO, the staff in the office were very slow in responding to them. If there was someone they knew in the office or if they had certain positions in a school, the staff would serve them quickly. Ordinary teachers were not treated in the same way as the way the staff treated the teachers they knew or the teachers who had certain positions in a school. This discrimination shows power relationships in the feudal system, which constrained the teachers' relatings with the authorities.

6.1.3.2. Relationships with Colleagues: Cooperation and Solidarity. Based on the interviews, there was one positive feature that enabled the teachers' relatings with their colleagues, i.e. cooperation. According to the teachers, although they often experienced challenges with a new curriculum, the role of English colleagues, either English colleagues in the same school or English colleagues from other schools that they met through *MGMPBI*, helped them to understand the new English curriculum.

However, in spite of the cooperation that was built among EFL teachers, teachers' solidarity was something that constrained their relatings with other colleagues. The teachers said that teacher solidarity began to decline in this neoliberal era. According to the senior EFL teachers (Fareeha, Rukhsana and Sadia), their colleagues did not show togetherness and help each other as they used to. Solidarity existed only among teachers teaching the same subject, like English, while with teachers teaching other subjects, the sense of competition was visible. Teachers were so busy with their own work and compliance that there was less time to build social connections with others.

Sadia stated that when she was a junior teacher, there was no gap between seniors and juniors, and juniors did not form their own group, as they do now. In a different vein, a junior teacher, Dafiyah, argued that it was the senior teachers who were difficult to deal with, as seen in her statement below:

> This school is an old school, so there are many senior teachers. Unfortunately, the senior teachers are still unable to adapt to today's development, so sometimes conflicts arise between senior and junior teachers. In the past, when I was one of the

> curriculum staff and wanted to enforce government regulations on how to make teaching and learning resources such as lesson plans, senior teachers weren't okay with the way how I enforced these rules, so conflicts arose. When I was one of the curriculum staff, I faced challenges because there were some teachers whom I couldn't work with. In this school, there's still seniority issues, but this happens with teachers other than English language teachers (SSI, July 15, 2021).

In regard to teacher solidarity in resisting curriculum reforms and labour intensification, teachers did express their objections to constant change and intensification. However, they could only discuss their objections among other EFL teachers because they realised that their voices would not have an effect on the policies made by the government. In relation to this, Rukhsana stated:

> Actually, teachers' objections can be conveyed through *PGRI*, but it seems that *PGRI* doesn't work properly. Well, there's no function of the paid *PGRI* membership card that must be owned by civil servant teachers because it seems that *PGRI* has no benefit for teachers (SSI, June 14, 2021).

6.1.3.3. Relationships with Students and School Organisation: Ethical System vs Connection Loss. To adopt the appropriate conduct and behaviour towards their students, the teachers were bound by an ethical system. As in a ZM, Maaz stated that "We shouldn't condemn our students as stupid or naughty because we don't know their fate in the future though their abilities were mediocre and their behaviour was unusual" (the student graduation ZM, April 30, 2021). Therefore, the teachers' relatings towards their students were enabled by this ethical system noting that they should be virtuous in their profession.

The teachers were also enabled by the ethical system to advocate for an effective environment for the school organisation to embrace a culture of positive behaviour. An example of this rule was found in Maaz's statement in the ZM:

> In accordance with the directive of the Head of the Provincial Education Office, we

> need to anticipate unwanted or negative actions that might occur or be taken by the students when the announcement of student graduation is released. Therefore, we [the principal and the vice principals] have made a circular that we'll address to parents of Grade 12 students and also to Grade 12 students themselves regarding appeals and prohibitions, so we hope that when the graduation announcement is delivered, no negative actions will be taken by the students because these actions will tarnish the students themselves and our school (the student graduation ZM, April 30, 2021).

While emphasising the need to apply the ethical rules, the teachers realised that the loss of a sense of connection happened between them and their students, as stated by Sadia:

> In this era, students sometimes don't care about their surroundings because they're busy with their own activities. Sometimes they didn't even greet us when we passed in front of them. This is different from what happened in the past. Students used to respect us (SSI, May 25, 2021).

As the teachers argued, this loss of connection was due to the impact of the huge number of administrative tasks that had to be completed by the teachers, such as making teaching and learning resources, marking students' assignments and exams and preparing documents for teacher promotion. As found in this study, these administrative tasks often made teachers put their main task (teaching) second. This was evident when one of the participants of this study said that she marked her students' assignments in class while teaching (refer to Subsection 6.1.2.1). This condition has an impact not only on the professionalism of teachers in carrying out their main task, teaching, but also on educational services to students. In consequence, the teachers' roles in social interactions with their students were constrained, and they were unable to focus fully on teaching and guiding their students.

The loss of connection between teachers and students was also due to the number of classes that the teachers had to teach. According to the teachers, if they taught more than six classes a week, their ability to know individual students in the class, either in terms of their English ability or personal matters, was constrained because one class consisted of 33 to 40 students. Rukhsana stated:

> This semester I teach elective English subject which is allocated for four hours a week. Since I'm required to teach 24 hours a week, I teach six classes. Last year, I taught compulsory English and elective English subjects, so I taught 10 classes. It was difficult for me to get to know the students especially since the classes I taught were still new for me. If the time allocation for English subjects, either compulsory or elective one, was four hours a week and allocated for two meetings a week, it would be easier for me to know the students (SSI, June 14, 2021).

Due to these challenges, their expectation towards the policy-makers was that they could return the time allocation for English subject to what it was before, i.e. four hours divided into two meetings a week. Additionally, the teachers said that teaching English in elective English subject for three to four hours a week in one meeting led to boredom in the classroom.

6.2. Discussion

This section discusses the findings in terms of the teachers' sayings, doings and relatings within the practice architectures. While they are presented separately, I recognise their interconnectedness. Therefore, in some parts of the discussion section on the teachers' sayings, the teachers' doings and relatings are also discussed and vice versa.

6.2.1. EFL Teachers' Sayings

From the findings, I have identified some of the arrangements or conditions that made the EFL teachers' sayings possible in the context of neoliberal times. The practice architectures in the cultural-discursive arrangements enabling and constraining the teachers' sayings were found in

three areas: (1) curriculum reforms; (2) accountability towards meeting the formulated standards and teacher professional development; and (3) neoliberal governmentality, which includes control mechanisms, disciplinary power and compliance culture.

What is clear from the findings is that the arrangements are all normative discourses, referring to what should be engaged within educational systems, schools and classrooms (Green, 2010). This is what Bernstein (2003, p. 156) terms as "the distribution of power". When viewed through the lens of Foucault (1994), power shapes how teachers become what they are and who they are. I connect this with Foucault's idea about the conditions of possibility. According to him, power is exercised by organising the potential results, in addition to directing "the possibility of conduct" (Foucault, 1982, p. 789). Therefore, teachers are unable to envisage alternatives inside the discursive possibilities that govern their current existence because they are constrained by epistemic closures and rules that constrain and enable their thinking. As well, this applies to sayings in Kemmis et al.'s (2014) term, within certain interpretations of what is and might be true, which Ball (2019, p. 134) terms as "the conditions of possibility of modern thought". Foucault (1982) further asserts that when one describes the exercise of power as a method of action upon others' actions and characterises these actions as the administration of individuals by other individuals, one adds an essential component, i.e. freedom. Only free subjects, and only to the extent that they are free, are the subjects of power. By this, Foucault (1982) means individual or collective subjects that are presented with a condition of possibilities in which multiple ways of responding, numerous responses and diverse comportments might be realised.

The data suggest that the discourse of curriculum reforms enabled the teachers' sayings in the form of multiple ways of responding to the curriculum reforms, such as being critical of the frequent curriculum reforms in the country, the volume of administrative loads, especially in relation to assessment and the focus of English reading skill in the curriculum to enhance students' literacy skills. The teachers' criticisms are common in implementing educational or curriculum reforms. This is because the mandated reforms frequently ignore or marginalise teachers' feelings, perspectives

and voices (Bailey, 2000). The complexity of educational or curriculum reforms is mostly underestimated by policy-makers because they primarily concentrate on the technical, rational and external aspects of the related processes and ignore the curriculum implementers' emotional reactions to change (Marshak, 1996). While the rational aspects of teacher practices, such as salary, monetary benefits and work development are crucial, the policy-makers should also consider the affective aspects of teacher practices, such as teachers' emotions and satisfactions. This is because the latter is inextricably linked to how teachers bring their commitments to the change process and how they see themselves (Lee & Yin, 2011). These commitments include their commitments in their doings and relatings.

Reflecting the fact that a curriculum reform is still a topic of discussion and disagreement and is being implemented at different levels, the findings show that the policy-makers are far from an understanding about what roles teachers have in the curriculum's implementation at the school level. One of the problems linked to this condition is the various interpretations ascribed to the lack of mutual understanding across states, systems and schools (Cumming, 1998). However, curriculum reforms have significant implications for teachers' understandings in the area of policy practices.

In addition, the findings of this study reveal that the neoliberal accountability and governmentality discourses were internalised by the teachers. The students' academic success, as an example of these discourses, provided a certain satisfaction not only to them, but also to the school. Therefore, their sayings were enabled by these arrangements. For instance, Dafiyah stated, "The number of students winning in English competitions, graduating from the school or accepted in state universities or colleges becomes the sales value for this school" (SSI, July 15, 2021). This sense of student achievement, as what Rukhsana said, "gives a positive image to the school" (SSI, July 13, 2021). She further stated that:

> There will be consequences if there are many students who don't graduate from the school. One of the consequences is how it affects to the school's name because the

> school will be judged as a low-quality school. As a result, many parents are reluctant to enrol their children in this school, which impact on the funding it can get (Rukhsana, SSI, July 13, 2021).

Therefore, teachers' notions of selves are characterised by a performative condition in order to conform to the entrepreneurial ethos of neoliberalism, in which their practices are alienated due to the objectives of maximising learning as assessed by standardised targets (Ball, 2003). Performativity is the effect of accountability on teachers, which is based on control, comparison and judgement (Ball, 2003). These findings demonstrate the effects of subjection on the teachers' (or school's) psychological existence (Butler, 1995), such as giving 'a certain satisfaction to the teachers' or 'positive image to the school' as mentioned by the teachers.

In relation to this, according to Butler (1995), a more thorough attainment of submission occurs with increased practices. Mastery and submission occur at the same time, and the paradoxical simultaneity between mastery and submission is what gives subjection its ambiguity. Contrary to what one might anticipate, submission is paradoxically characterised by mastery. It is possible to assume that submission entails giving in to externally dominating directives and that it is characterised by a loss of mastery and control. The lived simultaneity of mastery as subjection and subjection as mastery is the condition of possibility for the individuals themselves (Butler, 1995). As shown in this study, the teachers who are a part of curriculum reforms are subjects who are simultaneously obliged to carry out the literacy teaching practices specified in the curriculum and are becoming accountable to the rules governing these practices. The curriculum serves as a controlling mechanism in order to build the teachers as the kind of double subjects that Butler (1995) presents as persons who must inevitably be a master of and subject to the practices of teaching literacy at the same time.

In the case of EFL teachers, the conditions of performativity have enabled their sayings about the English teaching approaches used. On the one hand, they are recommended by the authorities to use English not only in the classroom, but also outside the classroom to familiarise

students with English culture. On the other hand, this condition seems to be difficult to create due to the external objectives of teaching English, such as to meet the education standards, to achieve good scores or to enhance students' literacy skills, which steers the English teaching towards reading skills, rather than making the students active and involved in communication by actively using the language. When teachers do not use the first language during English language classes, students often struggle to understand classroom discourse, including teachers' instruction (Ssentanda, 2014).

The findings demonstrate that teachers are no longer trusted by the authorities to exercise their discretion to select effective pedagogical strategies based on their expertise, context awareness and experience. Instead, they are forced to, albeit reluctantly, put into practice what is mandated upon them and are obliged to comprehend the curriculum by reform measures (Bernstein, 1996). These product-oriented practices suggest that neoliberal English curriculum reforms lead to better-quality English education outcomes, not the education process, and teachers' higher performativity. Teachers understand the curriculum as a technical process for obtaining the necessary scores to appease bureaucrats (Naidoo, 2012), rather than as learning opportunities.

6.2.2. EFL Teachers' Doings

The aforesaid teachers' sayings hung together with their doings in the material-economic arrangements of the school which enabled and constrained the teachers' doings in their site. The doings in their workplace were reflected in their work dominated by regulations or policies. The arrangements in the form of the provision of material resources (e.g. the physical space, education and curriculum policies, as well as English teaching allocation policy) and economic resources all shaped the material conditions of practices in the site. A consequence of neoliberal principles in the workplace was that the work was done in terms of accountability in response to the practice of neoliberal governmentality, as indicated in the teachers' sayings. The doings were exercised for the purpose of completing tasks, necessarily aimed to fulfil the requirements and to achieve the standards.

From the findings, all the EFL teachers perceived that the teachers' room in the school was not a comfortable place for them to work due to the material arrangements in the room that constrained them from working effectively. However, these arrangements enabled them to find different solutions, either still working in the room by choosing an appropriate, less crowded time or using different places to work, such as in the classroom, by using their teaching time if they could.

The data suggest that the education and curriculum policies in the country enabled the teachers towards administrative tasks. The teachers viewed the administrative loads as extremely onerous in terms of the large number of assessment forms that they were required to fill in. In addition to this, they were required to make teaching and learning reports to school supervisors, the administration of teacher certification and promotion, as well as the teaching and learning resources, which they mentioned as a formality.

With the imbalance between the administrative work the teachers had to do and the time, especially the division of English teaching hours that they were assigned, they used a way to complete the administrative tasks, such as paying another EFL teacher to do their administrative tasks, regardless of whether this was in accordance with their ideals as teachers, and the teacher who did their tasks reasoned that she did this because she received a low salary and was sometimes only paid every three or four, even six months. The teachers were only concerned about how everyone could meet the demands from the government to achieve the targets. This phenomenon has become the 'invisible' practice of teachers and a 'hidden' effect of neoliberalism. I named it so because this practice is not publicly known but just understood among teachers in order to fulfil the requirements and to be accountable in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms. This reflects that neoliberalism has led to mere economic mentality. It has degraded teacher professionalism and principles. Teacher professionalism had been commodified because of its governance by neoliberal policy-making (Werler, 2016). Teacher practice is now viewed as an economically personal service, such as providing service to make lesson plans in exchange for money, instead of being viewed as a beneficial service to society. It is exercised merely to further individual teachers' economic interests.

Moreover, since neoliberal principles were applied in the country, the state schools that should be non-profit institutions and whose authority and management are fully borne by the state have been turned into a commodity. Therefore, despite the financial support from the central and provincial governments through *BOS* and *PSG* funds, the school was still expected to be able to seek local funding by offering education services to the community. Conversely, the community demanded free education as promised by the government through the 12-year compulsory education programme. In consequence, the school experienced difficulties in maintaining the quality of education and providing adequate facilities due to the constraints in education funding. Furthermore, the ineffective management of education funds due to a long-winded bureaucracy added to the long list of educational issues in the country, which then constrained the non-civil servant EFL teacher from getting her salary on time. All of these result in constraining the teachers' doings in their practices.

Judging from the constitution, the government is responsible for financing school-age children to take the 12-year compulsory education. *UUD 1945* Article 31 Verse 2 emphasises the government's obligation to finance the compulsory education for every citizen, and 2003 Law Number 20 Article 34 Verse 2 concerning the national education system also outlines that the government guarantees the implementation of compulsory education without any fees (PRI, 2003). According to these laws, school-age children are entitled to free basic education. In this case, it can be seen that the government did not implement the constitution and lacked political commitment to education.

6.2.3. EFL Teachers' Relatings

The findings show that a feudal system emphasising power, such as anti-criticism and discrimination, still occurred in the country. The anti-criticism was strengthened by the compliance culture that was inherent in society, especially in the workplace. The government regulations became a kind of moral court that controlled what teachers had to do and were accompanied by financial consequences for teachers who did not follow the regulations. This suggests that schools

are no longer institutions that can be expected to fight inequality and human submission and to improve the quality of civilisation. As Hanauer (2014, p. 1) argues, “Inequality is at historically high levels and getting worse every day,” and we are “rapidly becoming less a capitalist society and more a feudal society”.

According to McColley (1936), a shortcoming of feudalism is decentralisation. This is what is seen as the vulnerability of Indonesian educational organisations. Teachers and other school stakeholders are dedicated to a strategy of benign tyranny in running their organisations, notwithstanding their personal and spiritual willingness to further the cause of real education. This is because they are extremely preoccupied with the tangles of professional expediency and local politics (*ibid*). Some educational principles, as stated by McColley (1936), given the feudal structure in Indonesia, are either partly or extremely difficult to achieve. They are (1) a nationwide education initiative, (2) a fair distribution of chances for schooling, (3) an acknowledgement of teaching as a profession, (4) a uniformly high standard of professionalism amongst teachers and (5) efficiency in school management.

The data also show that there was a gap between juniors and seniors though it happened only between EFL teachers and teachers teaching other subjects. It means that a department- or subject-based solidarity of teachers existed in the school. These findings are in line with Becker et al.’s (2021) study. In their study, Becker at al. found that exposure to neoliberal ideology increases perceptions of being in competition with others, and thus reduces people’s sense of connection to others. The neoliberal workplace is lacking in solidarity since everyone is concerned with competition (Wilson et al., 2013). The loss of a sense of connection also happened between teachers and students, which was caused by the number of administrative tasks and classes the teachers were assigned.

6.3. Concluding Remarks

This study examined the professional practices of EFL teachers in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms in an Indonesian school. The use of the TPA suggests that the tensions indicated in the teacher practices are more than just individual experiences.

The TPA illuminated the arrangements figuring and prefiguring the practices, i.e. what enabled and constrained the teacher practices. This study emphasised how various cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements determined whether certain practices might be feasible as some efforts to enhance the site's capacity for creating development and sustainable change in an Indonesian secondary school. One major finding is that the teacher practices were impacted by the practice architectures that particularly and distinctively shaped the teachers' sayings, doings and relatings within particular cultural-discursive set-ups, as well as physical-economic and social-political set-ups.

To be able to understand their practices more deeply, the teachers developed shared discourses. The discourses of curriculum reforms and accountability have broadly shaped the teachers' sayings. Neoliberal governmentality also clearly enabled the teachers' sayings. My analysis of conversations with the teachers showcased the struggles that are brought against powerful structural discourses, like the discourses present in this study. All of these discourses have become the bases for the teachers' doings, which prioritise standards-based accountability as the primary goal of their practices.

The findings reveal that the EFL teachers' work has intensified. Their doings were complex since they were required to facilitate English learning that was subject to transformation, but in limited timeframes and with limited material-economic resources to support their practices, such as the inappropriate arrangement of the physical space, the unavailability of English lab and the insufficiency of funds. Strict accountability measures have been used to discipline and regulate teachers' use of space and time as a result of the increased and more explicit demands of regulated curriculum and assessment systems. I began assuming that for English curriculum reforms to work,

the EFL teachers need access to appropriate and sufficient material-economic aspects, so they could execute their practices for beneficial ends.

In executing their doings, the teachers were also influenced by their relatings to one another, either to the authorities and colleagues or to the students and school organisation. This study has revealed that within the social-political arrangements of the site, positive and supportive relationships among colleagues played an instrumental role in enabling the teachers to understand and implement the curriculum. Nevertheless, the hierarchical power dynamics akin to a feudal system constrained the teachers' relatings with the authorities. Concurrently, competitive pressures constrained the teachers' relatings with their colleagues, resulting in diminished connections. Furthermore, these dynamics also hindered the teachers' engagement with their students.

In summary, by employing the TPA, I have shown that the provision of particular arrangements can support each other to foster the necessary conditions for EFL teachers to perform their practices in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms.

Chapter 7

Indonesian EFL Teacher Professional Identity in Times of Neoliberal Curriculum Reforms

This chapter discusses the research findings in response to RQ 2: How is Indonesian EFL teacher professional identity constructed and understood in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms? It seeks to present the ways teacher professional identity is constructed and how teachers come to understand themselves.

The findings are presented in the form of the participants' narratives, drawing heavily from the SSIs of five EFL teacher participants, to see how their professional identity is constructed based on various factors. Teachers' narratives provide rich insights into how they perceive themselves (Barkhuizen, 2011). In the presentation of the findings, the teachers' narratives are divided into subsections based on domains of the teachers' understanding of their professional identity: instructional, meta-instructional and humanistic domains. The next section presents the discussion of the findings.

7.1. Fareeha's Narrative of Being an EFL Teacher

Fareeha's professional identity was composed of multiple aspects resulting from her unique career history and educational experience as a student. Her college journey was long and winding. She did not deliberately choose to become an EFL teacher due to her initial dream of becoming a lawyer. However, she failed to receive entry to the Faculty of Law in a state university. Then, she pursued her study at the Secretarial Academy for almost three years. During her study at this academy, she studied English intensely, becoming more interested in English. As well, she said, "I've liked English since I was in elementary school" (SSI, May 25, 2021). After realising this and considering the career prospect of being an EFL teacher after finishing her study, she decided to leave the academy to study at *Fakultas Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* (the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education) or *FKIP* though at this time she had no intention of becoming a teacher. Studying at this faculty required her to sign a contract, which stated that she would receive a

monthly stipend, but after she finished her study, she had to be available to be placed in any school in the province where she lived. This was one of the Indonesian government efforts to place teachers in schools in remote areas because, despite the country's acute need for EFL teachers, only a few students were pursuing this career path and were willing to be placed in remote areas.

She experienced further delays and deviations in her career journey. First, she had to work in two different schools in remote areas: for about six months in the first school in one remote area and for about four years in the second school in another remote area. After four years of teaching, she was transferred to the school where she currently works.

7.1.1. Instructional Domain: From a Creative Teacher to a Teacher with Creative Constraints

Fareeha's own experience of school as a student when she studied her English major was a key feature in her identity development. When reflecting upon her study, she realised that without the element of fun, learning English was almost impossible. As Adžija and Sindik (2014) also state, learning a language is easier if it is made fun and engaging. This encouraged her to be creative, as according to her:

> In Indonesia, not many students like English subject. Therefore, as an English language teacher I have to be able to apply teaching approaches that make my students interested in English, whether by playing games and dramas, giving quizzes or by reading fairy tales, then asking them to do storytelling, so I have to be able to find ways of how to enable them to speak English. Because I love English, I also want them to love English. If they can't speak English, I'll never get upset. If I'm too strict to them, I'm afraid that they won't want to learn English because in the past English was a scary subject for students (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Hence, her purpose as an EFL teacher was to make the language more approachable and practical instead of treating it as a grammar-based and intimidating subject. For this reason, she viewed herself as a creative teacher because she could apply creative ideas in teaching. She wanted to

develop teaching and learning activities that encouraged students' interest and language development, as well as enabled them to express their ideas and creativity.

For her, being a creative teacher also means that she had to be able to adjust her teaching accordingly because she was required to teach students of different grades with different levels of English ability as she stated, "If I have planned and designed beforehand and can be creative, I won't be troubled teaching students with different level of English ability"(SSI, May 25, 2021).

However, her sense as a creative teacher was constrained by neoliberal curriculum reforms. Although she believes that all English skills should be taught, according to her, the English curricula in the country placed too much emphasis on reading skills, where students were required to be able to understand print texts, so students in class mostly engaged in silent reading activities. Consequently, the other English skills (listening, speaking and writing), as well as communicative aspects were not emphasised. There was a mismatch between her belief regarding ideal English teaching and the prescriptive neoliberal curriculum reforms, curtailing her power to be a creative teacher.

In addition, since her identity was influenced by educational policies and reform climate, she pointed out that neoliberal curriculum policies for English required teachers to be more creative but were far more regulated and prescriptive. According to her, the curricula since the neoliberal principles were applied in the country have been quite different from the previous curricula. She further stated:

> In the previous curricula, we were provided with books in which there were teaching steps, so I felt that I taught in a monotonous pattern and students just followed my instructions. In the past, we transferred knowledge to our students for about 75%, but now we only transfer it for around 50%. Now we have to think about how to make teaching materials that can encourage students to be active. We can no longer have only one book to teach because teaching materials can be taken from various sources, for example from the internet, so I feel that there's a challenge, and I, as a

> teacher, have to be ready because students are now more critical. But ironically, although we're required to be more creative than we were before and students are expected to be active, the English curricula in Indonesia emphasises more on reading (SSI, May 25, 2021).

She was quite candid in her view about the English curricula. Her understanding is that learning English is almost impossible without the element of fun. She believes that learning English does not only mean learning to read and understand English texts, but also means learning to build communicative capacities.

Moreover, she criticised the division of English subject into compulsory and elective English subjects. She said:

> If I take a quick look, the content of the English compulsory and elective books are generally similar. It seems that English elective subject isn't ready because the government hasn't prepared the book yet. I think that for the English elective subject, students should learn more about English literature. If the book for the English elective subject is similar to the book for the English compulsory subject, what's the function of the division of the English subject? Since the government hasn't yet prepared the book for the English elective subject, I have to be creative in making the teaching materials when I teach this subject (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Although her experience and the limited availability of the teaching resources directed her practices in the classroom towards being a creative teacher, the neoliberal curriculum reforms forced her to change her practices in teaching a foreign language in approaches that adhered to the English curriculum. Regarding this condition, there was a shift in how she viewed herself. She recognised herself now as a teacher with creative constraints, i.e. a teacher whose creative freedom was paralysed by the reforms.

7.1.2. Humanistic Domain: A Responsive Teacher

As a teacher, Fareeha realised that she needed to be responsive to analyse the situation and develop creative ways to engage students' interest and understanding since "their abilities are indeed limited, and not all of them like to learn English" (SSI, May 25, 2021). Therefore, she believes that teaching English needs a variety of approaches and an EFL teacher has to be enthusiastic, motivated and skilled enough to draw upon a wealth of theoretical and practical knowledge of English.

Her identity was also developed within the organisational and school environment contexts. Her experience in real classrooms, teaching students with different behaviour or characters, made her understand her role as a classroom manager who enabled her to be responsive to her students' needs and played a role in taking full control of the climate in the classroom. This was where she had to be able to create a comfortable and conducive classroom atmosphere, so that students could learn comfortably. As she said:

> I should possess classroom management skill, especially if I teach a class that's a bit difficult to manage. I can't start teaching before disciplining the students, so I should deal with the affective aspect first before moving to the cognitive one (SSI, May 25, 2021).

She believed that students were disciplined and willing to participate in the lessons if they saw that the teacher was the authority of the classroom and students were prepared to hear the teacher's voice because when peers spoke, students would not pay attention and the cognitive target would not be reached.

As a classroom teacher, she also understood herself as a parent for her students, who had to be responsible for their condition at the school. She had to contribute to their cognitive and affective development. However, being a parent for her students in the past was not as difficult as being a parent in the present. She made a comparison of what type of children she needed to deal with in the past, compared to the present:

> Because I've taught for many years and witnessed the curriculum changes from time to time, I can compare students in the past and in the present. In the past, students' intelligence, ability, competency, or whatever we name it, was indeed pure, and the grades they achieved were also pure. There was no minimum standard grade to pass English, so their grades really represented their English ability. Even though in the past the way teachers taught was monotonous, they used only one book, and there were no after-learning courses like in the present, students diligently borrowed books from the library. They were disciplined and seriously studied because they wanted to gain knowledge, not only to get good grades (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Apart from being like a parent who handled students' cognitive issues, she also said that she had to deal with students' affective issues. She had to be able to understand their characters because they had different characters. She illustrated this as follows: "When they have problems with their friends, I should be able to handle the problems wisely as a parent who solves their kid's problems" (SSI, July 19, 2021). However, according to her, their affective issues have become more serious since neoliberal principles were applied in the country, as she stated:

> Since 2004 [when neoliberal approaches were first applied], the Indonesian curricula seem to have lost character education. Therefore, many students lack tolerance, courtesy and respect for others. In fact, since the elimination of *P4* [*Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* or the Guidelines for Carrying out the Principles of Pancasila], many students have acted in violation of applicable norms (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Hence, she further said that her sense of being a parent for her students used to be minimal because she hardly ever had to deal with students with serious cognitive and affective issues.

In addition to this, she also viewed herself as a consultant. According to her, by building a parent-child relationship, students would be more open to her, and she would automatically become a resource for them to consult. However, as an agentive actor working within school

climates in which her job performance was increasingly determined by the production of not only high test scores, but also graduates who could be accepted into their preferred universities, she said that her role as a consultant became heavier. A *consultant* in her terms is like a career consultant or advisor. This means that she not only handled students who had problems in cognitive and affective aspects, but also provided a space for them to consult and seek her advice about the progress of their studies and about what university or major was suitable for them to take after graduating from school. Exploring students' problems and providing solutions in solving those problems was what she enjoyed the most. This was related to her unfulfilled dream—to become a lawyer. That was why she also viewed herself as a problem solver.

7.1.3. Meta-Instructional Domain: A Performative and Critical-Reflexive Teacher

Constant curriculum changes based on the neoliberal policies also affected Fareeha's professional identity. As she stated:

> At the beginning of my career as a teacher, I was only preoccupied with teaching activities. Being a teacher in the past wasn't as difficult as being a teacher now. In the past, I was only preoccupied with teaching and few administrative tasks, but now I have to deal with not only many administrative burdens but also student characters because students' characters in the present time aren't as good as they were in the past. So I feel like I'm an administrative struggler and a student character assessor because I have to be responsible with a variety of administration and students' characters. Besides, the current character assessment adds to the administrative burdens because teachers are encouraged to make notes of the characters of each student in almost every meeting (SSI, July 19, 2021).

In addition to this, when responding to the neoliberal curriculum reforms, she was a sceptical-pragmatic practitioner of the reforms, i.e. a teacher who doubted that the reforms were made for the education itself and pragmatically practised them in a realistic way that suited her

conditions during their implementation, rather than obeying the fixed rules. This can be seen from her statement:

> The government can only ask us to do this and that to fulfil their target, like they're using us. The central government said that it has simplified the lesson plan, but our work is still as much as before. Well, what I can do, I'll do. If I can't, I'll ask my colleague at this school or friend at other schools to help me. If I don't want to feel burdened with the administrative tasks, I have to be willing to spend my money (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Fareeha considered her administrative tasks as a burden because she taught three different grades, Grades 10, 11 and 12. Apart from that, she also had to take care of her family and other things. Therefore, she usually paid another EFL teacher to make the lesson plans for the classes she taught. However, she mentioned checking the lesson plans before submitting them to emphasise that she did not fully abdicate her responsibility for her administrative tasks.

7.2. Sadia's Narrative of Being an EFL Teacher

Like Fareeha, Sadia had no initial interest in becoming a teacher. She chose the teaching profession because of the encouragement of her parents. Her parents cited the ease of finding employment as one of their arguments and mentioned her cousin as an example. Her cousin who studied in the teacher training programme was immediately accepted as a civil servant teacher. As she stated, "In the past, there was no test to become a civil servant teacher. Anyone who studied in the programme would immediately be appointed as a civil servant teacher after they graduated" (SSI, June 14, 2021). At first, she did not agree with her parents' suggestion, but in the end she followed their advice.

Since the initial impetus to choose the teaching profession was not her own, at the beginning of her career she did not feel passionate about teaching, but in the end, she tried to deal with it. She finally managed to develop more passion for her career because of the philosophy that

she held. According to her, teaching was a noble profession. When she was asked further about this philosophy, she stated:

> With my profession as a teacher, I play roles not only in teaching but also in educating students. A teacher is in charge of teaching and educating students from 'not knowing' to 'knowing'. Almost everyone, even if he or she isn't majoring in education, can teach, but not everyone can educate. Teaching means only delivering materials. Educating is more difficult than teaching because it means shaping students' characters, including their behaviour and manners, so that they become insightful generations that have good personality (SSI, July 19, 2021).

Therefore, her identity was shaped by this philosophy.

7.2.1. Humanistic Domain: A Responsive Teacher

Since being a teacher to Sadia means not only teaching but also educating, she viewed herself as a students' friend and consultant. By placing herself as a student friend, she felt that students would not feel reluctant to talk about their lives. Therefore, when students had problems, either academic or non-academic, she already had background knowledge about her students' personal lives, and this could help her in solving their problems. As a friend, she could also build long-term relationships with her students. Even after students had graduated, they were still willing to share stories about their lives.

When she positioned herself as a students' friend, she felt that she had built a consultant-client relationship with her students. Therefore, like Fareeha, she also saw herself as a consultant. As a consultant, she became a source for her students to ask questions and was able to guide them, not only during class hours, but also outside class hours. She provided them with effective guidance and crucial wisdom that would lead them towards growth and success, either personal or professional. It was within this context, she said, where she could educate the students. As she added:

> Sometimes there are students who need guidance in academic issues, and sometimes there are also those who need guidance in personal issues. For example,

> there used to be a student who consulted me about what major he should choose to continue his study in college. At that time, I advised him to choose a major according to his interest and ability. Because I saw that he had a stronger interest and ability in science, I suggested him to choose a major in science. Then he chose a major based on my suggestion, and finally he worked as a physics teacher at a public school (SSI, July 19, 2021).

According to her, she felt a certain kind of happiness when she could see her students succeed based on the advice she gave, like the happiness of parents who see their children succeed. Thus, she also viewed herself as a parent, which was related to the role she had as a classroom teacher and situated within organisational context. Apart from teaching, like a parent, she also dealt with student development, either in cognitive or in affective aspects. However, she said that being a parent for students nowadays is more challenging than being a parent for students in the past. According to her, students in the present have no social awareness compared to students in the past. She further stated:

> Affective assessment that's currently being intensified by the government looks good on paper. While the government wants good results of the students' affective assessment, the results sometimes contradict the facts. Therefore, what's written in the assessment doesn't agree with what's found on the ground (SSI, May 25, 2021).

The challenges that she needed to face as a parent for her students in the present time are not only in affective aspects, but also in the cognitive domain. For instance, she said:

> There was a student who was hardly present during my classes. Then, I asked him to do a writing task in English in lieu of his absences. Unfortunately, he couldn't write in English though he's already in Grade 10. I wonder what he learned during English lessons when he was in junior secondary school. This is the quality of the current education, which is very different from the quality of education in the past. In the

> past, students wouldn't be promoted to the next class or pass the class if they really didn't deserve to be promoted or to pass. This is the consequence of the *KKM* policy where teachers aren't allowed to give scores below the *KKM* standard score. Therefore, it seems that the scores obtained by students are the 'forced' ones. In the past, there were no rules regarding *KKM*, so the scores obtained by students were really scores based on their ability, not scores raised to meet the *KKM* requirement (SSI, July 19, 2021).

This statement reflects her criticism towards the *KKM* policy (refer to Table 6.1) that questioned her identity as a teacher. Her discourse reflects her objection to the policy. There was a certain amount of pressure and coercion placed on the teachers when they had to provide a score based on the *KKM* standard score that had been determined by the school. The *KKM* policy encouraged the growth of fraud and dishonesty because the imposed score did not reflect the students' genuine abilities. The teachers' discomfort with the policy led to challenges in how they viewed themselves as a teacher.

7.2.2. Instructional Domain: A Performative Teacher

Within the instructional domain, Sadia performed various roles relating to the transmission of knowledge. As well as being viewed as a parent, Sadia was also regarded as a source of knowledge by her students (Tilaar, 2002). This traditional cultural expectation still exists in Indonesia today. As Sadia noted:

> It's embedded in students' minds that teachers have to know everything. For example, if my students found difficult English vocabulary, they would definitely ask me because they thought that I knew all English words. Well, I don't necessarily know everything. I'm not like a dictionary or an answer key to any question. English teachers are just like other humans who might have limited knowledge. Since English is a foreign language, we don't know all the words in the dictionary (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Her statement reflects that her students depended on her as a teacher for the answers to any questions they asked, including difficult English words that they could actually look up in a dictionary. She further reported:

> As a foreign language teacher, I find it difficult to teach them especially in speaking and pronunciation because at this school not all the students come from this city. There are also students from villages, who lack basic English, especially if they don't take English courses outside the school. Based on my experience teaching at this school, it's easier to teach students who take English courses than students who don't take English courses. If there are students taking English courses, they'll be active in the class, and students who don't take English courses will become active as well. But since they now use mobile phones, they only learn English from the phones. This might what causes them to be less active in speaking because there's no interaction like when they take English courses (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Therefore, in her attempts to do her practice, she acknowledged that students in her school contributed to her frustration, as according to her, "They have very little knowledge of English. I have to be like a 'jug' that pours information into them" (SSI, May 25, 2021).

In spite of her students' expectations, she hoped that they would understand her limited knowledge as a human and as a non-native English language teacher. However, these expectations became one of her challenges as a non-native English language teacher to be creative. For this reason, she viewed herself as a creative teacher as well. Unlike Fareeha, whose sense as a creative teacher was developed from her experience of school as a student, Sadia's was developed in accord with her working environment, such as her students' expectations, which required her to be creative to address the gap between how she wanted to teach and what her students expected of her. Being creative in her terms means creating varied approaches in teaching and not relying only on textbooks, apart from the teaching guidelines formulated by the government. It also means finding answers to the questions that her students asked, even if she might not know the answers. As she

said, “I have to be one step ahead from my students and give them a chance to get real learning experiences, so I have to find ways to answer their questions even if I might not know the answers” (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Since the current curriculum requires teachers’ responsibility for creating environments that are conducive to a learner-centred curriculum, she viewed herself as a facilitator in an English knowledge creation process, who was in charge of cultivating critical and independent thinkers in the classroom. For example, in relation to the questions that her students asked, as a facilitator she allowed students to discuss the questions with their classmates before she got involved with them. By doing this, they were forced to use their creative thinking ability and develop the meaning of learning from the discussion.

However, according to Sadia, neoliberal curriculum reforms changed how she perceived herself as a teacher because there was a shift in students’ needs, especially regarding English subject. Students used to learn English because they wanted to gain knowledge of English and to be able to use all the four skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing), but now they only do reading activities to improve their literacy skills to be able to answer HOTS questions. Consequently, the other three skills in English cannot be effectively practised. They learned English merely for tests as well as to compete with others around the globe and to compete with others in exploring employment opportunities and career paths. Hence, she saw herself as spoon-feeding her students with what they needed for the tests. In relation to this, she criticised the current education for its assumption that outcomes could be instantly achieved:

> With the test result as the aim, I feel like the current education [approach] only wants instant products, while in fact the products can’t be produced instantly since they require a process. When we were students, we used to learn gradually. We cared more about our understanding towards the lessons and cared less about the scores that we would get for those lessons. Our teachers would make sure that we really understood what they had taught us before moving to the next topic. Therefore, we

> still remember until now what we had learned before. Now, students need to learn many things in one meeting with limited learning hour. Thus, they might forget easily what they've learned (SSI, May 25, 2021).

The neoliberal education reforms changed the philosophy that she held at the beginning of her career. She used to think that as a teacher she played roles not only in teaching but also in educating students, but now she thinks that she only plays a role in teaching students because for her, education is related to process, while teaching is related to product. This is what she perceived from the neoliberal education reforms. Hence, she viewed herself as a source of knowledge or a test spoon-feeder, not an educator.

7.2.3. Meta-Instructional Domain: A Performative and Critical-Reflexive Teacher

The neoliberal curriculum reforms also became a challenge for Sadia due to the lack of training or workshops to properly prepare teachers to apply what was outlined in the curriculum document. She was a little disappointed because she had to learn the curriculum on her own while drawing on her peers' experiences.

In addition to inadequate training or workshops, she complained about the demands that meant the teaching profession was getting more and more difficult for her. First, she found the 24-hour teaching load too high, and she felt that within the hours there was inappropriate allocation of hours for English learning. In addition, she indicated that teachers had to demonstrate four major competencies: personality, pedagogic, social and professional competencies. More importantly, she acknowledged that for her, the administrative demands had become the heaviest burden. It was the administrative burden that sometimes made her feel tired of her profession. As she said:

> When I have a lot of work, I feel bored. The administrative burden that takes much of my energy and mind is the assessment. The complicated assessment that I need to deal with now is more difficult although *K-13 Revisi* is actually simpler than the previous curriculum because I must calculate each *KD* [*Kompetensi Dasar* or Basic

> Competency] in the current assessment (SSI, June 14, 2021).

Therefore, like Fareeha, she viewed herself as an administrative struggler because "from the beginning until the end of every semester, teachers have many administrative burdens" (SSI, July 19, 2022). She did not view administration as a key part of her identity as a teacher, and therefore there was a struggle in reconciling this aspect of the tasks required of her with how she viewed her role.

When responding to the neoliberal curriculum reforms, Sadia could be seen as a critical-conformist practitioner of the reforms, i.e. a teacher who criticised the reforms but practised them according to the necessary stated standard. She stated:

> It's too bad that the government doesn't see what's actually happening on the ground before issuing the policies and instructing teachers about the things it wants teachers to do. Consequently, teachers and students become the victims of its policies. For example, *K-13 Revisi* is a setback for English subject because the focus of the curriculum is on reading skill, so students become the victims of the curriculum because their listening, speaking and writing skills aren't effectively practised. However, I try to apply the curriculum based on the required standard (SSI, May 25, 2001).

Here, Sadia saw herself simply as a curriculum implementer. This suggests that in performing her work, she only accepted various curriculum policies and might not be driven to implement various innovations. The government's policies were not in line with her expectation of how English should be taught.

7.3. Rukhsana's Narrative of Being an EFL Teacher

Like Fareeha and Sadia, Rukhsana was not initially interested in becoming a teacher. She wanted to study at the Faculty of Agriculture or Economics. However, when she took the entrance test to a state university, besides three other faculties that she chose (the Faculty of Agriculture, Engineering and Economics), she included the English Education major in *FKIP* as the last option and

was unexpectedly accepted in this major. Her journey thus mirrored the other teachers in that teaching was not her first choice of career.

7.3.1. Humanistic Domain: A Social Status Booster and Responsive Teacher

Rukhsana included the English Education major as one of the options for two reasons. First, she joined an English course when she was in high school, so she already had basic English when she decided to choose the major. Second, she valued being an EFL teacher. According to her, being an EFL teacher offered her a social status booster because graduates of English major might readily find employment in a variety of fields in addition to teaching. She further expressed:

> When I applied to college, I felt that it's better to apply to the English major than other majors in *FKIP* because I think that being an English language teacher is great and is a plus. The benefit of choosing the major is that it's easy for me to get a job. I could study while teaching. In the 1980s, when I was in the fourth semester, I already worked as a part-time English language teacher at a private high school. In the past, there weren't enough English language teachers because most of English language education graduates didn't work as teachers. They worked in companies, banks or government offices. The benefit of choosing the major is that even if there are no job vacancies elsewhere, teacher jobs still exist. In the past, we could immediately become civil servant teachers after graduation. There was only one test to become a civil servant teacher, which was actually a formality, because we could immediately pass the test. However, it's getting harder and harder to become a teacher now. Education major graduates who wish to become teachers must first take *PPG* [*Pendidikan Profesi Guru* or Teacher Professional Education] (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Her statement shows that the English teaching qualification is believed to provide easy access to work. This finding is in line with Sloan's (2006) conclusion that teachers maintain a professional kind of status in society. The participant in Sloan's study represented her decision to become a teacher as a step up from her poverty.

A social status booster was also related to the prestige that she gained in society. This also supports other findings, which state that teaching is a well-respected career in Indonesia, despite the fact that it is not as popular as other careers (Kuswandono, 2013; Suryani et al., 2013; Tilaar, 2002). Due to the noble nature of teachers' roles, teaching is considered by society to be one of the sacred professions, and a teacher is a well-respected person in society (Afrianto, 2014).

Because teachers typically hold a distinct standing in society where people consider them as knowledge providers and role models (Tilaar, 2002), Rukhsana also viewed herself as a role model. Therefore, in Indonesia, teachers are addressed by the term *guru*, deriving from *sing diguGU lan ditiRU*, a Javanese term to refer to someone who deserves to be listened to and to be seen as a model (Gandana & Parr, 2013). As a role model, Rukhsana said that she should be a good example for her students in her behaviour. Her attitudes should be in line with societal standards and ideals.

In addition, she viewed herself as a parent for her students, like Fareeha and Sadia. This was related to her role as a classroom teacher. As a parent, she said that her current level of responsibility is more complicated than it was before. In the present, she has to get to know her students, both in terms of their cognition but also support them emotionally, including understanding their family life:

> In the past, my work was limited to work related to teaching or academic only. I don't need to know my students' personal background. Now, I should know my students well, not only in academic aspect, but also in affective aspect. For example, when my students are continuously absent from school, I have to find out the reason why they're absent. When students have serious problems, I'll need to contact their parents or even visit them at home. By finding out what happens to them, I'll know their background, so that I can offer solutions to their problems (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Rukhsana also mentioned that the reason for her students' frequent absences was because they worked to help the economy and livelihood of their families.

Rukhsana's statement, in the above extract, supports Fareeha's and Sadia's statements that current students have more affective issues and more significant life challenges compared to students in the past. Because of this, in the past, she positioned herself purely as a parent. Now she is not only a parent, but also a friend and motivator. She differentiated her sense of herself as a parent from that of a friend and motivator because when she positioned herself as a parent, her students were reluctant to share their problems with her. This was due to the respect they had for her. However, when she placed herself as a friend, they were more open to sharing and at the same time she could be a motivator for them. She acknowledged that the current students need her more as a friend than as a parent. As she noted:

> In the past, students regarded me as a parent who needed to be respected. Therefore, they sat quietly on neatly aligned desks in the class. They rarely did group assignments because they were motivated to learn independently. Now students aren't really motivated to learn independently, so the focus is how they want to learn. They have to be active, for example by doing group assignments and discussing. Due to this shift on how students learn, I can no longer position myself as a parent only. I should also be like their friend, especially because the subject that I teach is English, which most of them consider as a difficult subject. I don't want if I only position myself as a parent, not as a friend also, they'll be afraid of not only English but also me (SSI, July 13, 2021).

Rukhsana's discourse reflects that a teacher should be more than just a parent and a professional who imparts English knowledge to students in formal sessions; rather, she should be a sincere friend who has a thorough understanding of her students' problems. By doing this, it would be easier for her to understand each of her students' strengths and weaknesses. This would facilitate successful English teaching and learning activities, enabling students to understand the English lessons without any pressure.

7.3.2. Meta-Instructional Domain: A Performative and Critical-Reflexive Teacher

Like the previous teachers, in the context of neoliberal policy implementation, Rukhsana viewed herself as an administrative struggler. According to her, when compared to the past, she has more tasks to do now, especially in administration. This became a burden to her because she spent more time making lesson plans and their attachments in addition to other tasks that she needed to do as an EFL teacher and a classroom teacher. This administrative burden took her away from what she saw as her key role as a teacher. She noted that her main tasks as an EFL teacher became overshadowed by the level of bureaucracy that focused on the administrative tasks at her school. As she said:

> Long time ago, the curriculum was simpler. Now it's more complex, and our tasks are more numerous, including assessing students' characters. Before 2004, apart from teaching, we weren't really required to do administration. Now we're in charge of the administrative tasks, assessments, students' characters and so on, so we really work in all aspects. I hope that we aren't burdened with many complicated and long-winded administrative tasks. Actually what's important is how to deal with students, how to educate them and how to improve their English ability (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Due to a lot of administrative work that she had to do, she became a critical-pragmatic practitioner, i.e. a teacher who criticised the reforms and practised them pragmatically, in a realistic way that suited her conditions during their implementation rather than obeying the fixed rules. As she further explained:

> I'll try to do my best to do what the government asks. If the lesson plan is only one page, I can still make it. But if I have to make pages of lesson plan, to be honest, I'll just copy them from someone or pay someone to make them for me because I don't want to waste my time only for doing administrative tasks (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Rukhsana's statement shows that she did not want to be bothered to make the lesson plans as she had another option to complete these administrative tasks, i.e. by paying someone or another

teacher to make them. The reason for this practice was because she considered the administrative requirements were only a formality and not a core part of her view of a teacher's role.

7.3.3. Instructional Domain: A Literacy Teacher

Rukhsana explained that her teacher's morale, enthusiasm and commitment were clouded by rigid management and bureaucracy of the government. She felt like she was not an EFL teacher anymore, but more like a literacy teacher because the focus of the current curriculum is literacy. Although, according to the teachers, literacy should involve all English skills, the English skills taught were mostly only two skills: reading and writing. She further said, "Listening and speaking are no longer tested. The student exams are now in readings, dialogues, in the form of multiple choice, discourse analysis or other forms and structured essays" (SSI, May 25, 2021). This statement reflects that the limitation of the curriculum to reading only did not fit with her image of what an EFL teacher does and is. Hence, she viewed herself more as a literacy teacher, not an EFL teacher.

7.4. Dafiyah's Narrative of Being an EFL Teacher

Unlike the previous teachers, Dafiyah chose to become an EFL teacher as her own choice, besides being driven by the stable career prospects that the profession could offer. For her, teaching was a calling and the only choice of career that she considered. Her understanding of a calling was that it was something she could create for herself and ensured that she was engaged in meaningful work. She considered a significant aspect of her identity to be the call she felt to become a teacher. Being a teacher and having a profession that she liked and that was really gratifying made her feel like a better 'parent'.

7.4.1. Instructional Domain: An Imparter of English Knowledge

Dafiyah's passion for becoming an EFL teacher had driven her to attain not only a bachelor's degree but also a master's degree in English education. She spoke passionately about her love not only for being an EFL teacher but also for the language itself because for her, being able to speak English could offer her social prestige, and teaching was her soul. As she stated, "Being an English

language teacher has been my soul and passion. Since I live in the outskirts of the city where not many people can speak English, being able to speak the language can boost my prestige in my society" (SSI, May 25, 2021).

For these personal values, she became one of the participants in this study who clearly viewed herself as an EFL teacher. She noted that as an EFL teacher she was an imparter of English knowledge. However, her responsibility was not simply to impart English knowledge to students' blank slates and to teach the language per se, but to deal with it all the time because she should be the practitioner who had a great responsibility to develop an innate awareness of the language. As she said, "If I have awareness of the language and of how important it is, especially in today's era, I can perhaps enable my students to develop the same awareness of the language as well" (SSI, May 25, 2021). With this awareness of the importance of the language, she thought that teaching English should be process- or skills-oriented, where she should not only teach the content but also involve the students in the four skills. She acknowledged that in the past the emphasis in the class was on teachers, but now the emphasis is on students, so she has to apply various teaching approaches for students. As she perceived that students today are quite different from students in the past since they are more creative and used to technology, she should be creative in teaching, use various teaching media and get various kinds of teaching materials from the internet. Therefore, she noted that if she still teaches English using old teaching approaches, such as 'chalk and talk', this might not suit current students.

However, although she tried to apply various kinds of teaching approaches and make the English learning as creative and interesting as possible, when the learning process took place, there were a lot of assessments to do as required by the curriculum, which took up most of the teaching time. Therefore, her idea that English learning should be process-oriented was difficult to implement. She felt conflicted between trying to bring about the ideal ways of teaching the language but at the same time adhering to the curriculum's requirements. Hence, her aims of teaching English shifted from enabling the students to use the language. She now has to provide them with basic

competencies in English that are in accordance with the curriculum to prepare them to graduate with good grades as well as to enter state universities.

7.4.2. Humanistic Domain: A Responsive Teacher

By choosing the teaching profession, Dafiyah learned how to educate children, and this was beneficial for her as she also needed education skills for her own children. Therefore, she viewed herself as an educator who educated her students through becoming a role model and setting a good example, so that her students would copy her. As she stated, "I'm not only transferring knowledge, but also educating students in terms of their characters and teaching them moral values" (SSI, May 25, 2021). She believed that her students' characters reflected how she behaved.

The roles that she had at the school, as a classroom teacher and *OSIS* coordinator, made her view herself as a classroom manager, who managed the class, imparted any school information to her students and solved her students' academic problems. She considered herself as a students' friend as well, one whom her students confided in and consulted with if they had personal problems or certain things to ask and as a trainer who trained students participating in English competitions or other events. She really enjoyed her position as an *OSIS* coordinator because through this position she was involved in all students' activities and this provided an experience of being a lifelong student. As she said, "Through involving myself in all students' activities, I can experience all the students' ups and downs" (SSI, June 12, 2021). However, the positions as a classroom teacher and an *OSIS* coordinator were not valued as teaching hours, unlike the position of vice principal that was valued for 12 hours of teaching. Therefore, she still taught 24 hours a week though she served as a classroom teacher and an *OSIS* coordinator. As she stated, "If the positions as a classroom teacher and an *OSIS* coordinator were valued as teaching hours, this would increase my work effectiveness, especially in teaching" (SSI, June 12, 2021).

She also saw herself as a member of teacher community within which she worked on a professional level. As she stated, "I'm a member of a professional organisation, *PGRI*, since all civil servant teachers are required to join this professional organisation" (SSI, May 25, 2021). However,

she acknowledged that she was not an active participant in this organisation. She was a member on paper only because her salary was deducted every month for the membership fee. The only organisation in which she was active was *MGMPBI*, conducted weekly or fortnightly, which she found more beneficial than *PGRI*. As she said, "Through this forum, teachers could share information and creativity" (SSI, May 25, 2021). Furthermore, she underscored that this forum was crucial to innovation and improvement of her teaching. She believed that joining knowledge building meetings that discussed professionally-oriented discourse not only helped develop the formation of new ideas and her collaborative problem-solving skills, but also shaped who she was as a professional. In the meetings, she and her colleagues at the same or different schools could exchange their classroom designs, such as lesson plans, PowerPoint Presentation (PPT) slides and videos for teaching. Through this forum, they could constantly develop better understanding and strategies for greater effective English knowledge-building by posing questions as well as exchanging insights and challenges. She also stressed that this forum, which aimed for teaching excellence, was accessible to disclosing not only accomplishments but also failures. Such open and bold communication of their accomplishments and failures was from their shared convictions that risk-taking was unavoidable when using new approaches or curriculum aiming for the enhancement of English teaching practices.

7.4.3. Meta-Instructional Domain: A Responsive, Performative and Critical-Reflexive Teacher

As a professional, through her innovative teamwork with her peers, Dafiyah considered herself as not only an EFL teacher but also a researcher. Researching in her context means not only the research conducted as part of submitting a teacher promotion proposal, which could be undertaken independently or in collaboration with her colleagues or other researchers, but also the research in the context of researching her own practices and student learning. For instance, she researched the 15-minute literacy programme before the class started and commented:

> Actually, the literacy programme at school is good. Last semester I asked my students to read a book in English written by my friend. After they read, they were supposed to submit a

> summary of the reading to see their understanding of what they had read. However, this programme doesn't run smoothly. In my class, only one or two students sent the summary. What do you expect from a reading programme and making a summary that only takes 15 minutes (SSI, June 12, 2021)?

She summed up by stressing that researching is a critical component in education, which promotes innovation, refinement and change because from researching teachers can see the effectiveness of the government's programmes, either for students or for teachers themselves. However, she criticised that the research conducted by the teachers as a requirement for a teacher promotion proposal was only a formality because the findings of the teachers' research were not used as feedback for the improvement of the government's programmes or policies.

She was supportive of the government policies of the curriculum reforms and tried to follow all the requirements as ideally as possible because she believed that they were vehicles for education transformation. However, she noted that it was impossible to implement the curriculum 100% in practice. She herself observed that she could only implement about 50% or almost 50% of the curriculum, depending on what type of class she taught. As she expressed:

> If I teach *MIPA* [*Matematika dan Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam* or Mathematics and Natural Science] classes in which there are many active students, I can apply the curriculum optimally. I can still use what I've made in the lesson plans though I can't apply every single thing in the lesson plans. However, if I teach *IPS* [*Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* or Social Science] classes where the students aren't active, I can't apply the curriculum optimally because the students don't have good basic command of English and I mostly use conventional teaching methods. Besides, I need to look at the situation in the classroom first. In *IPS* classes, I need to have more classroom management skill because they're more difficult to manage than *MIPA* classes (SSI, May 25, 2021).

This finding affirms Hoadley and Jansen's (2009) statement, which claims that what is outlined in the planned curriculum does not necessarily happen in actual practice. There is no guarantee that the content in the government-mandated curriculum will be taught by teachers in the way intended by the government or that students will learn what is prescribed in the curriculum.

Though Dafiyah supported the curriculum reforms, she mentioned that the reform programme frequency resulted in her confusion in determining the direction of her teaching and confounded her identity as a teacher who knew the actual classroom practices better than the curriculum planners. She noted:

> Almost every five years the curriculum changed though the teaching approaches used in the previous curriculum weren't fixed. Every time the curriculum changed, the teaching approaches also changed. Consequently, teachers have to follow again from the beginning, which causes a lot of confusion. The previous curriculum was *K-13*. Now, we're using *K-13 Revisi*. Well, maybe later there'll be another curriculum after this research interview has completely been conducted (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Due to the curriculum reform frequency and the increasing number of the teachers' tasks in administration, for instance, dealing with syllabi, lesson plans, assessments, grades, etc., she said that she was like an administrative struggler. Since teachers had to perform numerous administrative tasks, she emphasised the need for assistants who could assist in teachers' work, so that teachers could devote more time to teaching and less time to administrative tasks.

When responding to curriculum reforms, she came across as a supportive-exemplary practitioner of the reforms, i.e. a teacher who supported the government policies and set a good example for others by being active in professional development programmes, being ideal in almost all ways, excelling at all tasks and offering intellectual support to her leaders. Due to this, she was involved as *guru pamong* (teacher trainer) for the *PPG* programme and became the right-hand person of the principals, especially for English subject. As she said, "My relationship with the principal is really good" (SSI, July 15, 2021). As she always supported the school policies and did what

the authorities asked her to do, she received special attention from the principals, either by the current principal or by the previous one. By embracing the changes and taking an active role in their implementation she was able to forge stronger links to her existing identity as an EFL teacher.

7.5. Amara's Narrative of Being an EFL Teacher

Amara decided to become an EFL teacher due to her own interest, like Dafiyah, in addition to the influence of her parents. However, her career path was different from that of Dafiyah, who began her career a year earlier than her. She began her career in 2004 as a non-civil servant EFL teacher in a private junior secondary school after she had graduated from a university. Seven years later, due to the closure of the school where she previously worked, she moved to the current school (a state senior secondary school), still as a non-civil servant teacher.

7.5.1. Humanistic Domain: A Responsive Teacher

Amara's previous teaching experience for seven years at a lower school level made her sense of being a parent for her students more prominent because she perceived that students in this school level were not as independent as senior secondary school students and still needed a parental figure. Due to the parental figure she presented, she considered herself as a consultant, i.e. someone whom her students could share with when they experienced difficulty in learning or had personal problems. They could rely on her for advice, such as when there were English exams or competitions, although she did not hold a position as an *OSIS* coordinator, like Dafiyah.

Like a parent with her children, she said that she had to set a good example for her students since in teaching and learning activities she became the main person who interacted directly with her students. She acknowledged that she was a role model for her students because the way she behaved would be imitated by her students. These personal values emphasised how she should behave. As she stated:

> How I behave and how I treat my students will determine the level of respect my students show me. If I'm fussy or I don't behave well, my students won't definitely

see me as a good teacher and won't respect me (SSI, July 14, 2021).

As she knew the actual classroom practices better than the curriculum policy-makers and since she observed directly what happened in the classroom, she also viewed herself as an observer:

> I observe what's happening in the class since the observation is needed to evaluate my students. I observe to know which students really understand the lessons, which students pay and don't pay attention to my explanation, which students excel in English, which students lack English ability and which students are and aren't diligent (SSI, July 14, 2021).

However, her sense as an observer was masked due to the *KKM* policy in the curriculum. She felt that her role in evaluating students from the observation she did in the classroom was challenged by the *KKM* rules. She expressed her disappointment towards this policy, "Actually, it's a bit difficult to give my students their 'boosted' scores if I know their test scores and English abilities are lacking and they are also not diligent in attending the class" (SSI, July 14, 2021). Given that her students' grades would eventually be improved, she occasionally wondered what use it would serve for her to become an observer of her own class. She found this a challenge to her ideal view of how she should be teaching.

7.5.2. Instructional Domain: An All-Knowing EFL Teacher

Because of Amara's strong parental role, Amara's students regarded her as an all-knowing EFL teacher, much in the same way that parents were considered to know everything by their children. This is similar to how Sadia was seen by her students, i.e. a source of English knowledge. As Amara illustrated:

> My students would ask me everything they don't know in English, including difficult vocabulary, because they considered English as a difficult subject. Though I don't know everything and all English words, I should be able to answer whatever it is. I have to be professional (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Her students' expectations that she should be a proficient master or expert professional in English became a motivating factor for her to be a competent professional. For her, being professional means that she should be able to provide answers for her students if they asked her any questions in English. Therefore, she saw improving her English language mastery as a priority in establishing an identity as a competent EFL teacher.

However, in her attempts to be a competent professional, being a non-civil servant teacher was the most challenging aspect of her career due to the uncertainty in the number of teaching hours she would be assigned, including what subject she would teach, as well as the uncertainty regarding the wage she would receive:

> This semester I teach 12 hours of English subject and 14 hours of Life Skill and Entrepreneurship subject because there aren't enough teachers for these subjects, so I teach a total of 26 hours this semester. Next semester, I don't know if I'll still teach as many as these. For a non-civil servant teacher like me, I experience a sense of hope and anxiety. I always hope that I get many teaching hours because it's related to the money I'll get. I'm not like civil-servant teachers whose salaries are stable no matter how many teaching hours they get. I also feel anxious if there's a new civil servant English language teacher, I'll no longer be able to teach English because all of the 12 hours of English subject that I got this semester will be given to that civil servant teacher (SSI, May 25, 2021).

For a non-civil servant teacher like her, she could only accept decisions from her superiors. Even previously, she was only allotted two hours of English subject or sometimes she taught other subjects. She acknowledged that teaching other subjects was another challenge for her and diminished her identity as an EFL teacher.

7.5.3. Meta-Instructional Domain: A Performative and Critical-Reflexive Teacher

Amara realised that as an EFL teacher she was the main 'gatekeeper' of English education through which students gained access to English knowledge. She acknowledged that in

disseminating the knowledge to her students, she needed a curriculum that provided guidelines regarding the teaching process as well as the materials that had to be given to her students. Therefore, she viewed herself as a curriculum implementer, who should be able to translate, describe and implement what was scripted in the curriculum. As she noted that the curriculum was externally determined and teachers were overly controlled, she viewed herself more as a curriculum implementer, over which she had no control, and less as an EFL teacher. Furthermore, the curricula that frequently changed to meet the government standards made her feel like a 'guinea pig' in education that should experience the trial and error of the curricula.

With regard to the administrative tasks, she viewed herself as an administrative struggler due to the fact that she was responsible for completing the heavy administrative burdens without any assistant. Furthermore, when responding to neoliberal curriculum reforms, she was seen as a critical-exemplary practitioner of the reforms, i.e. a teacher who criticised the reforms but tried to be ideal in almost all ways, as supported by one of her statements, "Though I'm just a non-civil servant teacher, I tried my best to be ideal in doing my work and to carry out all of the tasks that I'm assigned to" (SSI, May 25, 2021). When she had completed the tasks assigned to her, she felt a certain degree of work satisfaction.

7.6. Discussion

The data in this study illuminated the involvement of historical, cultural, social and political factors in the construction of teacher professional identity, which included teachers' personal motivation for entering the profession, personal values (their sense of moral purpose), experience as a student, career history, school environment (such as students' expectations) and educational policies.

Personal motivation and values were highly influential in teachers' identity development. As Mockler (2011) and Reeves (2018) note, internal sources, such as motivation for entering the profession and individual values, contribute to teacher identity. For instance, among other teachers, Dafiyah was the only one who perceived the teaching profession as a calling and the only choice of

career that she considered before she entered *FKIP*. Therefore, she held the strongest identity as an EFL teacher among others due to her intrinsic motivation and personal values.

A teacher professional identity is multidimensional or multifaceted and has different meanings since it can be viewed from a variety of perspectives (Knowles, 1992; Tsui, 2007). As revealed in this study, the concept of teacher professional identity is understood from two perspectives. First, a professional identity is understood as what roles the teachers play or what they do, which is constructed in and realised through practices (Schifter, 1996; Tickle, 2000), known as identity work (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). According to Kunda (1992), roles are a set of explicit, consistently applied guidelines for how members of an organisation are expected to view themselves and their work. Second, it is understood as the essence of the self-expressed as representations that are recognisable by the teachers themselves or by others, signified through signs of beliefs and attitudes based on the interpretations of their ongoing interactions in a context (Barker, 2004; Canrinus et al. 2011; Gee, 2001; Tickle, 2000).

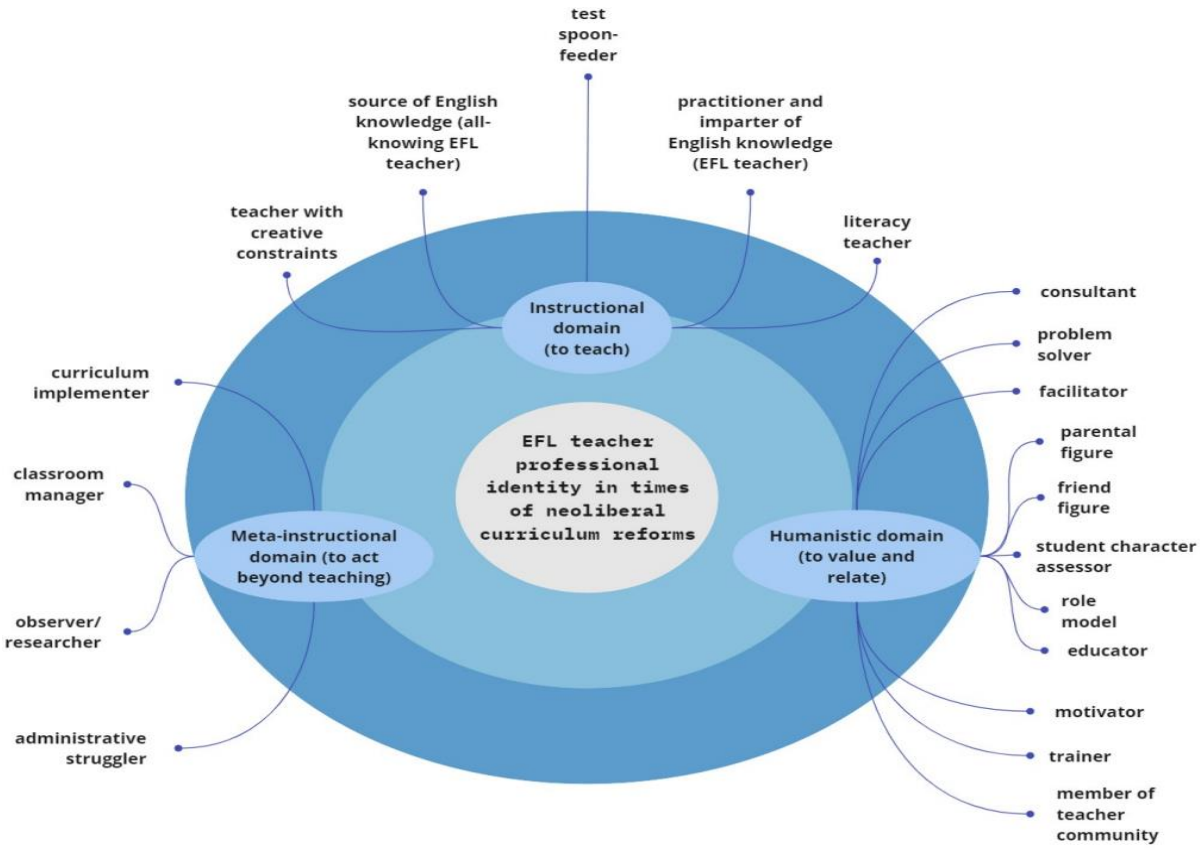
Based on these perspectives, the retrospective accounts of the teachers' experiences classified three domains of the conceptions of teacher professional identity as an EFL teacher: instructional domain (related to teaching practices), meta-instructional domain (related to teacher practices beyond teaching) and humanistic domain (related to teacher practices in terms of their roles to model values and to relate with others). A description of the conceptions of EFL teacher professional identity under these three domains is illustrated in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1 shows that the teachers understood their professional identity in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms based on the concept of their roles as teachers. In this sense, identity is more defined by what they do as opposed to who they are (Lee et al., 2013). "The core of an identity is the categorisation of the self as an occupant of a role and the incorporation, into the self, of the meanings and expectations associated with that role and its performance" (Stets & Burke 2000, p. 225). When it comes to teacher's work, neoliberal doctrines frequently favour the concept of role over identity because role more closely aligns with the technical-rational conceptualisation of

teaching with neoliberal educational goals, whereas identity is evidently complex and intertwined with many aspects of teacher's work (Mockler, 2011). In much of the literature, roles are seen as an essential input of identity work (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). Based on the teachers' understanding of their selves from the roles they played, the study revealed the teachers' representations as responsive, performative and critical-reflexive teachers, as discussed in the following.

Figure 7.1

The Conceptions of EFL Teacher Professional Identity



7.6.1. Responsive Teachers

As revealed in this study, the teachers were represented as responsive teachers since they were responsive to students' cognitive needs. For example, a teacher said that as an EFL teacher she had to be able to apply teaching approaches that encouraged her students to be interested in English because she wanted them to love English. Therefore, the teachers used various teaching

sources in addition to the required textbooks. Responsive teachers encourage teacher-student connections based upon caring and connectivity (Davis, 2003). The behaviour of responsive teachers includes being responsive to students' cognitive, social and emotional needs and personal goals, creating a favourable social learning environment, establishing a personal connection with students, treating students respectfully, valuing and demonstrating empathy in interactions with students and offering support and constructive feedback (Kiefer et al., 2014; Wentzel, 1997).

Studies in Singapore and China have found that many teachers considered textbooks as the main source of knowledge, and they were the presenters of that knowledge (Fan & Gurcharn, 2000; Wang & Paine, 2003). Unlike these studies, teachers in this study did not consider English textbooks as the main source of English knowledge. This might be due to the lack of provision of English textbooks by the government and the government's recommendation to use various teaching sources. Therefore, some of the teachers understood themselves as not only a practitioner and imparter of English knowledge but also a source of English knowledge as they collected information of English from various sources. In the teachers' and students' senses, EFL teachers were English specialists who imparted English knowledge to their students and were the source of answers to any questions related to English that their students asked, including simple questions as English vocabulary. This finding suggests that when students were facing English learning challenges beyond the knowledge they had, they resorted to an instant solution by asking their teachers. They treated themselves as a 'tabula rasa' (a blank page which teachers had to fill with various types of knowledge, including English vocabulary). Students became passive recipients who learned English by rote. This situation is what Freire (1970, p. 135) refers to when education becomes the process of transforming students into "containers" or "receptacles" that teachers can "fill"; consequently, it turns into the act of "depositing", with students serving as "depositories" and teachers as "depositors". This banking account of education by Freire is relevant to the Indonesian education system in which teachers were primarily responsible for teaching students literacy concepts. Then, students were assessed for literacy-based content at the end. Hence, they

became dependent on their teachers since the aim of their learning was to get good scores for this literacy-based test, not to gain deeper knowledge of English.

In addition, Indonesian EFL teachers encountered greater complexity with their various layers of identity during their professional practices as they dealt with both their national language, Indonesian and dialect or ethnic language. They maintained their ethnic and national identity during their practices by not giving up their ethnic and Indonesian language although they were required to converse in English with their students. For the teachers, language provided a strong sense of national identity. Therefore, how their professional identity developed in the Indonesian settings and how they related to one another in their professional activities were affected by this.

The teachers were also responsive to students' social and emotional needs, as well as personal goals. Therefore, their identity work under their representation as responsive teachers was not only as a parental figure, a role model and an educator, but also as a consultant, a problem solver, a facilitator, a motivator, a trainer and a friend figure.

7.6.2. Performative Teachers

The findings of the study suggest that performative practices shaped teacher professional identity into performative teachers. The data revealed performative practices as well as policies and their cultural roots that sought to normalise the teachers through more rationalised means and to transform them into performative subjects and, in some cases, docile objects. In performative cultures, the focus is on teachers', students' and institutions' ongoing performativity, seeking to continuously compete to better their performance and to be evaluated in accordance not only with the results but also with the rise in performativity (Lyotard, 1984).

Based on the teachers' understanding of their selves from the roles they played in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms, the findings of the study showed the teachers' representation as performative teachers, as seen in their identity work as a student character assessor, a literacy teacher, a curriculum implementer, an administrative struggler and a spoon-feeder for tests.

Neoliberal principles shifted the way the teachers saw their role in educating or nurturing students. Although the current curriculum affirms the significance of character education, in fact, some teachers saw themselves more as an assessor who assessed students' characters, rather than as an educator who provided an educating role and built the students' characters. This condition is reinforced by the teachers' statement that 'neoliberal-based' students that they are facing now have more affective issues than students they had in the past. This phenomenon contradicts Sahlberg's (2010, p. 49) description of the teaching profession:

> Teaching is a profession that is typically driven by ethical motive or intrinsic desire, just as nursing, …. Most teachers, therefore, expect to teach in congruence with their moral purpose, i.e. so that students would understand and learn to promote their personal development and growth, not only for favourable exam scores or other externally set conditions of progress.

The teachers saw themselves as literacy teachers who 'supply' students with literacy skills for the purpose of familiarising them with PISA and improving their scores in this international assessment at the end. Furthermore, they understood themselves more as a curriculum implementer prepared to apply a centrally scripted curriculum instead of being an EFL teacher who engaged in the language and the education with their students. All of these resulted in 'producing' teachers with creative constraints. The findings of this study support Rigas and Kuchapski's (2018) concern that in neoliberal era there is a propensity to demote teachers to specialised technicians within educational bureaucracy, whose role is not to create or critically appropriate curriculum to address particular pedagogical concerns, but to implement and manage curriculum programmes.

Teacher professional identity was also threatened by prolonged, unassisted seatwork and regular interruptions from administrative tasks, as confirmed by this study. Therefore, all teachers in this study understood themselves as administrative strugglers. The negotiation of teachers' roles with regard to students, curriculum and administration is influenced by the teacher identity, and these interactions also, in turn, have an impact on the teacher identity (Enyedy et al., 2005).

A study by Jacob and Levitt (2003) found that teachers gave students direct information regarding the examination's subject matter as they prepared them for exams. The finding of Jacob and Levitt's study affirms the findings of this study that the impact of neoliberalism on EFL teachers heightened the perception of an EFL teacher as a test spoon-feeder. Therefore, they are teaching to the test (Polesel et al., 2014) and teaching the curriculum, rather than teaching English. As they are obligated to implement a narrow and prescribed curriculum over which they have little control, they are increasingly turning into technicians (*ibid*).

7.6.3. Critical-Reflexive Teachers

Realistically, the political climate of the school had an impact on the teachers' capacity for being critical. The school had a typical top-down power structure with a hierarchy where the administration had a disproportionate amount of control. Nevertheless, the teachers were able to express their criticisms during the data collection process. This might be because the structure prevented them from expressing their critical opinions. As mentioned in Chapter 6, one of the social-political structures that was discovered was a feudal system, which led teachers to believe that it was pointless to protest government policies that occasionally did not accord with the realities on the ground since their complaints would not be taken seriously. The teachers were also reflexive since they investigated their interactions with the changes via introspection as the interactions occurred. To change and to be reflexive frequently requires praxis deconstruction (Coghlan & Brannick, 2005). "Deconstruction is not just a method but is a way of thinking about or seeing the danger of what is powerful and useful" (Ironside, 2001, p. 81). Therefore, the teachers were represented to an extent as critical-reflexive teachers.

As revealed in this study, the teachers' critical-reflexive representation was coded differently based on their reactions to neoliberal curriculum reforms: a sceptical-pragmatic practitioner, a critical-conformist practitioner, a critical-pragmatic practitioner, a supportive-exemplary practitioner and a critical-exemplary practitioner. The coding system is shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1

The Codes of EFL Teachers' Critical-Reflexive Representation

Codes of Teachers' Critical-Reflexive Representation	Features	Statement Samples	Teachers
The sceptical-pragmatic practitioner	Having sceptical perceptions about the curriculum reforms (doubting that the reforms are made for the education itself)	"The government can only ask us to do this and that to fulfil their target, like they're using us."	Fareeha
	Having lack of positive behaviour in the curriculum reform implementation	"Well, what I can do, I'll do. If I can't, I'll ask my colleague at this school or friend at other schools to help me."	
	Being pragmatic in the curriculum reform implementation (pragmatically implementing the reforms in a realistic way that suits her conditions rather than obeying the fixed rules)	"If I don't want to feel burdened with the administration, I have to be willing to spend my money. … I usually ask another English language teacher to make the lesson plans for those classes and pay her, …."	
	Having mostly negative responses		
The critical-conformist practitioner	Having critical, but not sceptical, perceptions about the curriculum reforms	"It's too bad that the government doesn't see what's actually happening on the ground before issuing the policies and instructing teachers about the things it wants teachers to do. Consequently, teachers and students become the victims of its policies. …."	Sadia
	Conforming to the necessary stated standard of the curriculum reforms	"… I try to apply the curriculum based on the required standard."	
	Having balanced responses		
The critical-pragmatic practitioner	Having critical, but not sceptical, perceptions about the curriculum reforms	"I hope that we aren't burdened with many complicated and long-winded administrative tasks. Actually what's important is how to deal with students, how to educate them and how to improve their English ability."	Rukhsana
	Being pragmatic in the curriculum reform implementation	"… if I have to make pages of lesson plan, to be honest, I'll just copy them from someone or pay someone to make them for me because I don't want to waste my time only for doing administrative tasks. Why bother making them if I can pay someone or another teacher to make them?"	
	Having balanced responses		
The supportive-exemplary practitioner	Supporting the government policies	"… I've always supported their policies and do what they asked me to do."	Dafiyah
	Setting a good example for others		
	Having mostly positive responses		
The critical-exemplary practitioner	Having critical, but not sceptical, perceptions about the curriculum reforms	"… I don't understand what 'game' the government is playing. Maybe teachers and students become guinea pigs in education" (the extract in Chapter 6).	Amara
	Setting a good example for others	"… I tried my best to be ideal in doing my work and to carry out all of the tasks that I'm assigned to."	
	Having balanced responses		

Despite the fact that some teachers in other studies were found to be wholly resistant to external reforms, such as teachers in Datnow and Castellano's (2000) study who were vehemently against their school reform model, this study found that there was no representation of teachers as

a real and active resistor to the neoliberal curriculum reforms. There was only one teacher who was sceptical and showed mostly negative responses to the curriculum reforms during the interviews.

Janas (1998) identifies three classifications of resistance to reforms, which include (1) aggressive resistance, defined as an outright rejection without any justification, (2) passive-aggressive resistance, in which teachers seem to be receptive to change but find an excuse not to implement it and (3) passive resistance, in which teachers express unwavering acceptance but never follow through. Teachers in this study could hardly be represented as aggressive resistors although they internally tended not to accept the neoliberal curriculum reforms. However, passive-aggressive resistance was similar to the sceptical-pragmatic practitioner, and passive resistance was similar to the critical-pragmatic practitioner found in this study.

The fact that the teachers were not found as fully resistant to the reforms might be due to their religious belief as Muslims. They believe that teaching is a noble profession because their work and the knowledge they teach can be a charity that continues to flow in rewards or *amal jariyah* in the Islamic terminology. Therefore, they tended to be receptive to and patient with what they were assigned, despite their critical or even sceptical responses to the reforms. As one of the teachers said, “Though being a teacher was actually not my interest, I’ve managed to work with full dedication as this can be *amal jariyah* for me” (Sadia, May 25, 2021). This finding is in line with Rahmi’s (2022) study in the Indonesian context. Teachers in her study concurred that if they were fully dedicated to their work, they could live peacefully, be content with whatever they had and receive rewards in the afterlife. On the other hand, they would suffer misfortunes in their lives if they were not dedicated to their work.

7.6.4. Teachers’ Identity Shifts

This study also revealed that in the construction of teacher identity, teachers could be influenced by their experience of school as a student and working environment. For example, Fareeha and Sadia both viewed themselves as creative teachers due to these two influences respectively. However, their belief in ideal English teaching was found to be at odds with scripted

curriculum practices in neoliberal pedagogical ideology. Therefore, their identity shifted from creative teachers to teachers with creative constraints. Their creativity was pushed aside because they had to teach to the test. This is related to another conception of their identity as a teacher teaching to the tests, where they 'spoon-fed' students with lessons for the tests for the sake of their school's reputation and future.

Another teacher, Rukhsana, also experienced an identity shift from an EFL teacher to a literacy teacher due to the strong focus of the curriculum on improving students' literacy skills. On the other hand, Amara felt more like a curriculum implementer rather than an EFL teacher. In addition to this, all of the teachers experienced an identity shift from an EFL teacher to an administrative struggler because they spent more time on administrative tasks instead of teaching.

These findings affirm that teachers' identity construction and transformation is strongly influenced by education reforms, especially large-scale ones (Lee & Yin, 2011). Internal and external factors, such as values, beliefs, organisational aspects of the school and policy requirements, will influence teacher professional identity during the change implementation process (*ibid*).

7.7. Concluding Remarks

The findings from this study have demonstrated the connections that exist between teachers and neoliberal ideology incorporated in education reforms via accountability practices. The analysis of the SSI data has shown how teacher professional identity is constructed and understood. Essentially, school environment and educational policies serve as mediating sites owing to the ways in which the teachers operationalise accountability policies and apply accountability practices. Through this process, how they understand themselves professionally has shifted. Concurrently, teacher professional identity plays a significant role in how school environment, policies and discourses of reform are understood and interpreted. As the findings show, this cannot be done without implicating the teachers' pre-existing identity.

Chapter 8

Indonesian EFL Teacher Professional Agency in Times of Neoliberal Curriculum Reforms

This chapter discusses the research findings in response to RQ 3: How is Indonesian EFL teacher agency enacted in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms? Guided by this research question and informed by the TPA (Kemmis et al., 2014), this study sought to examine how EFL teachers enacted their professional agency in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms. The findings were drawn from the SSIs and FGD. The following sections explain the constraints and enablement of the teacher agency, followed by the discussion of the findings.

8.1. Constraints on the EFL Teacher Agency: Cultural-Discursive Arrangements

A constraint on the teacher agency in cultural-discursive arrangements was students' multilingual background. The interview data reveal that due to this constraint the teachers used multilingual instruction in their classrooms. The languages used were English, as well as their national and local languages. The teachers' decision to be multilingual teachers demonstrated their agency. They were conscious of the fact that they worked in a multilingual environment in which English was merely a foreign language. Consequently, they decided to teach in a way that was appropriate for the situation. In other words, their local socio-cultural concerns had a big impact on their agency. The teachers, in particular, expressed that their students' multilingual background constrained their agency to create an English atmosphere in their classrooms. The reason for this was generally because they wanted to use the easiest and fastest way for their students to understand the English lessons, so that they could reach the targeted score, the *KKM* score (in this case performative agency was duty-based). Therefore, the national and/or local languages were mostly used by all the teachers. English was used only when they found that the situation in the classrooms supported the English use or when the students did their practical English exercises.

The local language was used by four teachers, except for Amara. She thoroughly acknowledged the use of the national language to convey her awareness of the national identity.

Amara perceived that the language would make it easier for her students to understand her instruction. While some students mostly coming from remote areas found it difficult to understand the national language, she said, “Students have to be used to speaking in Indonesian” (SSI, May 25, 2021). However, she sometimes code-switched between Indonesian and English because she stated, “If I don't speak English when I’m teaching, it's like that I’m not teaching English” (SSI, May 25, 2021). Amara realised that her students’ language background constrained her agency in creating an English atmosphere in the classrooms. However, she acknowledged the importance of English speaking skills in learning English. As she expressed, “When teaching English, I prefer if my students practise English directly, such as speaking skill because, in my opinion, the most important thing in learning a language is the ability to speak” (SSI, May 25, 2021). Additionally, she experienced that the students would get bored easily and feel sleepy if she only gave theoretical English lessons and asked her students to do exercises afterwards. As she said, sometimes students copied their friends’ work if she only gave them written exercises, but if she asked them to practise speaking skills, they got excited.

Other teachers, Rukhsana and Sadia, shared similar ideas about the English choice in their classrooms when it came to choosing English for their instruction. Their agency was impacted by their sense of belonging to their community, which could be comparable to their sense of belonging to their workplace. They appeared to believe that their students shared a community with them, including their local language. Therefore, they mostly employed the local language, mixing it with Indonesian and English, to capture their students' interest and facilitate their understanding of the lessons. They also believed that teaching in the local language might be effective because some of their students from remote areas struggled with Indonesian. She believed that by speaking in the local language, their students would be more likely to understand their English teaching. However, they also understood some negative consequences of using the local and national languages in their English classes, i.e. reducing the students’ exposure to and use of English.

Fareeha affirmed other teachers' opinions by emphasising socio-cultural reasons for the infrequent use of English in their classes. As she mentioned:

> If we go to Bali or Yogyakarta, many people can speak English, whereas in our city only a few people can speak English. This might be because in those cities there are many tourists, so students have the opportunity to practise their English with them. Therefore, students are motivated to learn English because the opportunity to use it is real (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Dafiyah, on the other hand, seemed to be the only teacher who used English most often. One of the reasons she mentioned for her frequent use of English was because she served as the *OSIS* coordinator which required her to interact more with students, especially when there were English competitions. Therefore, her agency for the English choice inside and outside the classrooms was relatively stronger than other teachers.

8.2. Constraints on the EFL Teacher Agency: Material-Economic Arrangements

Within material-economic arrangements the teachers exhibited performative agency as duty-based when they reacted to top-down directives. This was explained by a number of required standards in the curriculum reforms. There were six catalysts identified in relation to these directives: (1) administrator/curriculum mandates, (2) employment conditions, (3) English teaching allocation and class size policies, (4) lack of material resources, (5) performative culture and (6) regulations of sanctions. The following subsections explain how the teachers enacted their agency under the constraints found on the site.

8.2.1. Administrator/Curriculum Mandates

One of the teachers, Amara, affirmed that the government's standards forced her to exercise what can be defined as duty-based agency. This is due to her moral responsibility as a professional. As she said:

> I have to fulfil the standards required by the government. As a teacher, I have to be

> professional by doing what the government requires me to do and applying the mandated curriculum because it's an obligation; it's a must. I have to follow the government standards and work on them (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Her view about being professional became narrow, limited to fulfilling what the government required her to do. When she did this, she sometimes felt that she was not free to make decisions and take actions:

> Sometimes when I want to make a decision, it has to be in accordance with the standards of the government programmes even if the decision taken based on these standards isn't in accordance with what actually happens. I can't make a decision right away because I have to comply with all the standards set out in the government programmes (SSI, May 25, 2021).

She further stated:

> Sometimes I feel burdened to be a teacher under the government's control. For example, in the past, the study hour was extended from early morning to late afternoon which resulted in not only students' exhaustion, but also teachers'. Consequently, teaching and learning activities became ineffective. …. If I'm controlled, I feel like I work under compulsion. But I have to just accept it (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Dafiyah also exercised performative agency as duty-based in dealing with the curriculum mandates. She considered the government's control as "traffic lights" and the curriculum standards as needed to guide teachers, and her agency was a form of responsibility fulfilment (FGD, May 4, 2021). She used the term 'traffic lights' as an analogy of the government's control because just as with the traffic lights, the green one represented what teachers were allowed or required to do; the yellow one represented as a warning if they did not do what they were supposed to do; and the red one represented the consequences they might get for not doing what they were required to do. As

she said, “The government gives instructions, and at the lower level there’s supervision. It's my responsibility as a teacher to do my job professionally” (FGD, May 4, 2021).

Dafiyah provided the following description that shows her duty-based agency in responding to the curriculum mandates:

> I’m an obedient teacher. I obey the rules or policies of the government. I carry out all my tasks, such as making lesson plans, teaching and learning media, as well as teaching, giving assignments and assessing students. Just like students who have to do some homework from teachers, I consider the curriculum demands from the government as teacher’s homework (SSI, July 15, 2021).

Dafiyah's compliance could be a result of her view of teaching as a calling (see Section 7.4). As Bullough and Hall-Kenyon (2012) claim, teachers who consider teaching as a calling are more enthusiastic and committed to the idea of a teaching career, aware of the potential impact on others, less concerned about potential sacrifices and more willing to accept additional responsibilities. Furthermore, according to Rothmann and Hamukang'andu (2013), teachers who view their work as a calling have demonstrated greater dedication to the institutions in which they work.

Like other teachers, Rukhsana, enacted performative agency to curriculum mandates as duty-based. This was explained by her statement in the following:

> Because I'm an old ‘product’, I try my best to do what the government asks me to do. For example, we used to make around 100 to 200 pages of lesson plans. Therefore, if I couldn't make my own lesson plans, I would just pay another teacher who could type them for me. At least I had lesson plans to fulfil the administrative requirement. How could I teach optimally if I also had to work on the huge number of pages of lesson plans? The problem was the time (SSI, May 25, 2021).

She mentioned being an ‘old product’ to emphasise that she was a senior teacher who was not expert enough to type with a computer. Besides the time, she used this computer illiteracy as a

reason to justify her agency, i.e. by using an alternate form of performative fulfillment, e.g. paying another teacher to make her lesson plans.

In spite of her justification for enacting this agency, Rukhsana sometimes felt that she was not professional enough as a teacher because she said, "Simply to make lesson plans, I still copied the lesson plans of other teachers that I met in *MGMPBI*, so our lesson plans were often similar" (SSI, May 25, 2021).

In a similar vein, Fareeha also exercised duty-based agency as did Rukhsana. She affirmed:

> What I can do, I'll do. If I don't know, I'll ask my colleagues or friends at other schools. Since teachers also have administrative burdens and I can't operate a computer for too long, I usually pay a non-civil servant school staff or teacher who's good at using computer to type my administrative tasks (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Sadia also enacted agency in the same vein as the previous teachers. As Sadia stated, "Indeed, there are many curriculum demands from the government. Well, what else I can do other than obeying what the government wants. So, I try my best to carry out the government's policies" (SSI, May 25, 2021).

8.2.2. Employment Conditions

Prior to the neoliberal reforms (before the 1997 financial crisis), the teacher employment system in the country was divided into civil servant teachers in public-owned schools and private teachers in privately-owned schools (Mappiasse, 2014). Following that, the government established another employment structure in addition to the previous ones, i.e. non-civil servant teachers in both types of schools. Non-civil servants are divided into two schemes, contract teachers, who are hired by the government, but whose salary is less than that of civil servant teachers, and school-hired teachers. A participant of this study, Amara, was the latter type of employment status.

In the school where this study was conducted, there were only civil and non-civil servant EFL teachers, and Amara was the only non-civil servant EFL teacher. Many were aware that obtaining

employment as a non-civil servant teacher would facilitate the transition to civil servant one. Nevertheless, in the interview, Amara expressed her worries about her employment status because she had been a non-civil servant teacher for 17 years.

Realising her status made her accept the existing circumstances in relation to the government's controls. As she said, "I'm aware that the government's controls and curriculum standards influence my capacity to take action. However, because I'm a non-civil servant teacher, I have no choice but to follow them" (FGD, May 4, 2021). She further explained, "I try to obey the government's rules or policies. What else I can do other than just complying with these rules because I can't protest either" (SSI, June 14, 2021). Since she was only a non-civil servant teacher, she was frightened to object. She could only comply with the government's rules because if she objected, she would be questioned and ultimately dismissed by the school.

8.2.3. English Language Teaching Allocation and Class Size Policies

All of the teachers exercised duty-based agency when dealing with English teaching allocation and class size policies. The teachers explained that the challenges they faced when they enacted their agency in dealing with these policies were complex because the policies were related to other aspects, e.g. the material that needed to be covered in one meeting, the affective assessment that needed to be done during the teaching and learning process and the 24-hour weekly teaching policy that required teachers to teach 12 classes in a week for those teaching Grade 10. For instance, Dafiyah explained this challenge as the following:

> I support all the government's policies, but the application in the classroom requires a lot of time, while the compulsory English subject in the current curriculum is only two hours per meeting in a week, not four hours divided into two meetings a week as it was before. Because the English subject is only two hours a week, it means that in one week we have to teach 12 classes to fulfil the 24-teaching hour policy to get the certification allowance. Not to mention that we're also given other additional tasks. So, we're required to work optimally to get good results under limited time

(FGD, May 4, 2021).

Consequently, she felt that she was not effective in exercising her agency in teaching her students although she had tried to work professionally by following all the mandated policies.

In addition to Dafiyah's statement, Rukhsana affirmed that it was difficult for teachers to provide an assessment of knowledge, skill and character for each student in each *KD* if they had to teach 12 classes because to know the students' English abilities in 12 large classes was not possible. These conditions undermined their ability to work professionally, while the government demanded them to improve their professionalism. Therefore, she had the same expectations towards the policy-makers as other teachers had; that is, English should be taught four hours a week divided into two sessions like during the previous curriculum, so that they could teach a maximum of six classes.

8.2.4. Lack of Material Resources

Sadia was critical that the school was under-resourced to provide the standards of education required by the government. This affected how she felt about her agency. She explained:

> The government makes rules that place demands on teachers with its standards. Unfortunately, this isn't accompanied by the actions from the government that can support the achievement of these standards. This school itself still lacks facilities to support learning. For example, there are only three LCD projectors, so we need to take turns to use the projector. Sometimes I couldn't use it because all of them were being used by other teachers. So, if I want to use it, I have to book it in advance or ask my students to take it from the office before it's used by another teacher. These inadequate facilities are what make me feel that I haven't implemented the policies of the government optimally (SSI, June 14, 2021).

In addition to the lack of LCD projectors, Sadia affirmed that textbooks were also lacking. Consequently, two students shared a single textbook and took turns carrying it home to study. Fareeha also mentioned the incompatibility of the textbook content for the elective English subject

because this subject had just been introduced in *K-13 Revisi*. Due to these conditions, the teachers stated that they enacted their agency by finding an alternative way, i.e. by creating their own teaching materials.

8.2.5. Performative Culture

Since neoliberal approaches were adopted in Indonesian education, the working lives of EFL teachers in this study have experienced a noticeable transformation. This transformation has largely been brought about by what Ball (2003, p. 216) refers to as the culture of "performativity". Some effects of performative culture have been the increase in bureaucratic and administrative work related to system demands, like standardised documenting and reporting of performance, including student performance (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011) and heightened pressures to adhere to the external demands of results-driven policies (Day, 2017). Therefore, the teachers' regular enactments of autonomy and agency have gradually been reduced by this performative culture (Day, 2017). As revealed in this study, when responding to performative culture, the teachers demonstrated their performative agency as duty-based. There were two noticeable arrangements that constrained the teacher agency: the increased assessment standards and the policy of minimum assessment score standard, as explained in the following.

8.2.5.1. Increased Assessment Standards. The current curriculum emphasised character education, encompassing spiritual and social attitude competencies in affective aspect, in addition to cognitive and psychomotor aspects comprising core and basic competencies (Gunawan & Nurjanah, 2020; MPKRI, 2014). It aims to engage students in activities in the realm of attitudes, as well as English knowledge and skills over the course of their education. These increased assessment standards occupied most of the teachers' time. For instance, representing other teachers, Fareeha explained this in the following way:

> It's true that in the current curriculum, the lesson plan is made simple. But the assessment is quite demanding because we're required to assess students frequently

> from three aspects, that is, cognitive, affective and psychomotor aspects. So, every time we finish teaching one *KD*, we have to record students' scores from those three aspects (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Since teachers had to assess students frequently, this condition created the feeling in Fareeha that she was "chased and demanded" to provide the assessment (FGD, May 4, 2021). In that case, she felt as if she had no authority over the teaching and learning activities since most of the activities were about students doing exercises or assignments for assessment.

Therefore, this performative culture had become the most challenging aspect of the teaching profession in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms. As she described:

> If I assess each student for those three aspects, just imagine if I teach seven classes and each class consists of 36 to 40 students. It means that there are 252 to 280 students that I have to assess. If I really comply with this demand, I'll get stressed and tired. To avoid fatigue in assessing students for those three aspects, I assess them by looking at their ability in general. I usually only grade students who stand out from others, both positively and negatively. For students who are average, I usually grade them with average scores (SSI, June 12, 2021).

In this case, Fareeha used a strategy to manage this mandated situation, i.e. she assessed her students as required but minimised the impact, such as exhaustion, by grading particular students only, not all the students, due to the number of classes and students she taught.

Dafiyah enacted agency in a similar way as Fareeha, i.e. by assessing students as required but grading only the students who stood out from others, not grading each student one by one. As she illustrated, "To assess students' diligence, I'll grade who's the most diligent and who's the least diligent. To assess students' collaborative skills, I'll grade who's the most active and who's the least active" (SSI, May 25, 2021). She exercised her agency this way because it was difficult for teachers to assess students' characters if they taught 12 classes consisting of a minimum of 36 students in each class. Regarding this affective assessment in the current curriculum, she perceived secondary school

teachers as being positioned like “kindergarten teachers” who had to be able to observe the characters of individual students (FGD, May 4, 2021).

In a similar vein as Fareeha, Sadia affirmed that she used her agency when dealing with student assessment. As she explained, “Though the lesson plan in *K13 Revisi* is simple, the assessment is complex due to the addition of affective assessment, consisting of spiritual and social attitude assessments” (SSI, July 19, 2021). She mentioned that if she taught 12 classes, there were 24 administrative assessment sheets that she had to work on. This number of assessment sheets for 12 classes was only for the affective assessment, excluding the cognitive and psychomotor assessments. She also acknowledged that in the past students’ scores in the affective assessment were only in the form of letters—A, B, C or D—, but in *K-13 Revisi*, there had to be a description in addition to this letter. This is what gives her such a “hassle” (SSI, July 19, 2021).

8.2.5.2. The Policy of Minimum Assessment Score Standard. Besides the increased assessment standards, the teacher agency was also challenged by the policy of *KKM*. Rukhsana described this situation, “Now we’re not as free as before in making decisions. In the past, the scores given to students were the original scores they got, even if the score was 20 or 30. We had authority in grading students” (SSI, July 13, 2021).

Being one of the senior teachers, who had worked for decades, Rukhsana could feel the difference in her sense of authority in determining students’ scores in the past and in the present. She revealed this as follows: “Since the 2000s, students have been taught how to answer exams, and scores have even been manipulated …. That's why before the year of 2000s, we could easily see that if students had good scores, their abilities were indeed real” (SSI, July 13, 2021).

Due to the policy, Rukhsana sometimes felt that it was useless to assess students because their scores would be raised at the end to pass the minimum standard. Therefore, she exercised performative agency as duty-based when checking her students’ assignments. As she said, “Sometimes I don’t really check my students’ assignments. I grade my students only for submitting

their assignments" (SSI, June 14, 2021). She did this also due to the time constraint since teachers were expected to give students assignments after one *KD* was covered.

Dafiyah, as a teacher of the 2000s, confirmed what Rukhsana said about teachers' authority in grading students by sharing her own experience as follows:

> When I first became a teacher in 2003, we could give any scores to students, for example 50 or 60. But now since there are *KKM* rule, the lowest score we should give to students must be the minimum score based on the *KKM* for each grade that has been determined by the school because the *KKM* scores for Grade 10, 11 and 12 are different. If I'm not mistaken, this rule has been issued since *KTSP* in 2006 (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Fareeha's agency was also affected by the policy, and she expressed her opinion with the policy of *KKM* as the following:

> Sometimes I experienced difficulties in dealing with problem students. For example, when their parents were invited to the school, they didn't want to come or the students didn't give the invitation from me as a classroom teacher to their parents. Instead, the students sent someone representing their parents to come to school. This person wasn't even their family member, so I had to be extremely thorough in dealing with this issue (SSI, July 19, 2021).

From this, she said that she could see that the students' behaviour in the neoliberal era was more permissive. Therefore, in her opinion, the affective assessment as one of the assessments in the current curriculum seemed ideal on paper, but the actual facts contradicted it. She wished policy-makers would see the reality before making any policy on performance standards, so teachers would have the authority to grade students based on what was really happening and would not feel that they were "forced" to grade students based on the minimum standard formulated by the authorities (SSI, July 19, 2021). In addition, they would be able to exercise their agency in determining the activities in the classroom. As far as the minimum standard for the test result was concerned, she

believed that it was not that “If students get D for their affective assessment, they can't progress to a higher grade or graduate from schools” (SSI, July 19, 2021), it was their actual characters that really mattered in education. She further stated, “In the past, teachers were free to make decisions to progress students to the next grade or to pass them” (SSI, July 19, 2021). She asserted that since the government made that minimum standard policy, indirectly it destroyed education with the rules it made. In spite of all this, however, she followed what was instructed by the government.

Fareeha followed the government’s directives because if students’ scores did not reach the *KKM* standard to be progressed to the next grade or to graduate, teachers would be asked to remedy until the student could reach the *KKM* standard. Consequently, this would increase their workload. She argued, “If only our administrative tasks weren’t as much as they’re today, providing a remedy wouldn’t be a burden” (SSI, July 19, 2021).

Sadia also argued that it was the assessment standard policy that mostly challenged her agency since she had to do something against her identity as a teacher whom students saw as a role model who could treat students fairly. As she reasoned, “The government wants the students’ scores to be good, but what’s actually found sometimes contradicts the facts” (SSI, May 25, 2021). She saw that the affective assessment was only theoretical. As she illustrated, in the assessment, students were assessed for their sense of responsibility and mutual cooperation, but in reality, they still had little social awareness. Another issue that she had to deal with was the assessment for *Anak Berkemampuan Khusus* (students with special needs) or *ABK*. She experienced confusion over how to grade them. On the one hand, if she gave them low scores under the *KKM* score due to their limited abilities, she was required not to give students below the *KKM* score. On the other hand, if she gave them scores the same as the scores for other regular students, it would be unfair for the regular ones. Therefore, she suggested that the government had to give teachers the authority to fully grade students. Her suggestion is to emphasise that teachers know their students’ learning process better than the government does because they were not only EFL teachers, but also classroom teachers, who functioned in loco parentis at school. Outside the school, they also built

communication and worked closely with their students' parents when their students had problems, such as often being absent or not doing homework.

8.2.6. Regulations of Sanctions

In relation to regulations of sanctions, Indonesia has three categories of work infringement sanctions for organisations: minor, moderate and major (Rivai, 2009). According to Rivai (2009), minor infractions include instances such as taking excessive leave, arriving late to school or departing early and submitting reports beyond the designated deadline. Minor infractions might result in sanctions such as verbal warnings and written warning statements expressing discontent. Moderate infractions include instances of neglect in the execution of responsibilities. Sanctions for moderate infractions include deferral of salary raises, reduction in salary and delay of promotions. Major infractions might encompass contravening an employment contract, disregarding responsibilities in the execution of tasks for a duration of one month or more without interruption and engaging in criminal activities. Sanctions for major infractions might include demotion, termination from current position and dismissal.

Due to these regulations, Rukhsana exercised duty-based agency to the curriculum mandates as stated before to limit the impact of sanction regulations that she would get. As she claimed:

> If I didn't fulfil the standards, there would be a sanction. If I want to get certification allowance, I must fulfil the administrative requirements, including the attendance requirement. I just have to live with all the rules and can't protest. Even if I want to protest, where can I protest about the administrative burdens that I have to do? Even *PGRI*, which is supposed to be an organisation for teachers' aspirations, hasn't had any benefit because it hasn't been able to bring our voices to the policy-makers. So, the only way I can do this is by applying a win-win solution. For example, I asked someone else to type my lesson plans, and the principal was happy because I fulfilled the administrative requirement (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Farehaa also shared a similar idea in terms of limiting the impact, which forced her to use duty-based agency in response to the economic sanction regulations, as in her statement below:

> I do feel like teachers are regulated too much. If we don't comply with all the rules, there'll be consequences. For example, I have to teach for at least 24 teaching hours a week. If I don't teach for those hours a week, I won't get the certification allowance. But if I teach more than those hours a week, I won't get additional payment (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Although Fareeha felt that this was unfair, she said "It's already the government's decision" (SSI, May 25, 2021). Therefore, she further stated, "As a teacher, I can do nothing but accept the policies from the government. I can't complain" (SSI, May 25, 2021). What concerned her more was how to make the government's policies into something that she could enjoy, for instance, by not over-thinking the government's unfair economic policy, so that she would not get depressed and could teach effectively. By doing this, she expected her students to enjoy and learn from what she taught because she believed that her emotional state would have an impact on them.

8.3. Constraints on the EFL Teacher Agency: Social-Political Arrangements

One of the constraints on the teacher agency within social-political arrangements was English teaching allocation and class size policies. These policies were included in social-political arrangements, in addition to the material-economic arrangements, because they were also seen from the 'social arrangement' perspective, i.e. how they constrained teacher agency in relation to the teachers' social connections with their students.

8.3.1. English Language Teaching Allocation and Class Size Policies

According to the teachers, for teachers' social connections with students to happen, a large class size was unreasonable (Sadia, SSI, June 14, 2021), ineffective (Dafiyah, SSI, June 12, 2021) and not conducive (Fareeha, SSI, June 12, 2021). As Rukhsana stated:

> If teachers teach a large class of more than six classes, it will be difficult for them to

> get to know their students and build social connections with them, especially since the class being taught is the first class they teach in that academic semester (SSI, June 14, 2021).

Therefore, they enacted duty-based agency when dealing with the policy. Sadia affirmed that the insufficient number of teachers was the reason for the large class policy (SSI, June 14, 2021), and Dafiyah added that the lack of classrooms and funds to build classrooms were also the reasons (SSI, 12 June 2021).

8.3.2. The Authorities' Control

The findings of this study indicate that the teachers lacked autonomy as a result of the authorities' control, particularly when it was related to the policy of minimum assessment score standard. For instance, Rukhsana could perceive the difference in her sense of authority in determining students' scores in the past compared to the present since she was one of the senior teachers who had worked for decades. She made the following disclosure:

> Now we're not as free as before in making decisions. …. Now we're somewhat controlled in grading students. …. Back in the 1980s and 1990s, teachers had authority in grading students, and there was no *KKM* standard like in the present. Now if students' scores are below the *KKM* standard, the principal will hold a meeting with all teachers to discuss their scores (SSI, July 13, 2021).

Therefore, the teachers adhered to the policy merely because, as Fareeha (SSI, July 19, 2021) stated in Section 8.2.5.2, if a student's score fell short of the *KKM* standard, they would need to remedy, which would create additional workload.

Dafiyah supported what other teachers had mentioned regarding the teachers' authority to grade students by expressing: "Now we don't have the authority like lecturers have, who can give a D, because we're still controlled by the authorities" (SSI, May 25, 2021). Due to this condition, Sadia

(SSI, May 25, 2021) emphasised the need for the government to grant them the authority to fully grade students.

8.4. Enablers of the EFL Teacher Agency: Cultural-Discursive Arrangements

Within cultural-discursive arrangements, a teacher exhibited agency as projected. Two noticeable features supporting the enactment of teacher agency in this study were the teacher's past experience as an English language student and extensive experience as an EFL teacher. Experience is viewed within the cultural-discursive arrangements because it serves as knowledge (the cognitive in the TPA's cultural-discursive arrangements) obtained from seeing, feeling or doing things. Experience is a practical wisdom, i.e. a form of embodied knowing termed *phronesis* (Thwaites, 2013) and serves as a way of talking (sayings in the TPA) about what happened, identifying differences and similarities and asserting incontestable knowledge (Fox, 2008).

The cultural-discursive arrangements enabled Fareeha to perform her agency as projected because she presented different teaching approaches. She was generally encouraged by her desire to make her students love English. Specifically, she was motivated to make an adjustment in the teaching and learning materials for the current elective English subject.

For instance, being mandated to teach the elective English subject, Fareeha confidently used what she had learned when she was an English language student as a reference for determining the classroom activities. She exercised a high level of agency when dealing with this situation due to the expertise that she gained from her past experience as a student and her considerable experience as an EFL teacher.

An illustration of the projected agency was when she spoke of the elective English subject that "… the government hasn't prepared the book yet" (SSI, May 25, 2021). Therefore, she developed and presented new models of activities and took the initiative to make her own materials for teaching the subject by using English literature materials that she learned at her university. As this subject was new and she had to deal with the issue of her students' limited English proficiency, she required time to become familiar with the subject and develop pertinent resources to address

the diverse needs and interests of her students because she taught different grades (Grade 10, 11 and 12) and different types of classes, *MIPA* and *IPS* classes. She attempted to focus her classes on assigning tasks to her students. As she observed, students in *MIPA* classes preferred reading skills and summarising what they had read. In contrast, students in *IPS* classes preferred speaking skills. Hence, in *IPS* classes, she asked her students to make and practise rhymes or engage in drama. Through literature, she expected that her students would like the English subject. Whatever types of classes she taught, Fareeha anticipated that her students would become engaged. She made an effort to adopt an activity-based approach in her classrooms by making a concerted effort to find a balance between the ideal English teaching that she learned in her university when she was an English language student and the government's mandates. Thus, her teaching practices reveal that she enacted performative agency as projected to determine what was best for her students, i.e. addressing her students' needs and interests in spite of the literacy focus of the curriculum (which, she thought, was misinterpreted to mostly focus on reading skills).

8.5. Enablers of the EFL Teacher Agency: Material-Economic Arrangements

Enablers of the teacher agency within material-economic arrangements created two different enactments of agency: as resistant and as projected. These enablers were administrator/curriculum mandates, employment conditions and teachers' high level of education, as shown in the following subsections.

8.5.1. Administrator/Curriculum Mandates

Subsection 8.2.1 explains how administrator/curriculum mandates constrained the teacher agency. In contrast, this section shows how the mandates also enabled the teacher agency but in different enactments of agency. When dealing with these mandates, only Fareeha exercised her agency as resistant. For example, when school assessors came to evaluate the teachers, she rejected some of the input from the assessors when she was asked to make modifications to her lesson plans and teaching approaches that she did not want or agree with. Fareeha stated that certain factors

prevented her from feeling motivated to amend her lesson plans and teaching approaches, as her statement below:

> When school assessors came to review the school and assess us, they usually felt unenthusiastic to assess me because when they gave me critical feedback on my lesson plans or the way I taught, I said to them that they should have taught me how to make lesson plans and how to teach correctly (SSI, May 25, 2023).

In an ironic tone, she further stated, “Because they’ve supervised everywhere, I think that their insights are better than mine. I also said that I would improve my lesson plans or way of teaching as long as they provided me with an example before criticising me” (SSI, May 25, 2023). Fareeha’s statement implies her disappointment with the frequent curriculum changes in the country. Though she realised that the intention of the changes was to improve the quality of Indonesian education, the goals of the government were not always responsive to reality.

According to Fareeha, the frequent curriculum reforms were considered to be less effective and efficient for Indonesian education due to the lack of support from the government. She emphasised that instead of making many changes to the curriculum, frequently accompanied by inadequate training or workshops for teachers to better understand the new curriculum, the government should strengthen teachers' competencies. As she put it, "Educational success is influenced to a large extent by the teachers, not by the curriculum" (SSI, May 25, 2023). Her statement above also shows that she was eager to learn how to make lesson plans and how to teach, as required by the new curriculum, so that confusion would not occur on the side of the teachers and students every time the curriculum changed.

A contextual factor that contributed to her resistant agency was the frequent curriculum reforms. As she reasoned, “Education in Indonesia isn’t separated from political games. Ministers of education often changed, which resulted in frequent curriculum changes. Hence, teachers often feel confused and burdened because almost every time the minister changed, the curriculum also changed” (SSI, May 25, 2025). Since she was one of the senior teachers among other EFL teachers,

she experienced more changes than others. Thus, during one of the interviews she showed her criticism when talking about these reforms:

> With frequent curriculum changes, teachers and students are at a disadvantage. I know that the curriculum reforms are aimed at improving the quality of Indonesian education. Therefore, the government changed the curriculum by referring to other countries with more advanced education (SSI, May 25, 2025).

However, she considered this as inappropriate, considering the implementation was only half-measures. Her statement emphasises that not all of the curriculum components applied in other countries can be applied in Indonesia, a different country socially and culturally.

8.5.2. Employment Conditions

As a civil servant teacher Fareeha was the only one who exercised her agency as resistant in response to the administrator/curriculum mandates, particularly towards the critical feedback from the school assessors in relation to her lesson plans or way of teaching, as shown in Subsection 8.5.1. She used her agency that way because as she stated, “I don't want to stay silent if I get criticised because they [school assessors] will control me as they like. Besides, if I just keep quiet and don't ask them to give an example first, I won't get any knowledge from them” (SSI, May 25, 2023). She further reasoned as follows:

> I don't want to put demands on students with all the targets they have to achieve, like the government demands us. So, I only choose which mandate is really beneficial to my students. If I think the mandate is good, I’ll follow it. But if I think the mandate isn’t beneficial, I won’t follow it (SSI, May 25, 2021).

Fareeha’s statements show her strong ‘ownership’ of her classes. They reveal that she enacted performative agency both as duty-based (Subsection 8.2.1) and as resistant, depending on what was imposed on her and what was beneficial to her students. Her resistance might be influenced by some factors, such as her prior experience as an English language student and

extensive experience as an EFL teacher. Hence, her capacity to resist was strong, and because of these experiences, she also exercised her agency as projected (see Section 8.4).

In addition to the aforementioned factors, I also assume that her agency enactment as resistant was enabled by her employment status as a civil servant teacher. As she was a civil servant teacher, hired by the government, she might feel secure in her employment. Unlike Amara, who was concerned about being dismissed by the school if she displayed resistance, Fareeha had no fear that her pushing back would lead her to being dismissed. An explanation for Fareeha's sense of job security is the lengthy process required to fire a civil servant teacher, which involves not only the provincial bureaucracy but also the national one.

8.5.3. Teachers' High Level of Education

Teachers' high level of education also became an enabler of the teacher agency as it enhanced the teachers' confidence. Education is seen within the material-economic arrangements because it is a material resource.

As found in this study, the confidence of a teacher (Dafiyah) emerged when she felt that having a Master's degree had prepared her to be a skilled teacher. Due to her Master's degree, she was regarded as an exceptional teacher, and she developed resources for other EFL teachers at her school, including the senior ones. This finding is enhanced by Dewi's study (2017), which found that the participants in her study who were Indonesian EFL teachers enrolled in master's programmes also anticipated being regarded as exceptional teachers in their working communities once they received their master's degrees.

According to the theory of human capital, when individuals pursue training or education, they make an investment that generates both private and social rewards (Ashton & Green, 1996). This study reveals that after earning her master's degree, Dafiyah gained self-confidence from her interactions with her co-workers as part of her social reward, and she began to think more positively about herself and enact her agency to a greater extent.

8.6. Enablers of the EFL Teacher Agency: Social-Political Arrangements

Enablers of the teacher agency within social-political arrangements were the authorities' trust and support, as well as teacher's engagement in community of practice and professional development programmes.

8.6.1. The Authorities' Trust and Support

Being an experienced EFL teacher with a higher level of education than other EFL teachers and holding the position of *OSIS* coordinator made Dafiyah the most active teacher among the other EFL teachers. As she said that she was the 'right-hand person' of the principal (see Chapter 7), especially for the English subject, she said that she could gain maximum trust from the principal to take initiatives for her classes. Therefore, her capacity to act was strong, and she used it as projected.

8.6.2. Teacher's Engagement in Community of Practice and Professional Development Programmes

Joining an EFL teacher organisation, e.g. *MGMPBI* and other professional development programmes and being appointed as a teacher trainer for *PPG* programme broadened Dafiyah's horizons in terms of creating English learning activities that suited her students' needs in the technology era. All of this was the reason for her projected agency.

Since Dafiyah realised that her students would be engaged more if she integrated English teaching with technology, while it was not required in the current curriculum, she took the initiative to modernise the prescribed curriculum by making her own videos related to the lessons she taught. As she said:

> In the current curriculum, we're required to be more creative in teaching because students today are quite different from students in the past. Nowadays, they're more creative when it comes to technology. Therefore, if I still teach with conventional teaching approaches, this might not suit current students. At least, I need to prepare

PPT. I have to be able to use the internet to get various kinds of teaching materials and integrate these with technology (FGD, May 4, 2021).

Dafiyah even shared her creativity with other EFL teachers whom she trained in the *PPG* programme or met in *MGMPBI*, so that they could benefit from her creativity. She also mentioned using different approaches in her classes, e.g. discovery learning, cooperative learning and problem-solving approaches. However, all of these approaches could only be implemented in certain classes, not all of the classes she taught. According to her, in *MIPA* classes characterised by a high level of student engagement, she possessed the ability to impart supplementary teaching in addition to the compulsory curriculum. However, in *IPS* classes, her instructional scope was limited to the curriculum-prescribed subjects. In *IPS* classes, she employed predominantly conventional teaching approaches, occasionally encountering challenges in implementing the contents outlined in the lesson plans due to a greater emphasis on classroom management skills compared to *MIPA* classes. Due to this rationale, in *IPS* classes, her time was allocated more towards class management rather than English teaching.

8.7. Discussion

I begin the discussion section with one of the teachers' quotations: "I'm aware that the government's controls and curriculum standards influence my capacity to take action [agency]. However, … I have no choice but to follow them" (Amara, FGD, May 4, 2021). This quotation represents the image of EFL teachers driven by the government's controls in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms. As found in this study, the teacher practices were conceptualised and justified within a neoliberal framework, which mandated that the teachers' actions were intended to satisfy the interests of the education stakeholders. Therefore, neoliberal curriculum reforms reduce teachers to "governable" subjects (Miller & O'Leary, 1987, p. 263).

In defining my concern with the teacher agency within the context of 'the governable subjects', I chose to look at the system of power relations that regulated the teachers' lives. I

employed Butler's idea of subjection (2010) via performative agency to reveal how individuals enacted their agency within this concept of power relations.

As far as neoliberal curriculum reforms are concerned, this study found different performative agency enactments: as duty-based (obligated), as resistant and as projected (see Table 8.1). The duty-based agency enactment is when teachers act because they feel morally or legally forced to do something or to take action. Teachers exercise duty-based agency when they follow the directives as what they are required to do, take actions as obligatory commitments and allow themselves to use a number of ways to execute their performance. As shown in this study, in enacting duty-based agency, this process is iterative. The resistant agency, on the other hand, occurs when teachers resist the changes, directives or suggestions from the management. The projected agency enactment is when teachers project and present new or different patterns or models in the activities.

Table 8.1

Performative Agency Enactments

Performative Agency Enactments	Features of Performative Agency	Freedom	Teachers
Duty-based (obligated)	Feeling morally or legally forced to do something or to take actions Disciplining oneself through submission Following the directives as required Taking actions as obligatory commitments Possibly using alternate forms that can eventually allow oneself to perform in a number of ways via obligated iterations	-	Amara Dafiyah Fareeha Rukhsana Sadia
Resistant	Resisting the changes, directives or suggestions from the management	Negative	Fareeha
Projected	Projecting and presenting new/different patterns or models of activities	Positive	Fareeha Dafiyah

From the data obtained in the SSIs and FGD, which were analysed within the TPA concept of the constraints and enablement, it is also understood that teachers are practitioners of learning whose agency is constrained and enabled by particular arrangements. I created Table 8.2 by

connecting to findings gained from the SSIs and FGD. It captures the cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements constraining and enabling the teacher agency.

Table 8.2

The Constraints on and Enablers of the EFL Teacher Professional Agency

	Constraints	Performative Agency Enactments	Enablers	Performative Agency Enactments
Cultural-Discursive Arrangements	Students' multilingual background	Duty-based	Teachers' past experience as an English language student and extensive experience as an EFL teacher	Projected
Material-Economic Arrangements	Administrator/curriculum mandates	Duty-based	Administrator/curriculum mandates	Resistant
	Employment conditions	Duty-based	Employment conditions	Resistant
	English language teaching allocation and class size policies	Duty-based	Teachers' high level of education	Projected
	Lack of material resources	Duty-based		
	Performative culture, particularly the increased assessment standards and the policy of minimum assessment score standards	Duty-based		
	Sanction regulations	Duty-based		
Social-Political Arrangements	English language teaching allocation and class size policies	Duty-based	The authorities' trust and support	Projected
	The authorities' control	Duty-based	Teachers' engagement in community of practice and professional development programmes	Projected

The different enactments of performative agency found in this study are consistent with the claim that teacher agency can be seen when they challenge, criticise or oppose external demands and regulations, norms and practices or dominant discourses, as well as when they act in accordance with all of these (Pyhältö et al., 2012). The following subsections discuss the different enactments of teacher performative agency under the constraints and enablers, as revealed in this study.

8.7.1. Duty-Based Agency

This study suggests that all teacher performative agency was enacted as duty-based when they faced the constraining arrangements, as shown in Table 8.2. In duty-based agency, the

teachers, being moral agents, are responsible for their acts and accept the consequences of those acts, consider the moral ramifications of the decisions they have to make based on the curriculum mandates and commit to their obligations (Keller & Edelstein, 1993). The findings underlined how teachers were required to adhere to rules and satisfy the government's normative standards. As Townsend (2016) notes, school administrators and teachers have very little influence over many of the changes that occur in schools.

The teachers exercised their agency when they used multilingual instruction in their teaching. This study found that while instructing their students during English classes, they used either the target teaching language (English), national language (Indonesian) or local language. They used these languages depending on their students' needs or the points they wished to emphasise. As found in Rahmi's (2022) and Rasman's (2018) studies, the EFL teachers also used multilingual instruction in their classes. Rahmi used metaphorical terms to describe this situation. As she mentioned, in the multilingual setting, the EFL teachers were preparing meals for their loved ones. Based on their tastes and needs of the residents of the house, the teachers modified them to provide regional, national and international cuisines.

This study demonstrates that the teachers' decision to employ the local language as one of their instructional languages to aid students in understanding their instruction was influenced by the multilingual environment in which they taught. The local language can be regarded as a component of Indonesian culture. As Everett (2012) contends, language is a device of a culture, and the teachers in the current study exercised their agency by selecting the local language which served as their students' cultural tool to optimise their learning. The teachers chose to speak to and teach their students in their local language because they had a feeling of connection to their community. The use of the local language as the instructional language supported the claim made by Kramsch and Zhu (2016), which says that teacher agency (in this case, teaching in the target language) can be potentially constrained by culture.

The results also demonstrate that the teachers made the decision to teach in the local language and/or Indonesian and English. For instance, Amara enacted her agency by switching the language of her teaching between Indonesian and English. The teachers' decision to use multilingual instruction was due to their students' lack of English proficiency. Consequently, they opted to employ languages that their students might easily understand. As Holland et al. (1998) claim, the improvisations that individuals develop in reaction to specific circumstances are what give them agency. This argument is relevant to the findings of the current study that teachers made a conscious decision to adjust to their working environment as a part of the development of their agency. Regarding the employment of language as a teaching device, the teachers had a strong belief that language might affect the learning of their students. Language is a potent device for people to communicate in their social environments (Vygotsky, 1962). To contextually engage with their students, aid in their English learning and reach the targeted test scores, the teachers in this study used English, Indonesian and the local language as the cultural devices.

Teachers might find themselves obligated to adopt the education policies they disagree with yet feel compelled to do so because of the performativity era's attachment to the ideas of professionalism (Moore & Clarke, 2016). However, restrained by their obligations, the heavy workload pressures are particularly prone to eroding teachers' commitments, e.g. commitments to complete their tasks truthfully. As revealed in this study, some teachers used their agency by paying another person with their own money to do their administrative tasks as an alternative way to complete their tasks. Fullan (1993) argues that this kind of resistance is a reflection of the teacher agency and critical analysis of their own perspectives. However, in the context of this study, the teachers' action of paying another person to do their administrative tasks can be seen as duty-based to the government's policies, and the teachers argued that their action was merely due to the heavy administrative burdens, limited time and computer illiteracy, not because they did not want to do the tasks. The findings also reflected teachers' critical opinions about the government's policies. However, this cannot be considered as totally resistant since the teachers still did what they were

required to do. Therefore, in these cases, the teacher performative agency was exercised as duty-based, not as resistant. Their duty-based agency could be due to their employment conditions. They are subject to government supervision due to their dependence on the state as public officials (Zulfikar, 2009).

The findings show that the teacher agency enactment towards the performative culture was similar, as duty-based. They also show that the complex assessment and the rigour of the policy's accountability rule, known as the *KKM* rule, constrained the teacher agency. In terms of the assessment, some teachers did not assess all students one by one since they believed that their interactions with their students on a regular basis were the greatest approach to know their character, so they only assessed those who stood out in their classes. In addition to this, the teachers' efforts to assist their students in achieving the targeted *KKM* scores led to teaching to the test classroom environment. On the one hand, they expected their students to be fluent in English; on the other hand, they needed to assist them in achieving the targeted *KKM* scores. One teacher even affirmed that "Since the 2000s, students have been taught how to answer exams, and scores have even been manipulated" (Rukhsana, SSI, July 13, 2021).

The teachers shared similar concerns about the performative culture and viewed the *KKM* rule negatively. They felt obligated and lacked autonomy by the rule that set the backdrop for their activities to apply this rule since they considered that this rule imposed negative effects on students' English learning. As Teng (2019) contends, factors relating to schools and curriculum might constrain teacher agency. Furthermore, the teachers' feeling of lack of autonomy might be connected to the social structure issue. A similar finding was found by O'Mara et al. (2024) in their study. They found that "teachers were working with tensions arranged by structures that they had very little control over and practices where they could enact limited agency" (p. 376). In other words, social structure affects human agency (Case, 2015). For instance, the teachers in this study were members of the national education system. Their agency was affected by the system since they took action in accordance with the government's policies. They reacted with a dread that bred feelings of worry

and powerlessness, as in the statement from one of the teachers: “What else I can do other than just complying with these rules because I can't protest either …. If I protest, I'll get investigated and then fired, so I can only accept the government’s rules” (Amara, SSI, June 14, 2021). The only way out of this situation that appeared to them was to ‘sacrifice’ their agency. This condition is created by capitalism (Fromm, 1956; Fromm, 1965), which imbues individuals with a feeling of powerlessness and insignificance (Fromm, 1965). Neoliberalism is a dominant theory for contemporary capitalism (Kotz, 2002).

Efficiency is another dominating principle in the neoliberal policy initiatives (Tinn & Umarik, 2022), but this is not in line with the teachers’ workloads, e.g. teaching up to 12 large classes per week (36 to 40 students per class), plus all other obligations, e.g. preparing classes, assessing students for different aspects of learning (cognitive, affective and psychomotor), grading, doing other functional roles as teachers, etc, leading to intensification and deprofessionalisation (Apple & Jungck, 1990; Barth, 1990; Hargreaves, 1994; Hill, 2001; Larson, 1980; Marx & Engels, 1974; Shannon, 2006). Here, agency is described in the notion of efforts as the drive behind the interpenetration of categorical obligations (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998; Munch, 1981; Parsons, 1968). As the teachers mentioned, due to the categorical obligations and the limited time they had, they sometimes used their free time at home to complete their tasks. In this case, we can see how these particular initiatives function as a means of accountability, magnifying the necessity for the teachers to feel obligated towards their increasing workloads. Therefore, this establishes boundaries for self-interested actions and constrains the development of their agency (Munch, 1981; Tinn & Umarik, 2022). When boundaries for self-interested actions are established, this means that teachers follow the policies because they are obligated, not because they believe that the policies, rules, or moral order in Munch’s (1981) term, will be beneficial to them. A key component of this is the link between moral obligations and teachers' interests. As seen from the teachers’ responses in this study, the teachers generally produced expressions like: “… because it's an obligation; it's a must ….”

or "… I have no choice but to follow them." These show that they lacked investment in doing what they were obligated to do. They did it merely based on their obligation.

8.7.2. Resistant Agency

In the interviews, only one teacher, Fareeha, voiced her resistance to some of the authorities' mandates. She acknowledged that she only selected the mandate that was truly beneficial to her students. The factors influencing her resistance were complex.

One of the factors of her resistant agency was related to the literacy focus on the curriculum policy, which she believed was inappropriate for English learning. According to Ertmer (2005), as individuals' beliefs are personal in nature, they can be challenged by other individuals. In the case of this study, Fareeha's belief of an ideal form of English learning was challenged by the authorities who made the policies. However, individuals' frequently tacit beliefs have a strong effective and evaluative component, serve as a basis for actions and are impervious to change (Borg, 2011). As shown in this study, Fareeha's belief in an ideal English learning was not readily influenced and modified.

Another factor of her resistance was related to the frequent curriculum changes accompanied by the lack of support from the government to help teachers understand the new curriculum, which resulted in her resistance to modify her lesson plans and teaching approaches based on the current curriculum and made her 'oppositional' during the teachers' assessment sessions with the assessors. Her resistance can be categorised as pushback. According to Buchanan (2015), pushback is a kind of teachers' resistance when they disagree with particular district or school policies; hence, they reconfigure, negotiate and reject them. This study suggests that Fareeha disapproved of the lack of autonomy she experienced at school.

Fareeha's resistance might be partly or fully explained by her employment conditions as a civil servant, which made her feel secure in not being dismissed easily. Her resistance is what McGowan (2019) claims as rebellion—an ideal ego of a modern individual. He further states:

The rebel is an insider who experiences existence as an outsider. This paradox holds

> the key to the attractiveness of the position. Whenever one would pin the rebel down to a specific position, the rebel is always elsewhere, on the outside of this position. In this way, the rebel's freedom remains a negative freedom that has no positive identity (p. 170).

Fareeha's performative agency enactment as resistant manifested itself in a condition of negative freedom, i.e. the freedom conveyed by the expression "leave me alone" (Miller, 2003, p. 571) or the "freedom from external constraints on decision making" (Ackerson & Subramanian, p. 2163).

8.7.3. Projected Agency

Projected agency, known also as envisioned agency, enactment was found not only in transformative agency, e.g. studies by Engeström (2011), Haapasaari and Kerosuo (2015), Heikkilä and Seppänen (2014), Rajala and Kumpulainen (2017), Sannino (2015) and Virkkunen (2006), but also in performative agency, as revealed in this study. In this previous research, transformative agency occurs through agentic actions during organisational change, for example criticising the existing activity, emphasising the need for change and envisaging different models of activities. Envisioning in these studies is included in the creative-projective orientation of transformative agency where teachers imagine new teaching approaches that embrace the reforms but go beyond the practices that are originally planned.

From Fareeha's statements in the interviews, it is evident that while she clearly knew her obligations as a teacher who had to adhere to the government-mandated curriculum, she was also aware of the needs and interests of her students despite the curriculum's emphasis on literacy. As she considered the textbook of the current elective English subject inappropriate and as she had her own belief in ideal English teaching that should be fun and should attract students to learn English, she projected her own teaching materials by referring to this belief and her experiences as an English language student and as an EFL teacher. The connection between her belief in ideal English

teaching and her personal experiences is in line with Ertmer's (2005) assertion that beliefs are based on episodic memory and contain information gleaned from cultural sources of knowledge or personal experiences. It indicates that individuals' perspectives of future life occurrences might be affected by their experiences in earlier life episodes, especially if those experiences are unforgettable and remarkable. Therefore, because of these experiences, Fareeha was able to translate her resistance to some curriculum mandates into an agentic course of actions that led to practical acts with actual, projected results.

In a similar vein, Dafiyah's interviews showed her performative agency enactment as projected due to her high level of education, trust and support from the authorities, as well as her engagement in community of practice and professional development programmes. Pappa et al. (2019) emphasise the value of a collegial community to support teacher agency since through this community teachers can engage in more in-depth discussions about instructional issues, tailor and co-design teaching materials, complement other classes (e.g. through team teaching), as well as strengthen their connections with their colleagues. Dafiyah's capacity to collaborate with others and her sharing of creativity as found in this study shows her relational agency. This finding is in line with Nguyen and Dang's (2020) study on relational agency in content–language teacher collaboration, where they found that teachers demonstrated relational agency when they collaborated with the same goal of meeting their students' learning needs of science content and language.

Dafiyah's agency was exemplified in her efforts to project a pedagogical idea via a creative synthesis of traditional and cutting-edge teaching approaches to meet her students' needs in the technology era. Her innovation work shows what was also found in Haapasaari et al.'s (2016) and Kerosuo's (2017) studies investigating transformative agency. These studies reveal that in the creative-projective orientation, individuals take initiatives to improve their practices by analysing issues, explaining them and projecting new alternatives for the issues found in their practices. Furthermore, the findings of Edwards et al. (2017) suggest that innovation work at school might be accomplished via agentic actions that allow individuals to attain predetermined aims.

The teachers' performative agency enactment as projected is a condition of positive freedom because the teachers become active, critical, responsible selves, and the development of these selves shows the enhancement of their positive freedom (Fromm, 1965). As Fromm (1965) argues, capitalism not only creates negative freedom, but also contributes tremendously to positive freedom. Positive freedom is the kind of freedom that seeks to achieve a goal by getting rid of the oppressive constraints that keep individuals from realising their full potential (Miller, 2003).

8.8. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I drew attention to the circumstances wherein agency might be exerted in a neoliberal environment where the teachers' performativity continued to gain ground at school. I described a variety of cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements in which EFL teachers exercised their agency. Students' multilingual background, administrator/curriculum mandates, employment conditions, English teaching allocation and class size policies, lack of material resources, performative culture, sanction regulations, as well as the authorities' control were the constraining arrangements. Teachers' past experiences as English language students and extensive experiences as EFL teachers, teachers' high level of education, the authorities' trust and support, as well as teachers' engagement in community of practice and professional development programmes were the enabling arrangements. The teacher agency was also enabled by administrator/curriculum mandates and employment conditions, but positioned as negative freedom.

The findings suggest that two teachers enacted performative agency as projected, and one of these teachers enacted performative agency as resistant. It is interesting to note that the one teacher who exercised resistant agency translated her resistance into a direction of agentic conduct towards practical acts that produced projected results.

However, all of the teachers enacted performative agency as duty-based. This could be the case since, according to Bjork (2004), Indonesian teachers had reportedly learnt to understand the

autonomy that had been granted to them. They had too many ingrained experiences of a top-down, authoritarian kind of governance. The possibility of the progressive development of teacher agency in the next years might depend on how severely this loss of autonomy impacts the viability of Indonesian teachers' professionalism. To begin promoting the enhancement of teacher agency, we must acknowledge that teachers lacked access to professional discourses that could present them with opportunities for alternative forms of growth and development.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

This study examined the enactment of professional practices and agency by Indonesian EFL teachers, as well as the construction of their professional identity in the context of neoliberal curriculum reforms. This chapter presents a summary of the research findings and their implications for schools, for English education, for EFL teacher education and for EFL teachers' professional lives.

Section 9.1 restates the research questions, followed by the summary of the research findings in Section 9.2, recapping the themes found in the study. The implications of the study are discussed in Section 9.3. Section 9.4 presents the limitations of the study and offers some recommendations for future research. Finally, this chapter ends with my concluding remarks in Section 9.5 that assert some theoretical and methodological innovations of the study.

9.1. Restating the Research Questions

This digital ethnographic study was guided by three related research questions in order to better understand the EFL teacher professional practices, identity and agency in neoliberal times in Indonesia and, more specifically, in the city where the study was conducted. The research questions are as follows:

a) How are the professional practices of Indonesian EFL teachers performed in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms?
b) How is their professional identity constructed and understood?
c) How is their professional agency enacted?

9.2. Summary of the Study

The summary of the data on the circumstances or arrangements that enabled and constrained the EFL teacher professional practices and agency, as well as the way the teacher professional identity was constructed and understood, is presented in the following subsections. The presentation of the summary is organised based on the research questions as stated in Section 9.1.

9.2.1. How are the professional practices of Indonesian EFL teachers performed in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms?

To examine the teacher professional practices, in this case their work practices, I drew on the three concurrently existing, mutually reinforcing and interdependent realms of the TPA—sayings, doings and relatings. These realms are influenced or enabled and constrained by the practice architectures (or the particular conditions) that shape the practices, i.e. the cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements. In real-world practices, these interrelated arrangements simultaneously enable and constrain how the practices are conducted (Kemmis & Grootenboer, 2008; Kemmis et al., 2014; Rönnerman et al., 2017). It is crucial to state that the theory has performed an analytical role in this regard. The three facets of practices (sayings, doings and relatings) are woven in a distinctive project (Kemmis et al. 2014). The project of the practices that this study is mapping is the EFL education informed by neoliberal ideology, in which the curriculum is a part of it but not the whole project.

The findings of the study have demonstrated that the practice architectures made the teacher professional practices sustainable in neoliberal times. The findings highlight the ways in which the cultural-discursive arrangements enabled and constrained the teachers' sayings. The national curriculum reforms for the English subject, particularly the frequent reforms of the English curriculum, accountability and neoliberal governmentality, with recommendations and instructions on how to carry out the systematic quality work in the site, extended all the way to the teachers' sayings. This was notably accomplished through the material-economic arrangements that enabled and constrained the teachers' doings. These material-economic arrangements included the provision of material resources (e.g. the physical space arrangements, the education and curriculum policies, the division of English teaching hours) and economic resources. The regional authorities, colleagues, students and school organisation played a crucial role in the teacher practices in the education organisation in relation to quality work in the development of practices among all those participating in the site. This was crucial because the social-political arrangements enabled and constrained the

teachers to carry out the project of their practices in the social space. The diverse practice architectures in the site might be seen as having influenced the teacher practices, which were enacted through their sayings, doings and relatings, as shown in language, work and power relations.

The teachers came to understand the need to produce high-quality work as a result of the national English curriculum reforms, accountability and neoliberal governmentality discourses, which prefigured the practices of systematic quality work in the site. The frequent English curriculum reforms due to neoliberal goals constrained the teachers' understanding of the curriculum (realised in their sayings). The teachers realised that the accountability was on their agenda and enabled their sayings towards what success meant in their practices, which was connected to student achievement. For instance, a teacher stated that their success in teaching was when their students could achieve good scores in English. Their sayings were also enabled by the accountability of overall teachers' performance, such as how they were required to be accountable for students' success and what motivated them to join the professional development programmes. For example, a teacher mentioned an instrumental motivation—to upgrade their credit points—as the reason to join the programmes. In addition to the accountability discourse, the teachers' sayings were enabled by neoliberal governmentality discourse, which included control mechanisms and disciplinary power, resulting in a compliance culture.

The material-economic arrangements of the school, including the material resources (e.g. physical space arrangements, education and curriculum policies, English teaching allocation policy) and the economic resources, constrained and enabled the teachers' doings in the site. From the findings, the physical arrangements in the teachers' room constrained the teachers' doings in working and teaching English effectively. However, these conditions or arrangements encouraged them to find solutions, such as working in different places at the school. The teachers' doings were due to their accountability fulfilment in response to the practice of neoliberal governmentality, as shown in the teachers' sayings.

As the data suggest, the neoliberal education and curriculum policies in the country obligated the teachers to do a heavy administrative load, with tasks on assessment, either student or teacher assessment, that consumed much of their time and were perceived as being exceedingly onerous. The teaching and learning reports, the administration of teacher certification and promotion, as well as the teaching and learning resources were additional responsibilities that they were enabled to do by the policies. The inappropriate English teaching allocation also required them to teach six to twelve large classes a week depending on what grade they taught, which led to weariness; hence, this constrained them teaching English efficiently and effectively. The imbalance between the administrative work the teachers were required to do and the time they had, especially due to the inappropriate English teaching allocation that they were assigned, led them to use alternative ways to complete the administrative tasks, such as paying another EFL teacher to do their administrative tasks, regardless of whether or not the means they used was in line with their integrity. Their primary concern was how they could fulfil the requirements formulated by the government in order to reach the targets. This tendency has evolved into neoliberalism's ‘hidden’ effect. It was ’hidden‘ because it was not publicly known, but teachers were aware that this type of practice might occur in order to fulfil the requirements and to be accountable. The ineffective management of education funds in the country with an inefficient bureaucracy also constrained the non-civil servant EFL teacher to get her salary on time, which resulted in constraining the teacher’s doings in her practices.

The findings of this study identified a rigid and outdated system (i.e. one which is anti-criticism and discrimination) and loss of connection as the constraining factors in the teachers’ relationships, with the authorities and with their students. On the other hand, the teachers’ relatings between senior EFL teachers and junior non-EFL teachers were constrained by a solidarity gap. However, the teachers’ relatings were also enabled by cooperation and solidarity between EFL teachers and their EFL colleagues and by the ethical system that formulated the teachers’ conduct and behaviour towards their students in order to advocate for an effective environment for the

school organisation and to embrace a culture of positive behaviour. In other words, the teachers should be virtuous in their relatings with their students.

9.2.2. How is the teacher professional identity constructed and understood?

In times of neoliberal curriculum reforms, this study offers insight into how the historical, cultural, social and political factors impact on the EFL teachers' professional identity construction, which was realised in their sayings, doings and relatings in cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements. These factors included the teachers' personal motivation for choosing the profession, personal values, prior experience as a student, professional education and employment history, school environment and educational policies.

The findings revealed the teachers' understanding of their professional identity from two perspectives. First, the teachers understood their selves from the roles they performed (Schifter, 1996; Tickle, 2000), a concept known as identity work (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). The idea of their roles as teachers served as the foundation for the teachers' understanding of their professional identity in neoliberal times. For teachers, neoliberal doctrines frequently favour the concept of role over identity because role is more closely aligned with the technical-rational conceptualisation of teaching with neoliberal educational aims (Mockler, 2011). Identity is thus more defined by what they do rather than by who they are (Lee et al., 2013). Second, teacher identity was understood as teachers' representations that were recognised either by the teachers themselves or by others (Barker, 2004; Canrinus et al. 2011; Gee, 2001; Tickle, 2000).

Based on the teachers' understanding of themselves through the roles they performed in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms, the findings revealed a variety of conceptions of EFL teacher professional identity and indicated three domains—instructional domain, meta-instructional domain and humanistic domain. The teachers' representations of their professional identity varied across the three domains.

The data found that the teachers represented as responsive teachers. Under this representation, the findings highlighted the teacher identity work as a practitioner of English

knowledge (EFL teacher), a source of English knowledge (an all-knowing EFL teacher), a parental figure, a role model, an educator, a consultant, a problem solver, a facilitator, a motivator, a trainer and a friend figure. The findings of the study also revealed the teachers' representation as performative teachers. Within this representation, the findings indicated the teacher identity work as a student character assessor, a literacy teacher, a curriculum implementer, an administrative struggler and a test spoon-feeder. Furthermore, the data indicated the teachers' representation as critical-reflexive teachers in relation to their responses to the curriculum reforms. From this representation, the teachers were variously found to be a sceptical-pragmatic practitioner, a critical-conformist practitioner, a critical-pragmatic practitioner, a supportive-exemplary practitioner and a critical-exemplary practitioner.

The study further reveals that there were identity shifts during the construction of their professional identity, e.g. from an EFL teacher to a literacy teacher due to the literacy emphasis on the curriculum, to a test spoon-feeder due to the test score as the final aim of teaching or to an administrative struggler due to the excessive administrative burdens, from a creative teacher to a teacher with creative constraints from the reform mandates and from an educator to a student character assessor due to student affective assessment. These identity shifts occurred as a result of the conflicts between the teachers' ideal professional view of themselves and the challenges posed by neoliberal curriculum reforms. The primary cause of these conflicts was the accountability mechanism. The conflicts also arose from the discrepancy between the teachers' view of themselves as student-centred teachers and the students' expectation for them to impart English knowledge via a more conventional way of teaching.

9.2.3. How is the teacher professional agency enacted?

This study draws on Butler's (2010) concept of performative agency which illuminates the evidence of the teachers internalising performative culture and views teacher agency as a collection of apparent capabilities to take actions with noticeable constraints and enablement (Damsa et al., 2021). These constraints and enablement were found in their practice arrangements in times of

neoliberal curriculum reforms, consisting of cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements. Considering these factors, Kemmis et al.'s (2014) TPA was used.

The findings of this study show that EFL teachers exercised their performative agency in different ways: as duty-based (obligated), as resistant and as projected. Teachers are performing duty-based agency when they obey instructions around what they are expected to accomplish, accept actions as compulsory commitments and enable themselves to employ a variety of ways to execute their performance. This study demonstrates that while exercising duty-based agency, teachers repeatedly carry out the instructions given to them. On the other hand, teachers who oppose changes, instructions or recommendations from management are known as having resistant agency. When teachers project and present new or alternative patterns or models in their activities, this is known as an enactment of projected agency.

Within the cultural-discursive, material-economic and social-political arrangements, the findings revealed potential constraints on and enablers of teacher agency. The students' multilingual background, administrator/curriculum mandates, employment conditions, English teaching allocation and class size policies, lack of material resources, performative culture, regulations of sanctions, as well as the authorities' control were all constraints on the teacher agency. On the other hand, teachers' past experiences of learning and teaching English, teachers' high level of education, the authorities' trust and support, as well as teachers' engagement in community of practice and professional development programmes were all enablers of the teacher agency. The teacher agency was also enabled by administrator/curriculum mandates and employment conditions, but in negative freedom.

9.3. Implications of the Study

The extent to which the EFL education in Indonesia is influenced by neoliberal ideology brings some significant implications. The literature review, findings and discussions in this study indicate four overarching implications: the implications for schools, the implications for English

education, the implications for EFL teacher education and the implications for EFL teacher professional practices, identity and agency, as presented in the following subsections.

9.3.1. Implications for Schools

A number of implications for education under neoliberal reforms have been found through this study. One of the implications is for schools. Despite the fact that Indonesia is a late adopter of neoliberal policies, the policies have led to the commercialisation and economic rationalisation of education and have had several consequences.

Under neoliberal conditions, education in which socio-cultural activities should happen turns into a business commodity that is ready to be traded. It is then a place for business and profit-oriented or profit-seeking activities. An example of this is shown by this study. The school where this study was conducted was a public school. Based on MPKRI (2012), schools controlled by central government or provincial governments are prohibited from charging education fees, while the amount of *BOS* funding disbursed by the central government and *PSG* funds disbursed by the provincial governments are calculated based on the number of students recorded in *Data Pokok Pendidikan* (Basic Education Data) or *Dapodik* for each education unit. This creates competition among schools to increase the number of students enrolled in their schools because it determines the amount of the funding they can obtain. However, according to teachers in this study, since the zoning scheme for student admission was implemented in 2019, the scheme constrained the school's capacity to increase the number of students to study at the school. This was because the area where the school was located was surrounded by middle to low income families, within which the majority of their children chose to work to help the economy of their families, instead of studying.

As illustrated by teachers in this study, some of their students were often absent from their classes and finally abandoned their studies as they needed to work to support their families. In addition, the principal of the school affirmed that the amount of money provided to assist with the cost of education through the funding from the central and provincial government was still

insufficient for the school offering free education to be able to stand independently. This is due to the fact that in addition to supporting the school's infrastructure, the money was also used to pay teachers and other school staff who were not civil servants. As a result of the school's financial struggles, it was difficult for the school to maintain the quality of education and provide adequate facilities.

The schools' financial independence is a result of school decentralisation or the SBM system, but the principals of the schools merely implement this system for schools' fee collection policy, not for other policies. To put it another way, the culture of the educational environment remains centralised despite the decentralised official system used in the country. This obviously runs counter to the optimistic expectations proclaimed by international organisations, including the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the UNESCO and the World Bank that support this policy direction in education governance (Mappiasse, 2014). The SBM approach does not aid in establishing democratic schools or assist schools in becoming independent of political constraints. Additionally, a crisis in education is created as a result of these circumstances. Nevertheless, it is believed by teachers in this study that such circumstances are the result of institutional capacity problems that might actually be resolved by organisational reforms through a range of strategies to ensure that the practices and provision provided lead to school improvements.

One of the damaging effects of competition in fundraising is the emergence of polarisation of schools. Neoliberal policies in this sense widen the gap in the quality of education. Schools that win the competition in the hunt for funds become superior schools. Conversely, schools that lose the competition are worse off. This creates an assumption entrenched in Indonesian society that expensive schools will produce quality outcomes or output. In other words, the cost of education determines the quality that the schools can offer. This condition is exacerbated by the emergence of social stigma in the society, i.e. expensive and well-known schools are the schools for the rich, whereas unpopular schools are the schools for the poor. This phenomenon can worsen the quality of human resources as well as their aspirations and leadership in the future. Driven by the mission to

increase the capital as much as possible, educational institutions will accept wealthy students even if they have mediocre academic skills, while students who excel but are poor have many difficulties continuing their education to a higher level. Upward mobility will only belong to the rich. All of these have clearly shown that neoliberal ideology heightens social discrimination. Opportunities to obtain education are increasingly narrow and discriminatory. Children's rights to be well educated provided by the state (PRI, 1990) has been legally and politically eroded and violated.

Although a zoning scheme has been in place for student admission in schools since 2019 as part of the government's attempts to ensure a fair allocation of educational services (MPKRI, 2018b; MPKRI, 2019), in practice, the scheme's implementation has widened the gaps in learning and teaching (Widyastuti, 2020). Widyastuti (2020) claims that prospective students whose house distance is far from their favoured schools have virtually no chance of being admitted even though their test scores from their previous schools were outstanding. As a result, they are compelled to select nearby schools over more prestigious or popular ones. While the zoning scheme aims to remove the stigma that exists in society around superior or popular schools and unpopular ones, it seems difficult to implement the scheme.

The stigma has been firmly entrenched in society, and the government has not been able to overcome the disparity in quality among schools, either in terms of the school facilities, as shown in this study, or in terms of the teacher quality. Consequently, as found by the Indonesian Ombudsman, a behind-the-scenes practice has developed the practice of parents paying to secure a place in their chosen school (Bachtiar et al., 2021). This practice was committed by parents who wanted to enrol their children in their chosen schools but were constrained by the zoning scheme. Widyastuti (2020) further states that teachers are also perplexed by this zoning scheme and note an impact on their teaching. This is particularly the case for teachers who teach in popular schools. Previously, these teachers were in a comfortable environment because they used to teach homogeneous classes, such as only students who excelled academically. However, since this policy

was implemented, these teachers have had to develop and alter their teaching to adapt to students with a range of abilities, applying strategies that are appropriate for mixed ability classes.

Neoliberal reforms for Indonesian schools, as stated above, carry implications. As the data of this study suggest, education reforms in Indonesia are always a political process that take place under particular circumstances, such as a cabinet reshuffle and cause gaps between the intentions of the reforms and their consequences. These gaps occur because the policy documents for the reforms do not take into account the reality that individuals engaged in the execution of the reforms would have diverse interests and goals. Therefore, during the development of the reforms, there should be some public conversations in which each party, including the school principals and teachers, has opportunities to voice their opinions and concerns, so that their voices are valued because they are involved in making decisions. The conversations about the reforms should be ongoing, focusing not only on the reform policies but also on the logistical and technical challenges they might present.

The initial aim of the use of neoliberal ideology in Indonesian education reforms was to gain the desired benefits that seemed to accrue to other countries. However, as Mappiasse (2014) states, the Indonesian government failed to understand that the prevalence of similar policies worldwide does not imply that adopting similar policies will provide similar results. Therefore, it is crucial for the government to refrain from overclaiming a policy alternative. Such overreaction will undermine their ability to evaluate and make connections between the proposed policies and the actual issues encountered.

In an endeavour to reform the Indonesian education system using neoliberal approaches, it is not helpful if the policy-makers overlook the importance of the country's history and cultural realities. In other words, the country's political, social and cultural aspects should be carefully taken into account before deciding whether or not to implement a new policy paradigm. Neoliberal policies might not even be the solution to the real issues. They might be successfully implemented in developed countries, but as the results of this study suggest, they might not be successfully

implemented in developing countries, like Indonesia. Simply adopting neoliberal policies without considering social, cultural and political differences between Indonesia and other developed countries will probably result in more implementation failures.

From all the findings in this study, some big questions arise: When the state relinquishes its responsibility for education through educational liberalisation on the basis of free market imperatives and globalisation, who is education in the country really for? Is it possible that the mandate to educate the nation as stated in the preamble of *UUD 1945* is left to market mechanisms? Therefore, a deep change is needed regarding the state's responsibility in education, and this can only be done through a deep and sustained change in the relevant laws and regulations.

9.3.2. Implications for English Education

Apart from the implications for educational institutions, neoliberal ideology also has implications for English education. As English continues to be overwhelmingly prevalent in international relations, growing numbers of people learn and use English in order to participate in international marketplaces. According to Pennycook (2017), as globalisation becomes the dominant framework for understanding the globe, English continues to dominate.

With the enormous increase of digital communication and the advent of neoliberal ideology, English is entangled with these developments, and with the expansion of English worldwide, developing countries, like Indonesia, feel the pressure to raise the percentage of their people to be fluent in English if they want to compete on a global scale. On an individual level, families believe that their children will have greater opportunities and work possibilities in the future if they learn English, as mentioned by teachers in this study. In response to this, English education in public schools has greatly increased in many nations (Enever & Moon, 2010).

The construction of English as a global language represents that English can hold sway in many domains of ELT, including its institutions, disciplines, policies and practices (Zhang, 2008). English has also become the language of global competition; hence, it has been seen as a neoliberal language due to its role as a medium of academic excellence (Piller & Cho, 2013). The relationship

between English education and neoliberalism is well demonstrated by rationality around PISA, which measures the overall quality of education across various countries and represents a neoliberal conception of the relationship between education, the market and the state (Uljens, 2007). Neoliberal reforms such as the use of PISA within the educational system serve to mould students into individuals who are required to service the capitalist economy of the 21st century. In the case of Indonesia, at least three obvious impacts of neoliberal policies on English education are presented in the following, accompanied by their implications.

9.3.2.1. Literacy Focus. A noticeable implication of neoliberal ideology manifested in PISA in Indonesian education was the literacy focus in the English curriculum, which was probably misunderstood as reading skill focus only and ignored the importance of other communicative skills. As quoted from A Research Report Commissioned by Cambridge Assessment (2013), literacy and being literate have different meanings, and these definitions are developing continually. Reading alone, reading and writing, or, less commonly, reading, writing, listening and speaking are examples of how the term *literacy* can be used. According to Inglis and Aers (2008), most children pick up speaking relatively quickly, while learning to read and write requires a lot more effort. A person is literate if they can read and write, with varied degrees of fluency. As Freebody (2007) and Winch et al. (2006) also state, the more conventional meaning of *literacy* places greater emphasis on decoding reading and writing in conventional textual forms and sometimes restricts the focus of literacy to the process of drawing meaning from text. Some other conventional definitions of literacy place a strong emphasis on reading alone and exclude writing (Street & Lefstein, 2007). Lo Bianco (2000) argues that if English literacy is the exclusive priority, bilingual speakers and speakers of other languages will appear to lose literacy.

Literacy, according to teachers in this study, is the proficiency not only in reading, but also in writing, listening and speaking. A literate student can read and understand written and spoken materials, as well as communicate successfully with others. Therefore, the government should recognise the significance of other English skills, besides reading, and English features, such as

grammar, which contribute to the English proficiency. Although the English curriculum standards place a strong emphasis on written language, they should also include the important role that spoken language plays in students' abilities to read and write. As Holbrook (1961) states, living in a rich English setting while listening, speaking and reading is the best approach to become fluent in the language. He also emphasised how crucial it is to promote English as a practical language on a cultural level. Burgess (2007) illustrates the importance of the combination of all skills in English teaching and learning by saying that sometimes it is overlooked how much the curriculum's emphasis on listening, speaking, reading and writing skills, as well as its detail, owe to prior work, e.g. Vygotskyan theory of language.

9.3.2.2. *KKM* Rule. Before Indonesia joined PISA and started to implement neoliberal approaches to education in 2004, there was no policy of minimum standard score (*KKM*). Since then, the government has started implementing *KKM* rule through *KTSP* until the current *K-13 Revis*i as shown by the findings. The neoliberal policies, e.g. through the *KKM* rule, have constrained teachers in enacting their practices, affected their identity as EFL teachers and eroded their agency as professionals who should have autonomy. Over time, *KKM* has turned into a 'scary spectre' (my phrase) because the effects it has caused frighten education stakeholders. For instance, EFL teachers who have students with English scores below the *KKM* score are worried about being branded as incompetent teachers. Principals who have students whose grades do not pass the *KKM* score are afraid of being removed because they are deemed unable to manage the school.

The rationale for *KKM* rule is framed within accountability goals, and the rule is understood as part of the response to align education curriculum with neoliberal policies. However, in highlighting the neoliberal policies used in the English curriculum and with the *KKM* rule as a typical example of how the policies have affected the curriculum, we should consider the powerful discursive tensions that occur in teachers and students. As stated by teachers in this study, the *KKM* rule forced them to have only two options when it came to score their students, i.e. to simply pass their students with the *KKM* standard score though their actual scores might be below the standard

or to give them the target score for humanitarian reasons despite the fact that not all of the students had the same level of English proficiency.

This condition has created two opposing consequences. On the one hand, giving scores to students merely to meet the minimum standard score seems to have burdened the teachers because the scores given are the 'forced' ones. On the other hand, this condition makes students feel 'comfortable' with the *KKM* rule. Consequently, it makes them passive in studying English and almost completely dependent on their teachers because they know that they will get the *KKM* score for the subject at the end. As revealed in this study, students were dependent on their teachers, even for English vocabulary difficulties.

Students' feelings of security about their scores, their passivity in learning English, their dependence on their teachers for even trivial English learning problems have had a negative impact on their character. As stated by the teachers, the neoliberal-constructed students' character became their concern when they compared it with their students' character in the past before neoliberal policies were implemented in the country. From this, it can be seen that there is an inherent contradiction within the neoliberal policies being implemented by the government with an emphasis on character education.

To conclude, the *KKM*-driven instruction frustrates the teachers and fails to develop students' English proficiency. Students merely study for the desired test scores without necessarily learning the language for the sake of mastering or using it for communicative purposes. Teachers put more emphasis on accurate answers to test questions than on helping their students to improve their English proficiency because they only want to acquire the desired test scores at any cost. Consequently, teachers and schools do anything in an effort to achieve the target scores, even if it means manipulating the students' scores. Therefore, the credibility of students, teachers, principals, schools and the national education system are all negatively impacted by this.

All of these suggest that *KKM* rule must be abolished for several basic reasons: 1. It does not produce accurate scores; 2. It undermines EFL teacher idealism; and 3. It creates false pride in

students, parents, teachers, principals and all involved. Considering that EFL teachers are more knowledgeable than policy-makers about their students' English learning progress and that learning achievement is their domain, the authority to assess students' learning progress in accordance with the learning objectives and to assign the scores the students deserve is something that teachers must be granted.

9.3.2.3. Frequent English Curriculum Changes vs Lack of Government's Commitment. In addition to the political development in the country, Indonesia's response to PISA through its curriculum reforms shows that PISA has a substantial impact on the frequent changes in the English curriculum policy in the country. This is because a curriculum is the essence of an educational process. In addition, the curriculum directly influences educational outcomes and greatly determines the process and outcomes of an education system. It can also function as a medium to achieve goals and as a guide in the implementation of teaching any subject at all levels of education.

When examining the findings of this study and taking into account the significant roles that EFL teachers play in putting the English curriculum reforms into practice, it is clear that they have not been centrally involved in decision-making regarding the English curriculum. This is largely due to the fact that since Indonesia's declaration of independence in 1945, a centralised curriculum has been implemented. However, without teachers' involvement and acceptance of the reforms on their terms, smooth and successful curriculum reforms, especially when they happen frequently, are extremely problematic and time-consuming to implement.

Due to the frequent curriculum reforms, teachers in this study have acknowledged various English curriculum implementation issues as unavoidable. Consequently, the actual challenge of the implementation exceeds people's expectations (Brindley & Hood, 1990; Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991). Teachers might not receive the new curriculum well or might not use it as it is planned by the policy-makers (Karavas-Doukas, 1995). Teachers might also accept the reforms but not implement them in their classroom teaching for a variety of reasons (Gahin & Myhill, 2001). This partial implementation or non-implementation of English curriculum is common, not only in a foreign

language setting, but also in a second language setting (Ahmad, 2014). As in the case of Indonesia, traditional views of foreign language learning have long been applied, so it is hard for EFL teachers to shift from earlier teaching approaches to more modern pedagogy. One of the reasons for this is the limited English resources available at schools, in terms of books and other facilities that can support English teaching and learning. Therefore, the government should substantially support EFL teachers in order to equip them to effectively teach English. Furthermore, insufficient and poor quality of English teaching and learning resources might well prevent the English curriculum reforms from having a substantial impact on Indonesian students' English learning (Pasassung, 2003). In order to improve English teaching and learning resources, such as teaching and learning facilities, the government should boost the funding, resources and quality. As long as the materials used for English teaching and learning are of poor quality, English learning might not matter. There also needs to be an adequate number of EFL teachers. The remuneration, the number and calibre of English textbooks and other classroom resources all need to be addressed.

As stated in the curriculum document, students should be prepared through schooling to face global challenges. Indonesian global competitiveness will be stronger if its students master global languages, especially English. If they are not even familiar with the language, it is impossible for them to negotiate with other countries and absorb worldwide developments that are rapidly taking place. Increasing the use of English does not mean that Indonesian and regional languages are set aside, as many Indonesian educators have long been concerned that the extensive use of English will have a detrimental effect on Indonesian culture, behaviour and values (Lauder, 2008). It is noteworthy that this issue has typically been characterised as a threat from liberal values of the western countries because English encompasses all values from the UK and the USA. However, developing Indonesian and regional languages simultaneously by using English will make Indonesia a multilingual society, like other Asian countries, e.g. Malaysia and Singapore. By declaring the slogan: ‘Prioritise Indonesian, preserve regional languages and master foreign languages’ (Alfarisy, 2020), the government has advised the public to master foreign languages, especially English. However,

given the findings of this study, it is currently challenging to expect students to be proficient in English.

Despite the government's desire to produce future generations who can compete on a global scale in the age of globalisation, since the *K-13* was released, English has been eliminated from primary school curriculum and its time allotment at senior secondary schools has been reduced. This shows that there is a contradiction between the government's goal and policy. The government's goal of making students proficient in English is difficult to achieve due to the policy enacted regarding the elimination of English subject from primary school curriculum and the reduction of the English learning hours at senior secondary schools. Students' exposure to English is minimised, and the teachers believe that this prevents students from becoming proficient in English. According to Sayer (2015), the detrimental impact of reducing the English learning hours is straightforward and primarily based on popular notions of language learning, i.e. the earlier students start learning English and the more exposure to the target language they receive, the higher their proficiency of the language will be. Besides, there is a widespread belief that students who learn a foreign language in high school or college for one or two years leave their study without having the capacity to use the language in real-world situations (Sayer, 2015). It is generally acknowledged that young students are "language sponges"; hence, it makes sense to capitalise on this innate capacity by beginning foreign language instruction as early as feasible (Sayer, 2015, p. 47). This early English education is becoming more widespread around the world (Knell et al., 2007). Thus, the government should promote English learning in the same way it has promoted neoliberal policies as part of education reforms that address concerns that Indonesia has been one of the countries lagging behind other Asian countries and the world in its capacity to compete. This will help the nation build its human capital to support economic development and global competitiveness. Indeed, mastering English could provide Indonesian students more autonomy, voices and opportunities for engagement in political and social processes.

9.3.3. Implications for EFL Teacher Education

Findings of this study reveal that there were professional identity shifts under the curriculum changes. One of these was from an EFL teacher to a curriculum implementer because the teachers were concerned more about implementing the curriculum rather than teaching English for the sake of their students' English proficiency. While they used maximum efforts to implement the curriculum, they asserted that it could not be implemented thoroughly. This was due to the fact that the curriculum, which was centrally created by the authorities, did not suit the local conditions of their school. Therefore, a teacher-driven curriculum might be worth the authorities' attention. However, a teacher-driven curriculum innovation might not be possible in a short amount of time given the socio-economic and political developments in Indonesia. According to Bascia et al. (2014), it might take several years for a teacher-driven curriculum innovation to become widely accepted, legitimate and formalised in policy. Hence, in order to make this possible, the idea of a teacher-driven curriculum innovation has to be implemented by first concentrating on the reforms and enhancements to the teacher education programme as the foundational provision of the teachers who learn to teach (Desmaizayatri, 2020).

The participants in this study acknowledged that their EFL teacher education programme functions as the cornerstone of their English teaching careers. This reveals that what teachers learned in the programme is crucial in helping them to determine their classroom activities and the materials used in their classrooms. An implication from this is that teacher education programmes should develop EFL teachers, not only in terms of English knowledge, expertise and capacities, but also the knowledge, expertise and capacities to implement and develop a curriculum. This might be done by improving the English subject matters taught in teacher education programmes as well as by providing mentorship to inspire EFL teachers not only to be curriculum implementers, but also to be curriculum developers. Teachers could be trusted to develop an English curriculum if they have access to strong EFL content and pedagogical knowledge, in contrast to teachers who have low

English proficiency levels as found in studies by Dardjowidjojo (2000), Lie (2007), Madya (2007) and Marcellino (2008) and teachers who lack authority over the curriculum as found in this study.

Additionally, it is recommended that teacher education programmes should play a pivotal role in forming teacher practices when putting the curriculum into practice. EFL teacher training programmes need to be of higher quality (Pasassung, 2003). As with the case of Indonesian curriculum reforms, teachers should be ready to eclectically adopt many sorts of approaches to serve realistic classroom settings. It could be important to reconsider a teaching approach whenever it becomes problematic and obsolete or can be changed to meet classroom circumstances. Outdated teaching methods should be adjusted.

9.3.4. Implications for EFL Teacher Professional Practices, Identity and Agency

As revealed in this study, EFL teacher practices lead to three trends in terms of their responses to neoliberal curriculum reforms. The first trend sees reforms as positive and creative for their practices as they are required to be creative as EFL teachers. The reforms have an influence on the shift in teachers' perspectives from the conventional view of English teaching and learning to contemporary English pedagogical practices. The second trend considers the reforms as superficial, with outcomes that are probably going to be similar to those of the prior curricula. Teachers following this trend remain sceptical that the reforms will bring significant improvement in their practices professionally and in the students' English proficiency. The third trend sees the reforms as neither positive nor negative. Teachers implement the reforms in their practices merely as their responsibility. All of these trends in teacher practices seem to be in line with their belief system and experiences in response to the reforms. Their experiences with the execution of previous curricula seem to have an impact on how the current curriculum is implemented.

Furthermore, Subsection 9.3.1 explains that neoliberal curriculum reforms shift the education from learning to a product culture. Academic attainment becomes the main point of attraction to schools, and parents' decision in choosing schools for their children is based on the public image of the school. As stated by some participants of this study, it was the image of the

school that needed to be heightened as it could influence the number of students enrolling at the school, which impacted the amount of funding from the central and provincial governments they would receive. This condition automatically affects EFL teacher professional practices as teachers are directed at improving their skills to generate better economic outcomes for the school and shaping students into commodities that are ready to be exchanged in the job market, with English language positioned as such a commodity.

In addition, the vast list of educational problems in the country was further complicated by the inefficient administration of education funding brought on by a cumbersome bureaucracy, which constrained non-civil servant teachers to get paid and civil servant teachers to get their incentives on schedule. This added to the list of educational issues in the country besides the low remuneration for non-civil servant teachers. All of this became one of the arrangements in the teachers' practice architectures that constrained the teachers' doings in their practices. According to Dardjowidjojo (1997) and Sadtono (1979), one of the factors that contribute to the failure of the English curriculum implementation in Indonesian secondary schools is low teacher remuneration.

However, I would argue that what Dardjowidjojo (1997) and Sadtono (1979) claimed was not always the case. Economic resources did constrain the teacher work practices in this study. For instance, their limited income seemed to be linked to their reluctance to join professional development programmes that were not free or not financially supported by the school. However, it did not affect their teaching practices. For example, a teacher of this study has shown that although she was aware that she did not get compensation for additional teaching hours she was assigned, on top of her compulsory workload, this had no bearing on her professional motivation. Her motivation showed that she would prefer putting her students' needs first to becoming frustrated with something she knew she could not change in the short term.

Apart from the financial issues that constrained the teacher practices, as explained previously, the effects of neoliberal curriculum reforms can possibly continue beyond teachers' daily work, changing the nature of teachers' work (Hughes, 1999). As the findings of this study have

demonstrated, the challenges in EFL teacher professional practices are beyond the teachers' control and have revealed two influential consequences.

One of the consequences of neoliberal curriculum reforms is the accountability to meet the curriculum's specified learning goals. Consequent to achieving these goals, what counts as teacher professional practices and professionalism is not only shaped but also normalised by standard-based accountability, as the essence of neoliberal policy-making in education (Kostogriz & Doecke, 2011). Accountability in neoliberal times means more paperwork and form-filling, as well as more responsibility for what is being done, has been done and is intended to be done (Hargreaves, 1994). Consequently, teacher professional practices are affected by inspections, self-evaluation, testing and pressure to deliver students' outcomes (Hughes, 1999). Teachers' roles and their responsibilities are becoming more diffuse and extensive (Hargreaves, 1994).

As well, public accountability is enhanced by standardisation and is accompanied by the use of high-stakes tests for quality assurance. As shown in this study, standardisation has made the EFL teachers preoccupied with technical issues to achieve quality assurance and to attain the national standards formulated by the government. In executing their professional practices, the teachers function as micro-level policy actors, whose accountability is directly monitored by the school authorities acting at the mezzo-level. In the accountability process, assessment and evaluation (e.g. through student and teacher assessments and through teacher certification programme) are used as instruments to gauge teachers' success in achieving the curriculum goals. Therefore, teachers are preoccupied with administrative tasks instead of teaching and investing more time in student learning. This leads to intensification of teacher work and deprofessionalisation. As also found in Basalama's (2010) study in Indonesia, besides the administrative tasks, EFL teachers had to develop multimodal teaching and learning materials as these are not readily available in Indonesia. Hence, they regarded their work as heavier than other subject teachers. Participants in this study also had similar experiences as teachers in Basalama's (2010) study, but they did not mention developing English teaching materials in both written and spoken forms as the biggest challenge in their

professional practices. Instead, the biggest challenge in their practices was developing lesson plans and English teaching materials for different students (including students with disabilities), as well as dealing with administrative tasks pertaining to student achievement. As a consequence of the excessive administrative workload, teachers do an unethical practice, such as hiring a fellow teacher to do their administrative tasks.

Another consequence of neoliberal curriculum reforms besides increased accountability is neoliberal governmentality. EFL teachers have been constantly monitored by the provincial and national governments at the macro-level. The neoliberal governmentality practices through control mechanisms and disciplinary power have overloaded teachers to achieve outcomes and forced them to continuously improve their professional practices by accumulating their credit points required for certification. This has resulted in the emergence of a 'trader' mentality among teachers, and they seem no longer have an educator disposition in this context. Their work has been more oriented towards instrumental purposes, e.g. meeting the targets and, as a result, they have been more interested in earning income rather than in developing their knowledge. They have been more motivated to collect "coin credits" rather than "professional credits" (Tholani, 2013, p. 68). All of this can create teacher individualism and reduce teacher authenticity.

The concept of authenticity, according to Malm (2008), refers to concepts like virtues, values and qualities of different kinds. *Authenticity* is a term that can be associated with originality, autonomy, self-awareness, honesty, responsibility, integrity and genuineness (Malm, 2008). In neoliberal times, as Malm (2008) asserts, upholding one's integrity under demanding or changeable situations is difficult. Despite the advancement of our civilisation, there are aspects of modern society and culture that individuals perceive as a deterioration or loss. Taylor (1991) identified three modernity-related malaises. These are dominance of instrumental reasons, negative aspects of individualism and a loss of autonomy.

When faced with the current neoliberal education, the autonomy and agency of individual teachers and schools are particularly challenged. Teacher independence, autonomy and agency are

becoming seriously eroded since they are controlled by the hands of the government through bureaucratic orders (McLaren, 2006). As Toom et al. (2015) affirm, accountability policies affect teacher professional agency. For example, the results of this study have shown that the rigorous accountability policies, e.g. the *KKM* rule, have constrained teacher agency in negotiating the policies. Consequently, all of the teachers performed their duty-based (obligated) agency though two teachers also enacted their projected agency and one of these two teachers enacted her resistant agency. All teachers enacted their agency as duty-based because the bureaucratic and managerial power within the education system itself threatened their negative freedom (Macfarlane, 2021). The Indonesian government fostered a culture that restricted teachers to their allotted responsibilities in place of allowing them to exercise autonomy (Bjork, 2003, 2004).

Along with teacher professional practices and agency, the teachers' sense of self as EFL teachers has also been challenged in neoliberal times. On the one hand, they want to see themselves as EFL teachers who create a love for English while enabling their students to use English effectively and practically. They do not want to be performative teachers, such as test spoon-feeders or administrative strugglers. On the other hand, the curriculum focus on reading only and the aim to assist their students in achieving the desired scores above the minimum standard have blurred the way they see themselves as EFL teachers, or, in Malm's (2008, p. 274) term, they no longer have a strong feeling of "belonging" as English language teachers. According to Malm (2008, p. 374), lack of belonging can be seen as a "non-authentic" existence in this sense since it encompasses crucial elements of a psychological and existential character.

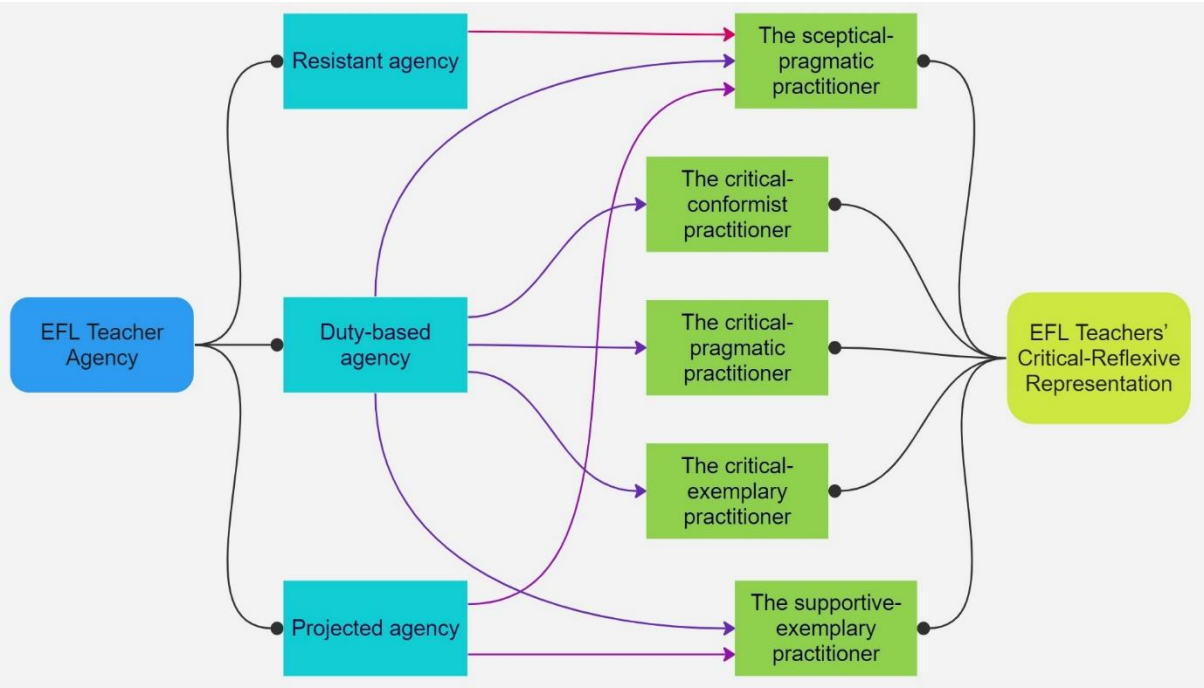
This study has demonstrated that identity is not context-free but is strongly influenced by a number of factors, such as learning and teaching investment trajectories, personal views and values, including religious ones, cultural expectations and institutional factors. As this study found various conceptions of EFL teacher professional identity, it validates Varghese et al.'s (2005) claim that understanding teachers and having a clear grasp of who they are as individuals, i.e. an understanding that their identity might encompass multiple layers, is essential to understanding language teaching

and learning. They further state that these layers include individual, political, cultural and professional identities that are assigned to them or that they claim. In this study, I make a similar claim that EFL teachers cannot be dissociated from factors like educational, political, cultural and social experiences that shape self-perceptions and ultimately have an impact on their practices.

This study has also highlighted that teacher professional practices, identity and agency are interrelated. As Helsby (1999) states, teacher professional agency is associated with the formation or transformation of teacher professional identity because this identity is shaped through teacher practices. The connection between teacher agency and identity is clearly shown in this study through teachers' enactment of their agency and their representations, as illustrated in Figure 9.1 .

Figure 9.1

Connection between EFL Teacher Agency and Identity in Neoliberal Times



The figure shows the connection between teacher agency and teachers' representation, i.e. as critical-reflexive teachers. From the figure, the way they enacted their agency shaped their identity. As shown in the figure, no matter what their representations were, either as sceptical, critical or supportive practitioners, all of the teachers enacted duty-based agency, which means that

they executed their work practices as obligatory commitments. This might be because their autonomy was constrained by the strict bureaucracy in the country and by all the targets they had to achieve under neoliberal policies.

However, teachers dealt with the curriculum reforms differently. From the five participants of the study, two of them pragmatically executed the reforms in a way that suited their conditions instead of adhering to the predetermined norms, while another one conformed to the mandatory requirements of the reforms. The others set a positive example for others in the reform implementation, and one of these teachers also exercised her agency as projected. This might be the case due to her representation as a supportive practitioner. On the other hand, the teacher whose representation was as a sceptical practitioner, besides enacting her agency as duty-based, she also exercised her agency as resistant. It was not surprising that she enacted her agency that way because she had doubts that the reforms were made for the sake of education. Consequently, she showed her resistance in some of the reform implementations. However, she also exercised her agency as projected for the sake of her students' interest in English since she believed that the reforms would actually not benefit schooling as a whole and since she believed that the literacy focus in the curriculum was not appropriate for English learning and would not encourage students to learn English. This shows that when the teacher's concern and responsibility for students' English development was high, she was able to turn her resistant agency to projected one and to put aside all the constraints she faced, including her rejection of some of the curriculum mandates and other challenges, such as the school's deficiency of physical and economic resources.

Regarding the initial purpose of this study, i.e. to understand more about the EFL teacher professional practices, identity and agency in neoliberal times, the findings presented above carry a number of implications.

Teacher work, especially related to curriculum, is complex (Connell, 1985). In some countries, findings from previous research on curriculum implementation reveal that teachers failed to achieve outcomes (Tikkanen et al., 2017). This study, as well as other studies by Cheung and

Wong (2012), Comber and Nixon (2009) and Tikkanen et al. (2017), found that teachers did not have sufficient time to cope with increased expectations, and frequently changing curriculum documents gave teachers additional work but did not result in improvement in the classrooms.

This study suggests that the policy-makers require teachers to absorb the curriculum demands and continue to change teacher practices, notwithstanding the enormous quantity of literature that points out the inconsistency between policies and realities (e.g. Ahmad, 2014; Ball, 2003; Bjork, 2003; Dardjowidjojo, 1997; De Lissovoy, 2013; Gewirtz, 1997; Lie, 2007; Moore & Clarke, 2016; Nur, 2003; Polesel et al., 2014; Rasyid, 2009; Sloan, 2006). The policy-makers have no means to monitor the effectiveness of their policies after they are in place. The findings of this study have demonstrated that regulated policies have a low possibility of bringing about the changes unless the gap between the policy aims and what is really achievable in reality is properly addressed. Teachers need more freedom, autonomy and ownership over the reform process and over the education itself.

The policy-makers should realise that teacher practices have been ingrained in the tradition of educational habits of a strict bureaucracy in the country. However, they should understand that the way teachers approach curriculum in their socio-cultural settings is never a linear process and is subject to change at any time; they might modify, accept or disregard it (Lasky, 2005). A strict bureaucracy as implemented in the country will deny this process.

The discussion of educational outcomes throughout the world has long been dominated by the emphasis on accountability mechanisms (Ladwig, 2010), also in the case of this study. There are no obvious solutions if there is no properly reflective assessment regime and if EFL teachers do not have autonomy in their practices, such as a degree of freedom to determine what is best for their students and how they should learn English. EFL teachers should have more freedom and resources to develop themselves as professionals and as 'EFL teachers' since the findings suggest that the teacher professional identity has started to erode due to the accountability and neoliberal governmentality practices. It is crucial for teachers to develop their professional identity as EFL

teachers because this identity significantly contributes to higher quality learning and more qualified EFL teachers (Afrianto, 2015). Therefore, it plays a significant role in the endeavours to enhance the ELT in Indonesia.

The policy-makers should also understand that changing teacher practices requires continuity of assistance that will help teachers in what they do (Eisner, 2000). Davis (2009) suggests that curriculum developers should not only make a new curriculum, but also lead teachers in how to actualise the curriculum itself. In other words, the ultimate purpose of creating and updating a curriculum is to put it into practice successfully, not just to create a perfect and ideal curriculum. Before making the curriculum policies, the policy-makers should build good communication with teachers as the ones who are directly involved with education and who know how the ground lies. However, given the large population of teachers in Indonesia, this might seem difficult to materialise in practice, but through *PGRI* teachers can convey their voices, so this organisation is not just a passive organisation whose fee is routinely deducted from teachers' salaries without providing benefits, as asserted by teachers of this study.

In addition, the Indonesian government, particularly associated policy-makers and institutional leaders, must carefully consider their policies and practices to ensure that teachers have opportunities to engage in activities that will provide them with a solid and supportive foundation for their professional socialisation towards their work and teaching practices. This study has shown how essential it is to have quality material-economic arrangements, in addition to democratic, positive, cooperative, solid and trusting relationships among teachers, co-workers and leaders, as well as between teachers and students in order to support learning practices. However, these kinds of relationships take time to develop and nurture.

From the teachers' perspectives, this study implies that the literacy focus in the English curriculum presents a dilemma for EFL teachers. It makes them difficult to shift their views involving innovative practices since literacy education has been interpreted as development of reading skills only, which teachers perceive as 'conventional' in English teaching and learning. However, in order

for the curriculum to take effect, the curriculum implementers (teachers) should demonstrate their willingness, preparedness and ability to apply the curriculum by shifting their views from traditional notions of foreign language learning to a modern and new pedagogy. This can be done through quality EFL teacher education before they enter the teaching profession and targeted professional development programmes during their teaching career.

9.4. Limitations of the Study and Directions for Future Research

In terms of this study itself, there are limitations. This study was conducted at a particular school in one Indonesian city with its own particular social background and set of values. This localisation did enable a thorough examination of how the teachers enacted their professional practices and agency and how they saw themselves professionally. The findings are anticipated to add to the body of knowledge, especially addressing concerns about teacher professional practices, sense of self and agency in responding to neoliberal curriculum mandates within their historical and socio-cultural contexts.

Since this digital ethnographic study primarily focused on a small number of EFL teachers at a particular school, it does not reflect all EFL teachers in the region and across the country. However, it has given a detailed picture of EFL teacher professional practices, identity and agency in the neoliberal curriculum reform context. Therefore, the concerns raised in this study could serve as insightful observations for other teachers, policy-makers and researchers.

According to a report by The Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre (RISSC) in 2021, Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world, which is estimated to 231,055,500 people or equivalent to 86.7% of Indonesian population (RISSC, 2021). In the city where this study was conducted, religious issues were heavily influenced by Islamic values, held by the majority of its people, though the school selected for the study was not an Islamic school. Therefore, studies on how EFL teachers in Islamic schools perform their professional practices and agency within particular arrangements and how they view themselves within those arrangements are worthy of researchers' attention, in terms of the influence of religious values on teachers' work and/or teaching practices.

It is also important to look at the societal impacts on ELT in other regions of Indonesia in which English is commonly used due to a large number of tourists entering the area, e.g. Bali, or regions whose populations do not mainly adhere to Islamic values, e.g. North Sulawesi or Papua (dominated by Christianity) or Bali (where Hinduism is prevalent).

As teachers of this study mentioned some challenges they faced when they taught English in a mixed class consisting of regular students and students with disability, a study of English teaching practices in a school specifically designated for students with disability deserves research attention.

For more thorough understanding of teacher professional practices, identity and agency, particularly in relation to how EFL teachers exercise the EFL curriculum mandates in their educational contexts, a longitudinal study involving classroom observation and students would also be valuable to research.

9.5. Concluding Remarks

This study is significant to understand how EFL teacher professional practices and the arrangements are necessary for the development of English teaching and learning in Indonesia, particularly at the local site. The findings of this study can be used as a basis for reflection on the arrangements in the educational system that enable and constrain EFL teacher practices and to inform future actions aimed at creating the conditions necessary for the teachers to engage in meaningful practices.

By using the Theory of Practice Architectures, this study offers theoretical innovation, particularly in the context of Indonesian educational research. As Grootenboer et al. (2017) state, recent educational research, such as a new curriculum, frequently places more focus on improving one area, teaching only, than on other associated practices, teacher professional practices or development, which involve various aspects of practices. This leads to uneven and sluggish adoption of the initiatives and their prospective changes. In the context of this study, as a practice theory, the TPA offers instruments for the evaluation of teacher practices and draws attention to issues with change management and innovation resulting from site-specific diversity to enable local

functionality. It is a theory that elevates components of educational practices generally and teacher practices particularly beyond unitary understandings and makes them intricately multilayered, multifaceted, multidimensional and complex due to the various arrangements presented in the theory.

Since this study used digital ethnography, a relatively new research methodology in Indonesia, it offers methodological innovation to educational research in the country by using collaborative methods of technology to collect the data during the COVID-19 pandemic. According to Pink (2015), the types of innovation and experimentation that come from working with technology can contribute to the development of theoretical discussions. Additionally, the use of digital media has prompted the creation of a compromise approach in Indonesian practice research. It has challenged researchers to reconsider their understanding of pre-digital practices, media and settings in addition to challenging them to theorise the digital world in novel ways (Pink et al., 2016).

Engaging in this study has been the most arduous scholarly undertaking of my professional life so far. The challenges arise both from the intricacies of a PhD path and from my initial involvement with the topic of the study, theoretical frameworks and methodology. However, I embraced the challenges as a chance to develop my research skills.

After my involvement on this path for more than three years, I have discovered that investigating EFL teacher practices, identity and agency leads me to a profoundly new understanding of significant issues in English teaching and learning, especially in my country, that are far from being resolved. Hence, with the use of the TPA, I came to understand that any attempt to enhance the education standards must involve material, economic, social and political concerns, such as improvements in teaching infrastructure, salary increments, professional development of teachers, healthy relationships among those who are involved and delegation of autonomy to teachers. Moreover, all of these are crucial to the construction of teacher identity.

For participants of this study and for other EFL teachers in Indonesia, they should realise that they have the rights, in addition to their obligations, to provide constructive ideas from their

professional experiences to influence decisions taken by the authorities. It is time for them to enact their collective agency with other colleagues to raise their voices for better English education in the country.

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Appendix 1

EFL Teacher Competency Standards for All School Levels

Regulation

The Minister of National Education of the Republic of Indonesia No. 16 of 2007

about Teacher Competencies Standard

No.	Core Competency	Sub-Competency
Pedagogic Competence		
1.	Mastering the students' characteristics from physical, moral, spiritual, social, cultural, emotional and intellectual aspects	1.1. Understanding the students' characteristics related to physical, intellectual, socio-emotional, moral, spiritual and socio-cultural background 1.2 Identifying the students' potential in English 1.3. Identifying the students' initial learning level in English 1.4. Identifying the students' learning difficulties in English
2.	Mastering learning theories and principles of educational learning	2.1. Understanding various learning theories and educational learning principles related to English 2.2. Implementing various English approaches, strategies, methods and learning techniques creatively
3.	Developing English curriculum	3.1. Understanding the principles of curriculum development Determining English learning objectives 3.2. Determining appropriate English learning experiences to 3.3. achieve the learning objectives Choosing the learning materials related to the learning 3.4. experience and learning objectives Arranging the learning materials correctly according to 3.5. the approach chosen and the students' characteristics Developing indicators and assessment instruments
4.	Organising educational learning	4.1. Understanding the principles of educational design 4.2. Developing learning design components 4.3. Developing a complete learning plan for activities in the classroom, in the laboratory and in the field 4.4. Carrying out educational learning in the classroom, in the laboratory and in the field by following the required safety standards 4.5. Using English learning media and resources relevant to the students' characteristics to achieve learning objectives as a whole 4.6. Making transactional decisions in guided learning in accordance with developing situations
5.	Utilising information and communication technology for the benefit of learning	5.1. Utilising information and communication technology in guided learning
6.	Facilitating the development of students' potential to actualise their various potentials	6.1. Providing various learning activities to encourage students to achieve optimal achievement 6.2. Providing various learning activities to actualise students' potential, including their creativity
7.	Communicating with students effectively, empathically and politely	7.1. Understanding various communication strategies that are effective, empathic and polite, in oral or written forms 7.2. Communicating with students effectively, emphatically and politely in educational activity/game interactions built from (a) the preparation of the students' psychological conditions to take part in games through persuasion and examples, (b) invitations to students to take part, (c) students' responses to the teacher's invitation and (d) teachers' reactions to students' responses

No.	Core Competency	Sub-Competency
Pedagogic Competence		
8.	Conducting assessment and evaluation of learning processes and outcomes	8.1. Understanding the principles of assessment and evaluation of the process and learning outcomes in accordance with English characteristics 8.2. Determining aspects of the process and learning outcomes that are important to be assessed and evaluated in accordance with the English characteristics 8.3. Determining the procedures for assessment and evaluation of learning processes and outcomes 8.4. Developing the instruments of assessment and evaluation of learning processes and outcomes 8.5. Administering the assessment process and learning outcomes on an ongoing basis using various instruments 8.6. Analysing the results of the assessment process and learning outcomes for various purposes 8.7. Evaluating the process and learning outcomes
9.	Using the results of the assessment and evaluation for the benefit of learning	9.1. Using the information from the results of assessments and evaluations to determine learning outcomes 9.2. Using the information from the results of assessments and evaluations to design remedial and enrichment programmes 9.3. Communicating the results of assessments and evaluations to stakeholders 9.4. Using the information from the results of assessment and evaluation of learning to improve the quality of learning
10.	Doing reflective action to improve the quality of learning	10.1.Reflecting on the learning that has been implemented 10.2.Using the results from the reflection for improvement and development of English learning 10.3.Conducting classroom action research to improve the quality of English learning
Personality Competence		
11.	Behaving in accordance with the religious, legal, social and Indonesian cultural norms	11.1.Respecting students regardless of their beliefs, ethnicity, customs, area of origin and gender 11.2.Behaving in accordance with the religious norms, laws and social conditions applied in the society and Indonesian various national cultures
12.	Presenting oneself as a person who has honest and noble character and can be a role model for students and society	12.1.Behaving honestly, decisively and humanely 12.2.Behaving in such a way that reflects piety and noble morals 12.3.Behaving in a such a way that can be exemplified by students and members of the surrounding community
13.	Presenting oneself as a person who is stable, mature, wise and authoritative	13.1.Presenting oneself as a person who is stable 13.2.Present oneself as a mature, wise and authoritative person
14.	Demonstrating a work ethic, high responsibility, a sense of pride in being a teacher and self-confidence	14.1.Demonstrating a work ethic and high responsibility 14.2.Being proud to be a teacher and believing in oneself 14.3.Working independently and professionally
15.	Upholding the code of ethics of the teaching profession	15.1.Understanding the code of ethics of the teaching profession 15.2.Implementing the code of ethics of the teaching profession Behaving in accordance with the professional code of ethics of teachers
Social Competence		
16.	Acting objectively and not discriminating others in relation to gender, religion, race, physical condition, family background and socioeconomic status	16.1.Being objective towards students, peers and the community in carrying out the practice 16.2.Not discriminating against students, peers, students' parents and the school community because of differences in religion, ethnicity, gender, family background and socio-economic status

No.	Core Competency	Sub-Competency
Social Competence		
17.	Communicating with fellow teachers, education staff, parents and the community effectively, emphatically and politely	17.1. Communicating with peers and other academic communities in a polite, empathetic and effective manner 17.2. Communicating with students' parents and the community about learning programmes and student progress in a polite, empathetic and effective manner 17.3. Involving students' parents and the community in the learning programmes and in overcoming students' learning difficulties
18.	Being able to adapt at work in all areas of Indonesia which has socio-cultural diversity	18.1 Being able to adapt to the work environment in order to increase effectiveness as an educator 18.2. Conducting various programmes in the work environment to develop and improve the quality of education in the area concerned
19.	Communicating with the professional community and other professionals in oral and written forms	19.1. Communicating with colleagues, academic professionals and other academic communities through various media in order to improve the quality of learning 19.2. Communicating the results of learning innovations to the professional community in oral and written forms
Professional Competence		
20.	Mastering the materials, structure, concepts and scientific mindset that support English learning	20.1. Having the knowledge of various aspects of English (English linguistics, discourse, sociolinguistics and strategy). 20.2 Mastering spoken and written English, as well as receptive and productive skills in all its communicative aspects (English linguistics, discourse, sociolinguistics and strategy)
21.	Mastering competency standards and basic competencies of English	21.1. Understanding the competency standards of English 21.2. Understanding the basic competencies of English 21.3. Understanding the English learning objectives
22.	Developing creative learning materials	22.1. Selecting the learning materials according to the level of students' development 22.2. Developing the subject matter creatively according to the level of students' development
23.	Developing professionalism in a sustainable manner by taking reflective action	23.1. Reflecting on one's own performance continuously 23.2. Using the results from the reflection in order to improve professionalism 23.3. Conducting classroom action research for professional improvement 23.4. Updating oneself by learning from various sources
24.	Utilising information and communication technology to develop oneself	24.1. Utilising information and communication technology in communication 24.2. Utilising information and communication technology for self-development

Appendix 2

MUHREC Approval Certificate

MONASH University

Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee

Approval Certificate

This is to certify that the project below was considered by the Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee. The Committee was satisfied that the proposal meets the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* and has granted approval.

Project ID: 28098
Project Title: Indonesian EFL Teachers' Professional Practices in the Context of Neoliberal Curriculum Reforms
Chief Investigator: Professor Alexander Kostogriz
Approval Date: 20/04/2021
Expiry Date: 20/04/2026

Terms of approval - failure to comply with the terms below is in breach of your approval and the *Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research*.

1. The Chief Investigator is responsible for ensuring that permission letters are obtained, if relevant, before any data collection can occur at the specified organisation.
2. Approval is only valid whilst you hold a position at Monash University.
3. It is responsibility of the Chief Investigator to ensure that all investigators are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure the project is conducted as approved by MUHREC.
4. You should notify MUHREC immediately of any serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events affecting the ethical acceptability of the project.
5. The Explanatory Statement must be on Monash letterhead and the Monash University complaints clause must include your project number.
6. Amendments to approved projects including changes to personnel must not commence without written approval from MUHREC.
7. Annual Report - continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an Annual Report.
8. Final Report - should be provided at the conclusion of the project. MUHREC should be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected completion date.
9. Monitoring - project may be subject to an audit or any other form of monitoring by MUHREC at any time.
10. Retention and storage of data - The Chief Investigator is responsible for the storage and retention of the original data pertaining to the project for a minimum period of five years.

Kind Regards,

Professor Nip Thomson

Chair, MUHREC

CC: Ms Dwi Ratnasari, Dr Ruth Fielding

List of approved documents:

Document Type	File Name	Date	Version
Supporting Documentation	Letter of Request_28098	19/03/2021	1
Supporting Documentation	Surat Permohonan_28098	19/03/2021	2
Consent Form	Consent Form_28098 (for the Principal)	19/03/2021	1
Consent Form	Lembar Persetujuan_28098 (untuk Kepsek)	19/03/2021	2
Consent Form	Consent Form_28098 (for English Teachers)	08/04/2021	3
Consent Form	Lembar Persetujuan_28098 (untuk Guru Bahasa Inggris)	08/04/2021	4
Supporting Documentation	Semi-structured In-depth Interview Question Guide (for English Teachers)	08/04/2021	1
Supporting Documentation	Semi-structured In-depth Interview Guide (for the Principal)	08/04/2021	2
Focus Group questions	Focus Group Discussion Topics	08/04/2021	1
Supporting Documentation	Permission Letter_28098	08/04/2021	1

Page 1 of 2

Supporting Documentation	An Invitation Email to Invite the English Teachers as Participants	13/04/2021	1
Explanatory Statement	Explanatory Statement_28098 (for the Principal & English Teachers)	19/04/2021	1
Explanatory Statement	Pernyataan Penjelasan_28098 (untuk Kepsek dan Guru Bahasa Inggris)	19/04/2021	2
Explanatory Statement	Explanatory Statement_28098 (for Head of Education Authorities)	19/04/2021	3
Explanatory Statement	Pernyataan Penjelasan_28098 (untuk Kadin Pendidikan)	19/04/2021	4

Appendix 3

Topics for the Informant

(English and Indonesian Versions)

The following are topics for the principal. Other related topics were asked during the interview.

1. School profile

   (*Profil sekolah*)

2. Funding arrangements

   (*Pengaturan pendanaan*)

3. Division of labour arrangements (who does what and why)

   (*Pembagian pengaturan kerja (siapa melakukan apa dan mengapa)*)

4. Access to support staff

   (*Akses untuk mendukung staf*)

5. Curriculum reforms in Indonesia

   (*Reformasi kurikulum di Indonesia*)

Appendix 4

Guidelines for Directing the Observation

Themes			No.	Guidelines
Sayings	Cultural-Discursive Arrangements	Semantic Space	1.	What is being said and by whom?
			2.	What is being discussed (frequently/infrequently)?
			3.	What seems to be the main topics under discussion?
			4.	What kind of nonverbal communication is happening?
			5.	What meanings are the participants attributing to what is taking place?
Doings	Material-Economic Arrangements	Physical Space	1.	What is taking place?
			2.	What resources are on the site?
			3.	Where does the event happen?
			4.	When does the event happen?
			5.	For how long does the event last?
			6.	Why is the event occurring the way it is?
Relatings	Social-Political Arrangements	Social Space	1.	What norms control how the participants behave and how the event is organised socially?
			2.	Who is making decisions and for whom?
			3.	How do the individual elements of the event relate to one another?
			4.	In what ways are stability and change handled?
			5.	How do different participants behave towards each other?

(Kemmis & Edwards-Groves, 2018; Kemmis et al., 2014; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Schatzki, 2002, 2005, 2010)

Appendix 5

Observational Notes for Material Arrangements

Date	Descriptive Notes	Analytical Comments
Summary		

Appendix 6

Focus Group Discussion Topics

(English and Indonesian Versions)

The following are topics for focus group discussion. Other related topics were asked during the discussion.

1. Perceptions about the English curriculum reforms in Indonesia

   (*Persepsi tentang perubahan-perubahan kurikulum Bahasa Inggris di Indonesia*)

2. English education changes that the teachers have noticed since the first time they became teachers

   (*Perubahan-perubahan pendidikan Bahasa Inggris apa yang dilihat oleh guru sejak pertama kali menjadi guru dibandingkan dengan Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris saat ini*)

3. Experiences/challenges in dealing with the curriculum reforms

   (*Pengalaman/tantangan dalam menangani perubahan-perubahan kurikulum*)

4. Suggestions for English curriculum/education in Indonesia

   (*Saran untuk kurikulum/pendidikan Bahasa Inggris di Indonesia*)

Appendix 7

A Semi-Structured In-Depth Interview Question Guide

(English and Indonesian Versions)

The following questions are only an interview question guide. Other related questions were asked based on the participants' answers during the interview sessions. Each part was asked in each semi-structured interview session.

A. EFL Teacher Professional Practices

a. EFL Teachers' Sayings:

1. What education changes have you noticed since the first time you became a teacher?

   (Perubahan-perubahan pendidikan apa yang Anda lihat sejak pertama kali menjadi guru?)

2. How do you understand/perceive the English curriculum reforms in Indonesia?

   (Bagaimana Anda memahami perubahan-perubahan kurikulum Bahasa Inggris di Indonesia?/Bagaimana persepsi Anda tentang perubahan-perubahan kurikulum Bahasa Inggris di Indonesia?)

3. What can you suggest in relation to English education or curriculum in Indonesia?

   (Apa saran Anda untuk pendidikan atau kurikulum Bahasa Inggris di Indonesia?)

4. What languages do you use in communicating with students, colleagues and the principal?

   (Bahasa apa yang Anda gunakan dalam berkomunikasi dengan siswa, kolega dan kepala sekolah?)

   Probe: Why do you choose such language to communicate?

   (Mengapa Anda memilih bahasa tersebut untuk berkomunikasi?)

5. What discourses do you often communicate with students, colleagues and the principal?

   (Wacana apa yang sering Anda komunikasikan dengan siswa, kolega dan kepala

sekolah?)

b. EFL Teachers' Doings:

1. How do you perceive the physical arrangements of the various kinds of indoor and outdoor spaces in the school?

   (Apa pendapat Anda tentang pengaturan fisik dari berbagai jenis ruang dalam dan luar di sekolah?)

2. Do the physical arrangements of the various kinds of indoor and outdoor spaces in the school affect your feelings and work?

   (Apakah pengaturan fisik dari berbagai jenis ruang dalam dan luar di sekolah mempengaruhi perasaan dan pekerjaan Anda?

   Probe: If yes, how do they affect your feelings and work?

   (Kalau iya, bagaimana hal tersebut mempengaruhi perasaan dan pekerjaan Anda?)

3. What are the demands of the current English curriculum on you?

   (Apa yang menjadi tuntutan kurikulum Bahasa Inggris yang terbaru terhadap Anda?)

4. How do you execute your professional practices in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms?

   (Bagaimana Anda menjalankan praktik profesional Anda pada masa reformasi kurikulum neoliberal?)

5. To what extent have neoliberal curriculum reforms impacted on your professional practices as a teacher?

   (Sejauh mana reformasi kurikulum neoliberal berdampak pada praktik profesional Anda sebagai guru?)

6. What challenges have you faced in executing your professional practices in times of neoliberal curriculum reforms?

   (Tantangan apa yang Anda alami dalam menjalankan praktik professional Anda pada

masa reformasi kurikulum neoliberal?)

c. EFL Teachers' Relatings

1. How do you build relationships with students, colleagues, principal and the authorities?

   (Bagaimana Anda membangun hubungan dengan siswa, kolega, kepala sekolah dan pihak berwenang?)

2. What challenges have you faced in your relationships with students, colleagues, the principal and the authorities?

   (Tantangan apa yang Anda alami dalam berhubungan dengan siswa, kolega, kepala sekolah dan pihak berwenang?)

B. EFL Teacher Professional Identity

1. Tell me about your career journey.

   (*Ceritakan tentang perjalanan karir Anda*.)

2. How do you understand yourself in relation to your profession as a teacher?

   (Bagaimana Anda memahami tentang diri Anda sendiri dalam hubungannya dengan profesi Anda sebagai guru?)

   Alternative question: What does it mean to you to be an English language teacher?

   (Apa artinya menjadi guru Bahasa Inggris bagi Anda?)

3. How do neoliberal curriculum reforms affect your professional identity as a teacher?

   (Bagaimana reformasi kurikulum neoliberal mempengaruhi identitas profesional Anda sebagai guru?)

C. EFL Teacher Professional Agency

1. Do you feel that your profession as a teacher is still controlled by the government?

   (Apakah Anda merasa profesi Anda sebagai guru masih dikontrol oleh pemerintah?)

   Probe: In what ways do the governments control you as a teacher?

   (*Dalam hal apa pemerintah mengontrol Anda sebagai guru?*)

How does the government's control affect your professional agency?

(Bagaimana kontrol pemerintah mempengaruhi kebebasan Anda dalam membuat keputusan dan mengambil tindakan)?

2. Do neoliberal curriculum reforms affect your professional agency?

   (Apakah reformasi kurikulum neoliberal mempengaruhi kebebasan Anda dalam membuat keputusan dan mengambil tindakan?)

   Probe: If yes, how do they affect your professional agency?

   (*Jika iya, bagaimana perubahan tersebut mempengaruhi kebebasan Anda dalam membuat keputusan dan mengambil tindakan?*)

3. Do your relationships with students, colleagues, the principal and the authorities affect your professional agency?

   (Apakah hubungan Anda dengan siswa, kolega, kepala sekolah dan pihak berwenang berpengaruh terhadap kebebasan Anda dalam membuat keputusan dan mengambil tindakan?)

   Probe: If yes, how do the relationships affect your professional agency?

   (*Jika iya, bagaimana hubungan tersebut mempengaruhi kebebasan Anda dalam membuat keputusan dan mengambil tindakan?*)