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A Narrative inquiry into private English language institution non-NES teachers' identities in Indonesia: Journeys of becoming English teachers

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Abstract

Teacher identity as an area of research within the field of English language teaching has been investigated through two main perspective: psychology (Oyserman, Elmore, & Smith, 2012; Sampson, 2016; Wetherell, 2009) and socio-cultural and political (Beauchamp et al., 2017; Benson & Cooker, 2013; Darvin & Norton, 2015; Morgan, 2016; Norton & Toohey, 2011). However, these studies were mostly conducted within the context of formal education settings, such as at schools and universities thus limits our understanding about teacher's identity to only within the formal education setting. Therefore, this study aims to broaden the discussion about the construction of non-native English speaker teachers' (non-NESTs) identities by investigating the identity construction of 25 non-NESTs at six private English language institutions (PELIs) in Indonesia.

Moreover, instead of attempting to label teachers as motivators, facilitators, managers, or informants, like has been done in many studies, the present study seeks to understand the construction of teacher's identity from their *habitus*, *investment*, and *trajectories* as English learners, speakers and teachers. In addition, the study examines the role of PELIs as a learning space where the participants develop their habitus through learning from other teachers at their PELI.

Conducted as a narrative inquiry, this study employed in-depth biographical interviews as the main data collection strategy. In addition, it also utilized class and site observations and document analysis to gain initial information which was used to generate some questions for the interviews, to understand the context in which they teach, and to provide evidence of their

habitus. The data was analysed using narrative and thematic analysis and the findings were presented in two formats: reconstruction of nine focus participants' narratives and exposition of the common themes found in all of the narratives.

The narratives illustrate the participants' journey of becoming English learners, speakers, and teachers. Throughout their journeys, the participants developed unique forms of habitus which were shaped by their social-economic status and their memberships in communities of practice (CoP). The thematic analysis reveals the interconnections of investment, trajectories and habitus in shaping the participants' identities as non-NESTs. The participants' trajectories direct their investment which resulted in the construction of a habitus. It also shows the role of CoP as a learning space of becoming teachers through participating in trainings and seminars and in their daily interactions with other members of the CoP. Finally, this study argues for an holistic view of understanding non-NESTs identities which emphasizes the roles of teacher's learning experiences as formative stages of their professional identities.

Dedication

To my beloved wife and children who are always there for me in joy and sorrow.

To my mother and brothers who always support me.

To my late Father and Abang Harry, who always believed in me.

This is for you

Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practise for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such.

Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: ███████████████   DATE: 15 March 2021

Pritz Hutabarat

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Abbreviations

CELTA: Certificate of English Language Teaching to Adults

CLT: Communicative language teaching

CoP: Community of practice

DELTA: Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults

EF: English First

ELT: English language teaching

FT: Full time

GMAT: Graduate Management Admission Test

IELTS: International English Language Testing System

ILP: International Language Programme

MA: Master of Art

M.Ed.: Master of Education

MoE: Ministry of Education

NEST: Native English speaker teacher

Non-NEST: Non-native English speaker teacher

PELI: Private English language institute

PPP: Presentation Practice Production

PT: Part time

STT: Student talking time

TDW: Teacher development workshop

TEFL: Teaching English as a foreign language

TESOL: Teaching English to speakers of other language

TOEFL: Test of English as a Foreign Language

TTP: Teacher Training Programme

TTT: Teacher talking time

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Problematizing non-NEST's identities

Identity is central to our being. A teacher's identity answers questions such as "'who am I?', what kind of teacher do I want to be?', and 'how do I see my role as a teacher?'" (Korthagen, 2004, p. 81). These are questions that we ask ourselves throughout our lives, and so constructing identities is a life-long task (Korsgaard, 2009); this construction involves negotiating our positions within our social realm and understanding how we relate to the world around us (Donato, 2017). In being focused on the development of non-native English speaker teacher (non-NEST) identity, this study is very personal to me because, as an English teacher, I also constantly negotiate my identity as a non-NEST in Indonesia. Since I graduated with a degree in industrial engineering rather than one that is English or education-related, I have always felt insecure about my professional identity as a teacher. In asking myself questions such as "do I have what it takes to make a good English teacher?" or "what do I need to do to be a better teacher?", I have experienced constant challenges to my confidence as a 'legitimate' English teacher.

However, when considering English language teachers' identities in Indonesia, there are two issues which currently exist in the literature, that this study attempts to address. First, understanding of teachers' identities is often confined within static characteristics such as a native or non-native speaker, as teachers in schools or at private English language institutes

(PELIs), as female or male, as fulltime or part time, as a 'funny' or 'serious' teacher, as a teacher to adults or children, or as a novice or experienced teacher. Each of these labels denotes certain qualities or characteristics of a person, though the meanings and perceived value of these qualities vary depending on the context where they are used. For instance, across language teaching contexts, native speaker teachers may often be more preferred than non-NESTs when teaching speaking skills, although when teaching grammar; non-NESTs seem to be more popular (Doan, 2016; Floris, 2013; Murtiana, 2012; Shodiq, 2017). In another example, female teachers may be generally more preferred than male teachers for instructing children's classes in Indonesia. Thus, the problem of using these simplified labels to understand teacher identity is that they frame identity as a stable state of being. A more comprehensive way to understand teacher identities is by looking at it as a dynamic and performative construct which is developed, enacted, and negotiated in their daily lives.

Secondly, the studies around English teacher identity in Indonesia are by the experience of school teachers. Studies focussed on teachers at PELIs – private, for-profit schools which also offer English lessons–are rare and thus, it can be argued, they have not been well understood by scholars or the Indonesian government. In fact, according to Law No 14 regarding teachers and lecturers in Indonesia (Undang Undang No. 14 tentang Guru dan Dosen, 2005), the government of Indonesia only acknowledges school teachers as 'English teachers' whereas PELI teachers are considered 'professionals', a title which carries the responsibility to engage in self-development. In addition, only those who have a degree in English or English education are eligible to apply to teach as these official 'English teachers' at Indonesian public schools (Yumarnamto, 2019). As a consequence, although English teachers at PELIs may be experienced teachers who have attended a variety of teacher training programmes, according to the Ministry of Education Law No. 20 Year 2003, they

can only apply to be a schoolteacher if they hold the required degree. As a result, within the profession of teaching in Indonesia, PELI teachers are marginalised and considered unqualified for the job. Thus, this study aims to bring PELI teachers into the discussion around non-NESTs in Indonesia and argue for their suitability and legitimacy as teachers of English at formal schools on account of their professional English language teaching (ELT) acumen. The study seeks to change the narrative around PELI teachers, especially those who do not have formal training in teaching or a teaching degree, by focusing on their journey as successful learners of English as evidence of their professionalism and their legitimate claim to belonging in the profession.

Therefore, this study aims to fill the gap in the literature on English teachers in Indonesia by investigating the construction of PELI teacher identity from the perspective of teachers themselves. It views the construction of identities as an ongoing process, and in doing so, this study offers a holistic approach to teacher identity by looking at social-historical aspects of identity formation. In line with McAlpine, Admusen, and Turner (2014), this research emphasises the work of agency in constructing one's identity without disregarding the influence of various structures surrounding an agent; those structures, to some extent, limit agency, but they can also facilitate expressions of agency.

1.1 Rationale for the study

The importance of understanding language teacher identity has been highlighted across a range of research studies, with several themes present across the literature. First, teacher identity is often argued to be at the centre of teachers' motivation, aspirations, and commitments in performing their roles as teachers, individuals, and members of their

societies (Oyserman et al., 2012; Wetherell, 2009). Second, in doing their jobs, teachers not only teach the content of a subject as prescribed in the curriculum, but they also bring their own values and views as individuals with unique life experiences (Beijaard & Meijer, 2019; Pennington & Richards, 2016; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005). Third, identity formation is a site of struggles in which teachers and student teachers exercise their agency to construct the types of teachers they want to become (Beijaard & Meijer, 2019; Miller, Morgan, & Medina, 2017). Finally, for a teacher to be successful, they need to engage with their identity, including how they conceive of themselves and how they understand their position in the field, rather than simply acting out or performing a set of teaching strategies; doing so will enable their perseverance in continuing to work for the benefit of their students, even when conditions are not in their favour (Danielewicz, 2001; Freedman & Appleman, 2008).

In the context of language teaching, study of English language teachers' identities can help to better understand the nature and dynamics of teacher-student relations and collegial relations within institutions, as well as their beliefs and values about language teaching and learning (Toohey, 2000), which can contribute to the design of curriculum, classroom practice, and teacher education programmes (Barkhuizen, 2015). Furthermore, increased understanding of how teachers construct their identity should be foregrounded in the quest to comprehend teachers' pedagogical beliefs and practices because what may seem as an effort to develop practical knowledge could actually be a process of identity formation (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). In the same vein, Williams (2007) argued that researching the construct of teacher identity enables researchers to have better understanding of the factors influencing a teacher's decisions and attitude in the performing their professional roles. Finally, studying the origins

of 'teacher identity' is important for discerning ways in which to support teachers'

professional development (Bukor, 2015).

This study is also driven by contextual factors. In Indonesia, the desire to develop the ability

to speak English has created a great demand for non-formal English teaching, which has

given rise to the growing number of PELIs; one count estimated that 4,336 exist in the

country (Skjaerlund & Loop, 2015). However, even with the clear popularity of PELIs within

the business sector, there have been very few studies conducted in PELI contexts, which limit

our understanding of PELIs and their teachers, especially in Indonesia. So far, most of the

studies in the areas of ELT in Indonesia have been done within the formal school context

(Floris, 2013) with foci ranging from teacher autonomy (Bjork, 2006), perceptions of ideal

English teachers within the dichotomy of native speaker versus non-native speaker teachers

(Setiawan, 2015), pre-service English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers' identity

development in a multilingual environment (Afrianto, 2015; P. Kuswandono, 2013), and pre-

service teachers' identity construction during teaching practice (Mambu, 2017; Riyanti,

2017). Two studies which were conducted within the PELI contexts include Floris (2013),

who investigated PELI teachers' beliefs around the teaching of English, and Kramadibrata

(2015), who analysed the 'halo effect' surrounding native English speaker teachers (NESTs)

in Indonesia, a topic that is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

In focussing directly on non-NESTs, this study contributes to this small body of literature and

works to fill the non-NEST understanding gap: I argue that with the increasing demand for

proficiency in English, coupled with the low quality of English teaching at mainstream

schools in Indonesia (Lie, 2007; Musthafa, 2001; Nurweni & Read, 1999; Widiati &

Cahyono, 2006), PELIs and their teachers play a significant—though under-researched—role in ELT practices in Indonesia.

Personally, my interest in teacher identity was partly ignited by comments I received during my first years of teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL). Since I held a degree in engineering, I was excluded from taking up a career as an English teacher within a mainstream school setting. Therefore, as a form of investment, I took CELTA training in the UK in 2005 and following from there I started my teaching career in Indonesia as a teacher at a PELI. Later, being a CELTA-trained teacher enabled me to hold leadership roles at several PELIs and I felt that I gained respect from my fellow teachers, both native English speaker teachers (NESTs) and non-NESTs. Moreover, in my most recent job as a lecturer, I promoted the 'CELTA ways' in teaching English to my students in an English language department at a university in Indonesia because I believed that those were the best methods to teach English. I also encouraged my students to take the CELTA course as the key to opening doors to be a professional, highly-valued non-NEST. I viewed a professional, high-quality English teacher as one who was highly proficient in the target language, possessed a teaching qualification from an internationally-recognized institution, used only English in the classroom, demonstrated familiarity with contemporary teaching methods, possessed a nativelike accent (British or American), and demonstrated in-depth knowledge of the culture associated with the target language (British or American). Now, I understand that my limited knowledge of EFL practices was influenced and limited by my life experiences. The concept of the English teacher which I held was the product of my own journey in becoming an English teacher, the discourses around ELT to which I had been exposed, and the beliefs and values shared with other teachers with whom I worked. I wondered if Indonesian non-NESTs at other PELIs also shared a similar concept of the 'ideal' English teacher in Indonesia, and I was intrigued to

know the ways that they gave meaning to their experiences and the learning mechanisms that they engaged with to become professional English teachers. This line of reflection eventually led to this PhD research work.

1.2 Research aim, objectives, and questions

Research aim

This research aims to explore the identity construction of non-NESTs working in private English language institutions in Indonesia by looking at their *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990b) as a set of accumulated dispositions guiding their actions.

Research objectives

The objectives of the study are to:

1. review international literature on English language teachers' professional identity, especially within contexts where English is taught as a foreign language;

2. conduct a narrative inquiry research using narrative interviews as the main data collection method to investigate the development of habitus as a snapshot for looking at non-NESTs' identities;

3. draw out implications for English teacher management and education in Indonesia; and

4. contribute to the academic debate around English teachers' professional identities.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this research are:

1. What forms of habitus were developed by the participants throughout their journey as an English language learner and teacher?

2. What types of investment were made by the participants to develop those habitus?

3. How have their professional trajectories influenced their investment which in turn shapes their habitus?

4. How have the participants developed their habitus from being members of the community of practice at their institution?

1.3 Overview of theoretical framing

Identity is constructed from the many layers of our realities. Identity itself includes such broad aspects as our races, religions, genders, hair colours, professions, and political alignments, to name but a few. The values of these categories are not universal but contextual. They are not constant but ever-changing: as the embodiment of these categories, identities are "fluid, context-dependent, and context-producing, in particular historical and cultural circumstances." (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 419). With this approach, identity encompasses the personal and/or group qualities which are developed throughout someone's or a group's life through their social interactions. The concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu, & Nice, 1986; Bourdieu, 1998; Bourdieu & Nice, 1977; Wacquant, 2014), then, can provide a snapshot of non-NESTs' professional identity by looking at their teaching practices, beliefs, forms of investment in English language and ELT, and career trajectories, and further provides a comprehensive understanding of identity by engaging with cognitive, conative, and affective aspects (Wacquant, 2014). To look at teacher's professional identity through their habitus allows us to understand their teaching beliefs, observe their ability to perform their professional roles as represented in their English language proficiency and teaching skills, and look at their aspirations and commitment in the teaching profession, which are

parts of their professional identities. Consequently, for a person to claim to be an English teacher, she or he must display an understanding of their teaching philosophy, ability to plan, teach and evaluate learning process, and have an aspiration to be an English teacher and commit to develop their professional knowledge and skills.

In addition, this study also uses the concepts of *investment* (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 1997, 2013), *professional trajectory* (Barnatt et al., 2017), and the *community of practice* (Wenger, 1998) to explain the process that teachers undergo in developing their *habitus* throughout their life journeys as English language learners, speakers, and teachers. The concept of *investment* helps to explain the efforts made by participants to develop their habitus, such as in developing their English skills and acquiring a professional teaching qualification. *Trajectory* refers to the possibilities in the future which inspire certain kinds of investment. Finally, the concept of *community of practice* allows us to discern the social interactions within a professional space which facilitate the development of habitus, trajectory and investment. Using these concepts enabled me to see the balance between an individual's unique abilities and their social environment which limit actions in shaping or influencing one's actions within one's social space (Reed-Danahay, 2005). Looking at teacher's identity from their habitus allows us to be more inclusive with regard to appreciating non-formal and informal learning experiences as forms of legitimate investment which produces valuable capital relevant to the field. The underpinning theoretical framework, including a contextualisation of terms such as identity, habitus, investment, trajectory, and community of practice, is elaborated in greater detail in Chapter Three.

1.4 Overview of the methodology

In line with the aim of this study to provide understanding into professional identity construction primarily from the participants' perspectives, this study is framed within an interpretivist paradigm because it "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 67). Consequently, as a researcher, I subjectively interpret meanings of the experiences which are experienced and understood by the participants of the study (Bryman, 2016). This approach is suitable for the study because it gives me space to comprehend how the social actors (the participants) perceive their life experiences and how this perception shapes their identity as non-native English speaker teachers through my own interpretive system which I have built and developed throughout my own journey as an English learner, speaker, and teacher.

The main purpose of the study is to understand the construction of non-NESTs' professional identities through looking at their habitus as the product of their life histories in learning and teaching English as a foreign language in Indonesia. Thus, this research was conducted as a narrative inquiry of 25 teachers at six PELIs in Bandung, Indonesia. In line with the underpinning interpretive paradigm, data was primarily gathered through interviews, which were supplemented by WhatsApp and email correspondence. Additional methods also included teaching observations and document analysis.

Narrative interviews were used as they provide a platform for the participants to share their life stories (Josselson, 2012). Furthermore, the sharing of life stories facilitates some reflexivity around their experiences as English language learners, speakers, and teachers. The interviews were conducted as conversations, which allowed for a more equal relationship

between the researcher and participants and encouraged participants to be open about their experiences; however, I also recognise that in a research setting, imbalanced power relations between the researcher and researched are unavoidable, and so I provide more detail reflection on my positionality later in Chapter 4. I also used email and WhatsApp to maintain communication with the participants, which was especially useful when I returned to the UK. These virtual communication tools allowed me to follow up on details which needed more clarification especially after the initial data analysis stage.

The narrative interviews were supplemented by field and classroom observations, which were utilised to identify how teacher's identities were embodied in their classroom instruction as well as in their interactions with their colleagues. The information gathered through observations were also used to elicit questions during interviews to help direct the conversation and draw out the rationale behind their teaching practices and classroom decisions. Other tools used to elicit questions during the interviews included lesson plans and institutional documents such as teacher schedules, career development schemes, an institution's core values and mission statement, textbooks and handouts, and teacher training schedules.

Data were analysed using the strategies for thematic analysis proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006) to identify themes emerging from the data which shed light upon the complexity of the participants' identities. Clarke's (2009) identity work and Barkhuizen's (2015) narrative analysis were used as a framework to analyse teachers' narratives and reconstruct those narratives in chronological order. More detailed explanation about the methodological framework guiding this study is given in Chapter 4.

1.5 Chapter outline

Following this introductory chapter, I present the context of the study in Chapter 2. There I elaborate upon the context of the study, which includes the history and development of ELT in Indonesia, the local practices of ELT, the language and education policy related to ELT, the intersection of English and globalization specifically in the national context, and ELT more broadly in the Internet era. Chapter 3 reviews literature around teacher identity and presents the theoretical framework which is used to theorize the concept of identity in this study, making use of the concept of *habitus* as a lens through which we can understand non-NEST identity. Other concepts used in this study include *investment*, *trajectory*, and *communities of practice*, which are used to theorize the participants' experience of developing their habitus throughout their journeys as English learners, speakers, and teachers. Chapter 4 discusses qualitative research as the chosen strategy of inquiry; there, I indicate the research methods (sampling, data collection, and data analysis) and engage with reflexivity, positionality, and ethical issues. Chapter 5 presents the findings of the study in the form of selected teachers' narratives, covering periods during which their identities developed. Chapter 6 aims to build upon and theorize around those experiences, adapting the conceptualizations of *habitus, capital,* and *practice* (Bourdieu, 1998)*, investment* (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 1997, 2013), *teacher trajectory* (Barnatt et al., 2017), and *communities of practice* (Wenger, 1998). Finally, Chapter 7 provides the conclusion of the study and offers recommendations aimed at future research, the practice of teaching English, and Indonesian teacher education programmes.

Chapter 2

The English teaching field in Indonesia

Introduction

The discussion about the English teacher's identity here is located within a broader discussion around the position of English as the most widely learned and used foreign language in Indonesia, the commodification of the English language and English language teaching. The way languages are viewed has shifted from the mainly linguistic and social realms to include political and economic features; language does not only function as a sign for certain communities, but it now has certain economic and political values (Heller, 2010). Therefore, this chapter elaborates upon the political, social and economic context of English language teaching in Indonesia. It begins with a brief discussion around language politics in Indonesia and the role of English as a global language. I then narrow the discussion by touching upon the discourses around the roles of English as a foreign language in Indonesia. After that, I present the two main institutions responsible for English language teaching (ELT) practices in Indonesia, namely formal schools and private English language institutes (PELIs) with more emphasis given to PELIs. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of some of the changes in the field of ELT in Indonesia which may cause English teachers to re-think and re-shape their professional identity.

2.1 Language politics in Indonesia and the economy of English as an international language

The practice of ELT in Indonesia should be understood within the social, political and cultural contexts which surround it. There are three categories of language use in communication in Indonesia namely the Indonesian language, tribal languages, and foreign languages. Each of these languages is used for different purposes and in different contexts. The Indonesian government, through the Law No. 24 Year 2009 (DPR RI, 2009), legislates the roles of these languages. According to the law, the Indonesian language is the official language of Indonesia which must be used in all communication including as the medium of instruction at schools except for teaching foreign and tribal languages. Moreover, the Indonesian language has the status as the national language which unifies all tribes in Indonesia thus become a source for personal identity for all Indonesians.

Indonesia is one of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world. There are 726 different ethnic or tribal languages (Yundiafi & Arifin, 2014). These languages are still used in communities including as the medium of instruction at primary school. Tribal languages are also a source of identity in Indonesia.

Finally, foreign languages are used in specific contexts such as in religion (Arabic) and business (English) especially in the tourism industry. However, due to globalization, the advancement of technology and the internet, the popularity of English as a global language in Indonesia has remained unshaken even amidst critiques surrounding the practice of EFL teaching in the country. One concern voiced either by the government or parents is related to

the 'fear' around young people becoming 'westernized or Americanized'. At the policy level, the Indonesian Ministry of Education (MoE) eliminated English as a subject from the national primary education curriculum starting in June 2013 (Istiqomah, 2016; Rimadi, 2013) and replaced it with other subjects. At an individual level, some Indonesian parents have voiced concerns regarding their children's inability to communicate in Indonesian (Onishi, 2010). But despite these critiques, the English language remains the most valued foreign language in Indonesia, this is evidenced by the fact that it is the only foreign language which is taught as a mandatory subject in secondary schools. Moreover, English is widely used as a business language in multinational companies. It is seen in job vacancy postings which mandate that candidates can communicate in English. Job applicants are often required to provide a proof of their English ability in the form of standard English proficiency tests such as TOEFL or IELTS. Thus, the ability to communicate in English is believed to be an ingredient for economic 'success' (Kubota, 2011; Price, 2014). Moreover, as the tourism business has grown to contribute almost ten percent to the Indonesian gross domestic product (GDP) (Saputra, 2017), the role of English as a lingua franca in the tourism field has become increasingly significant. More broadly, Indonesia, as the largest country in southeast Asia and a new entrant to the ASEAN Free Trade Zone in 2017, seeks to equip its people with sufficient English ability to be able to compete with labourers from neighbouring countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, or Vietnam. The free movement of labour allows workers from those other ASEAN nations to work in Indonesia.

The economic perspective of language views English as a commodity which has high economic value. Heller (2010) indicated that language has become a commodity in six sectors: tourism, marketing, language teaching, translation, communications, and performance art. In this review, she asked *who* decides the value of someone's language

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commodity and *on what basis* this value is given; in response, she advanced the idea that EFL and ESL speakers or individuals should have the right to state that the English language is one aspect of their linguistic repertoire and, at the minimum, have the authority to define its usage and the value of the English language in their own unique context. In the case of English as a global language, she maintained suspicion towards the expansion of American and British English organisations, critiquing the way in which they expand their English language teaching and speaking habits to the other parts of the world. She saw it as a way of continuing the legacy of linguistic imperialism. Pennycook (2016) also reminded ELT practitioners that they should be aware of the politics surrounding the practice of teaching English instead of regarding it as a neutral language. Pennycook further argued that the teaching of English as an international language opens doors for individuals to enhance their economic and cultural capital and simultaneously limits opportunities for those who do not have access to effective ELT to thus be able to develop the ability to communicate in English to gain more economic or cultural capital.

Heller (2002) further emphasized the importance of understanding how a community or country gives value to a language and other cultural resources and how these resources are positioned within the economy and politics of the society. Moreover, it is also necessary to understand the distribution of resources, the source of their value, and how actors are positioned with respect to them, if we want to analyse "the relationship of language and identity to the globalized new economy" (Heller, 2003, p. 476). This is in line with Bourdieu's (1977b) argument, regarding the value of a language and its speakers in the field of communication, "that a language is worth what those who speak it are worth" (p.652). The statement implies that the value of an English speaker is influenced by how the speaker is positioned within the community of English speakers. This may be within a local context

such as a school or government body. It may also be at the regional and international level. In this study, English could be viewed as a highly-valued linguistic capital and that English teachers, as the main providers, are positioned in their institutions based on the 'quality' of their English. Moreover, the spread of native-speakerism, a belief that sees native speakers of English as the ideal teachers of English (Holliday, 2005), positions non-NESTs as lower-grade teachers due to their 'unnatural or accented' English. The valorisation of native speaker teachers of English has created unequal access to international mobility among English language teachers. In order to compete as international English teachers in Korea, someone must be a native speaker (Collins, 2014; Hyunjun Shin, 2007). This situation posits a huge challenge for non-NESTs to prove their legitimacy as English teachers.

2.2 English language teaching in Indonesia

English has been taught as a foreign language (EFL) in Indonesia since 1945. The teaching of English may take form as formal learning at school, learning at non-formal institutions such as PELI, and informal learning. Informal learning includes using English in daily activities such as listening to music, travelling, or watching English movies

In Indonesia, English is privileged as the only foreign language taught as a mandatory subject in all secondary schools (Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Lauder, 2008; Smith, 1991). Prior to the implementation of the Indonesian national curriculum in 2013, EFL was taught in primary schools from 1993 until 2012 (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1993). Initially it was taught as an optional subject from Grades 4 to 6, but later as a core subject taught from Grade 1. The 2013 removal of EFL from the national primary school curriculum was based on two main reasons, namely that EFL lessons were seen to be burdensome to the students

and there was a need to focus on Indonesian and mother tongue language acquisition (Kasim, 2012). This is contrary to Bialystok's (2018) study on the effects of learning a second language to a student's first language acquisition. He argued that there is greater evidence on the benefits of learning a second language than the potential harms it may cause. Cook (2003) further explained that a second language (L2) can only inflict harm on first or native language (L1) competence when that L2 is used more than the L1 for a significant period. An example would be the case of immigrants in the US. This is clearly not the case for EFL in Indonesia since English is only a foreign language and, at least for students, its use is limited to school classrooms. In conclusion, the policy change which shifted EFL to only the secondary level means that students will work extra hard to learn English without any 'soft' introduction in primary school. To make the problem worse, English as a subject at secondary schools is allocated only 90 minutes per week, which is hardly sufficient time to develop students' competence in English (Hapsari, 2012). This situation forces parents and students to find alternatives for English education for their children such as through attending private schools which offer EMI (English for the Medium of Instruction) programmes or studying at PELIs.

EMI is a growing phenomenon where English is used to teach academic subjects in countries where English is not the first language of the majority of people or in countries where English is a second or foreign language (Dearden, 2016). In becoming an immersion school, the students are exposed to and use English as the main language of instruction. Maximizing the exposure to English at school is believed to be effective in significantly improving students' English proficiency. As a result, there is a growing number of schools offering EMI programmes; there has also been the establishment of schools using the IB (International Baccalaureate) or Cambridge curriculum in some major cities in Indonesia. Unfortunately, EMI schools often charge high school fees which can only be afforded by students from

privileged economic backgrounds. In Indonesia, the school fee for a school which offers EMI programmes ranges from 7 million to more than 10 million IDR per month (Arbar, 2020). This is considered very expensive for most Indonesian parents. For those who cannot afford to go to an EMI school, PELIs have become a popular option because, based on my observation, the fees to get into a PELI could be as low as 100 thousand IDR per month which is significantly lower than the school fee of an IB school. Still only those who come from middle and higher economic status can attend lessons at a PELI. As the economy of Indonesia in general is increasing and more people are able to pay for their children to attend PELIs (Lie, 2007), the popularity and demand for PELIs is obvious in that they are found in every city in the country, with more than 4,336 PELIs in Indonesia (Skjaerlund & Loop, 2015). The growing number of PELIs in Indonesia means that there is also a growing need for English teachers as staff members. Furthermore, with PELIs being a 'non-school' institution, they welcome teachers from all kinds of educational backgrounds and nationalities.

As a business unit, PELIs are run under business principles where the main goal is to generate income at a minimum cost. Therefore, the managerial hierarchy of a PELI tends to be small with two main divisions for academic and non-academic departments. The academic department is led by a principal or a director of study; teachers, senior teachers, and teacher assistants function as the core members of the division. Non-academic staff include the school manager, accountants, receptionists, and building officers. Figure 2.1 shows the Dago organizational structure which is quite typical for a PELI.

Figure 2. 1 Dago organisational structure
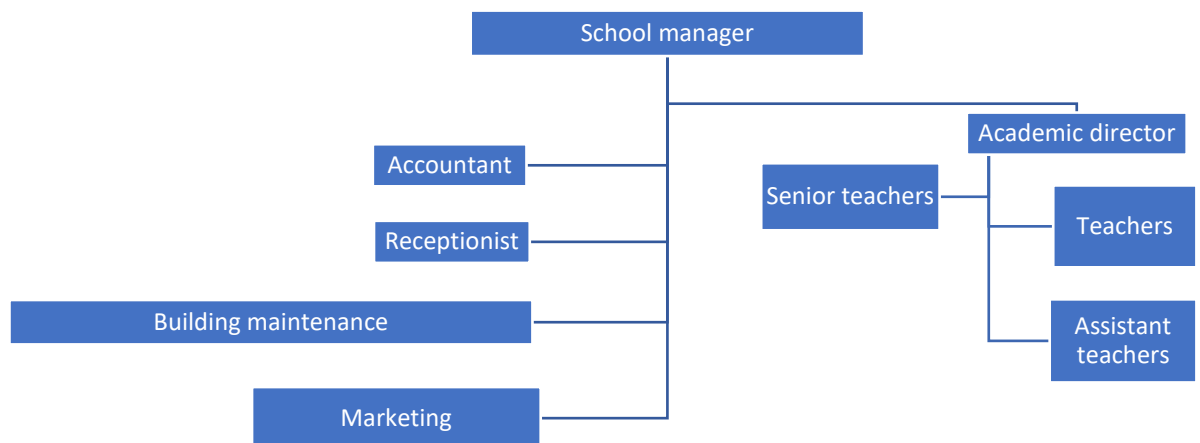
All PELIs in this study are led by a school manager who ensures the smooth operation of the school but mainly focuses on the marketing and administration of the school. The accountant deals with salary and other financial matters. The marketing department is responsible to promote the school through various campaigns although teachers are often asked to support marketing campaigns by going to schools, companies, or radio stations to promote their programmes to potential customers. In addition, teachers often work with the receptionist to make sure the students have paid their school fee before attending class. The receptionists are also responsible to conduct students' satisfaction surveys periodically to maintain the quality of the service. The results from the survey are discussed with the teachers to help the teachers maintain their teaching quality. Finally, although all aspects of PELIs are important for understanding their organisation, this study focuses its discussion on the teachers, which I turn to in the next section.

2.3 PELI teachers versus formal school teachers

In contrast to formal schools, where teachers must use the materials from the textbooks developed from the national curriculum, PELI teachers have more autonomy to develop their own teaching materials if it in line with the curriculum set by the institution. Some PELIs develop their own curriculum and some use course books from well-known publishers such as Teachers at formal schools such as primary and secondary schools use a lecture style and audio lingual translation method when teaching (Adi, 2011; Anabokay & Suryasa, 2019; Marcellino, 2008). In contrast, PELI teachers predominately use communicative language teaching as the 'golden' approach to teaching English (Adi, 2011)(Floris, 2013)(Floris, 2013)(Floris, 2013)(Floris, 2013).

Another point of difference between school teachers and PELI teachers is related to the type of students they teach. School teachers teach students of similar ages and social groups but a class at a PELI could be filled with students from various age groups and professions such as high school students, professionals, housewives, etc. Accordingly, PELI teachers are required to teach English to cater to various needs such as for daily conversation; English for business or business English; English for specific purposes (ESP); and preparation for tests such as IELTS, TOEFL, GMAT, and so on.

In terms of teacher recruitment procedure, most of the PELIs in Indonesia do not have rigid requirements for their teachers, although, on their official websites, they may require a formal education in an English related subject (see (ILP, 2017; LIA, 2017; PT Karir Komunika Pratama, 2015)). Therefore, it is not uncommon to find teachers who do not hold a teaching

or English language degree at PELIs. I, myself did not have such a degree when I first taught at a PELI.

Finally, as mentioned above, the quality of PELI teachers is periodically checked via students' satisfaction surveys and official observations done by a principal or teacher coordinator. The teachers will know if there are areas or aspects in his/her teaching which are appreciated or enjoyed by the students and which areas they need to improve or change. The results of the student survey and official observations influence the teacher's career progress at the PELI.

2.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has presented the context of the study by looking at the development of English as a global language and its position as a valuable a linguistic capital. The chapter presented the commodification of the English language (Heller, 2010) and how it evolved as one of the most valuable forms of linguistic capital in the world. The chapter also discussed the history and development of English teaching in Indonesia's schools and the different means to learn English. Understanding the history of the spread of English, especially its presence in Indonesia in various contexts including the economy, in culture, and in education, is necessary to comprehend the social contexts in which the participants of this study acquired English as part of their cultural capital. Chapter Three will look into various studies around English language teacher identities and argue for compatibility of *habitus* as a lens to understand the construction of teacher identities. The chapter will also elaborate on the concepts of investment, trajectory, and community of practice as the mechanism through which teachers develop their professional identities.

Chapter 3

Literature review and conceptual framework

Introduction

The aim of this study is to explore the construction of Indonesian non-native English speaker teachers' (non-NESTs) identities at six private English language institutes (PELIs). This study views the construction of a teacher's identity as an ongoing journey to become an English teacher; this journey involves a continuous reshaping of their professional habitus through developing relevant and valuable capital in the ever-changing ELT field. Therefore, this chapter reviews literature in the area of English teacher identity to explore factors and processes influencing the construction of English teachers' identities and presents the theoretical framework employed in this study to offer an alternative lens to investigate non-NESTs' identities.

The chapter begins by elaborating on the concept of identity that is adopted in this study. The second part reviews recent studies in the area of English language teacher (ELT) identity. The third part will specifically look at the studies around English teacher identity within the Indonesian context. In the fourth part, this chapter proposes the concept of habitus (Bourdieu, P. & Nice, 1986; Bourdieu, 1990a, 1998) in conjunction with the work of *investment* (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2017)*, and trajectory* (Barnatt et al., 2017; Bourdieu, 1977, 1996) to understand the formation of teachers' identities. Finally, this chapter ends with identification of research gaps around teacher identities and how the present study seeks to fill those gaps.

3.1 The concepts of identity

The concept of identity has been theorized across fields such as psychology, sociology, economics, culture, and politics, with a different focus and approach in how to define identity found in each discipline. This study adopts a non-essentialist view of identity: I understand identity as a multi-layered categorization and positioning of people as both individuals and members of various social groups (Ashton et al., 2004). As a multidimensional construct, it is composed of combinations of commonalities and individualities between people; individuals develop more than one identity as a result of their memberships in multiple social groups (Lawler, 2008; Pullen & Simpson, 2009). This bridges the divide between two contrastive perspectives, namely individualistic and collective perspectives: an individualistic approach focuses on how different one person is from the others whilst a collective approach focuses on how one is similar and connected via relationships with other people (Oyserman et al., 2012). Identity is a site of struggle in that people as social beings are not free from the labels given to them by their societies or groups, though each individual has the capacity and authority to interpret those labels and negotiate their identity accordingly.

3.1.1 Language teacher identity

The issues of agency and structure have always been at the centre of understanding identity construction because it "is constructed within the co-evolution of agency and structure; [it deals with] how as individuals and groups they can develop and 'make things happen' within structural opportunities and constraints" (Varghese, 2017, p. 44). From a socio-cultural perspective, the way English teachers approach their profession is a product of the social structures and institutionalized ideologies which have influenced their practices. Thus, becoming a member of a social structure or group enables and limits teachers in what they can and cannot do. Consequently, any social structure is a site of struggle as the agents navigate their agency within the frameworks which guide the practices of members (Howarth, Wagner, Magnusson, & Sammut, 2014). As a result, agency is an

important element in the construction of someone's identity as it enables the person to act and react to the social influence (structure) surrounding his or her existence. Finally, agency is the capacity which enables a person to act and react to the social influence (structure) which surrounds his or her existence; as it is argued by Koorsgaard (2009), "carving out a personal identity for which we are responsible is one of the inescapable tasks of human life." (p. 24). This quote signals the absolute tendency of human beings to exercise their agency, which guides their actions and in turn construct their identities.

In the case of PELI teachers, their identities as English teachers are not accommodated within the structure of the education system in Indonesia (Depdiknas, 2003) which only includes school teachers and lecturers under the designation of 'teacher'. Instead PELI teachers are recognised as professionals or language instructors under the ministry of labour. On the one hand, this reality prevents PELI teachers from claiming positions within the formal ELT setting in Indonesia or becoming members of formal ELT in Indonesia; however, on the other hand, PELI teachers have more freedom in terms of doing their jobs because they do not have to comply to the national curriculum when teaching. This freedom allows them to construct their unique and more professional identities because PELIs in general give space for their teachers to develop their personal and unique image as a teacher.

Therefore, this study emphasizes the active role of an agent in performing their identity. Drawing on the concept of Bourdieu's habitus, Huot and Rudman (2010) proposed the concept of 'doing identity' in understanding international migrants' identity construction. They argued that in constructing their new identity in their new place, international migrants may face rejection of their former habitus, which would force them to acquire the new group habitus and develop a new set of practices – and,

ultimately, a new identity. Huot and Rudman thus argued for a strong connection between identity, occupation, and place. This view of identity is very relevant to my study; I am concerned with how PELI teachers see themselves as individuals and as members of an ELT professional community, how that understanding is shaped by their performance within the field, and how they give meaning to their experience in the field. While Huot and Rudman's study understood a 'place' for migrants in the context of a new country, my study will look at PELIs as a social and professional place which offers a different 'being-an-English-teacher' experience compared to that experienced by teachers who are working at formal schools. Much like a country which has belief and value systems, professional institutions such as a PELIs also have codes of conduct and ethics which regulate its members, including its teachers.

To capture the various aspects of identity, Gee (2001) proposed four ways to view identity according to sources of one's individual or group identity building, which are summarised in Table 2.1. Gee built on Taylor's (1989,1994) work on the sources of the self, Foucault's (1973, 1977) concept of discourse, and Brown's (1994) community of learners.

Table 3. 1 Four ways to view identity (Gee, 2001, p.100)

Process	Power	Source of power
Nature-identity: a state	developed from forces	in nature
Institution-identity: a position	authorized by authorities	within institutions
Discourse-identity: an individual trait	recognized in the discourse/dialogue	of/with "rational" individuals
Affinity-identity: experiences	shared in the practice	of "affinity groups"

Gee (2001) explained that these sources of identity intertwine with each other as a person acts within a given context: they are like four stands on which we construct an identity, though, in a given

context or a situation, one source of identity may become more dominant than the others. Through our genetic code, nature grants key aspects of our identity in the form of visible physical features and biological gender. Although arguably the *meaning* of these forms may be different according to context, the influence of nature identity and how that manifests taken up in a culture is undeniably powerful. Nature identities must be processed "through the work of institutions, dialogues, or affinity groups that is the very forces that constitute our other perspectives on identity" (p. 102).

Next, institutions are powerful in prescribing an identity over an individual or community; Gee (2001) argued that a country or state probably has the greatest institutional authority in labelling its people as low-income versus high-income, young or elderly, to name but a few common institutionally-based identities. A school authorizes some identities for its members, classifying them as teachers, students, administrative staff, principals, and so on.

Gee's (2001) third category relates to the powers of discourse or dialogue. As we take part in dialogue with other people, we deploy discourse indicating our personal qualities, such as being talkative and humorous, punctual and procedural, or spiritual. These are qualities that we 'possess' or that are given to us as the results of our interactions with other people; those interlocuters recognize that we inhabit those characteristics consistently. Discourse-Identity also comes in the form of the language that we use in our communication. Being a part of a discourse community means that we know the grammar and lexical features of a specific language group such as English, Spanish, or Indonesian. Gee's perspective on discourse (d-small letter) here tends to be on a micro level which emphasizes how individuals use their discourse (in their utterances) and other people talk about them shape their identity. This perspective on discourse is different to Foucauldian *D*iscourse (capital D-discourse) analysis which focuses on the structures and the rules which produce a *D*iscourse rather

than the utterances produced within it (Ball, 2013). In other words, *D*iscourse 'create' the world and determine what is thoughts or utterances are acceptable (Foucault, 2004).

Foucault's *D*iscourse in this study is closely related to ideas, principles, or ideologies which influence and shape teacher's beliefs (see (Biesta, Priestley, & Robinson, 2015)) such as the issue around native and non-native speakers, male and female teachers, and communicative language teaching and grammar translation methods of teaching English (more details about teaching beliefs is explained in section 3.2). Furthermore, any discussion about discourse should also include the power relation in discourse because discourses are not neutral and equal. Some discourse is more powerful than others. Bourdieu captured the unequal power in discourse as a discourse where somebody internalised the dominant discourse to the point that the person developed a set of dispositions which take for granted ways of thinking and behaving (Connolly & Healy, 2004).

Lastly, for the final aspect of identity we develop an affinity-identity from our 'distinctive' *practice* in everyday situations, which must be shared with other people who engage in the same practice. Examples of affinity identity include playing golf, driving a Ferrari, being a vegan, or listening to classical music, to name but a few of the thousands of options.

These four aspects of identity have use within this study: the use of Gee's (2001) theory in this thesis will be explained below.

3.1.2 Review of recent studies around English language teacher identity

In this study, I use Gee's (2001) identity framework as a frame to review research pertaining to English teacher identity because it offers a holistic view of identity which include acknowledging the

tensions between structure and agency and that our identities are the products of negotiation and recognition. Moreover, Gee's theory of identity covers the fundamental issues regarding the discussions about non-NESTs' identities such as the issues around native and non-native speakers, the roles of institutions such as schools in assigning an identity, the discourse surrounding English language teaching, and professional teacher associations. Consequently, the study of literature in the area of English language teaching in this study is mapped onto Gee's categories of identity as explained above.

Nature-identity

In this study, the nature identity can be seen in the distinction between native and non-native English speaker teacher status, although the terms 'native speaker' (NS) and 'non-native speaker' (NNS) have been problematic as it is very difficult to have clear boundaries around who is qualified to be a native speaker of a language (Medgyes, 2001). The dichotomy between native and non-native English teachers continues to become a dominant analytical framework used in examining the development of language teacher identity (Aneja, 2016).

Being a native speaker or non-native speaker has implications for various aspects of English language teaching and learning. Fotovatian (2015) noticed how his participants (who were non-NESTs enrolled in a PhD programme at an Australian university) positively viewed their ability to understand and take part in conversation with local people; those informal encounters used colloquial language and were taken as a sign of being included in the local community. However, in terms of finding a job and engaging in more formal interactions, the participants felt that their English was insufficient. This perspective has its roots in native speakerism in the TESOL discipline, wherein native English speakers are viewed as the 'norm' for teachers; these beliefs often lead to discrimination against non-NESTs. Moreover, the participants in this research felt great pressure to

speak and write like native speakers. The result of this pressure was that they felt burdened and forced them to work in isolation avoiding formal meetings with native speaker colleagues.

With findings contrary to Fotovatian (2015), Petron and Greybeck (2014) investigated the linguistic practice of five Mexican English teachers who were working in the USA and found that the participants were proud to be transnational teachers, to the point that they intentionally made use of their 'non-standard' English when teaching. Their 'Spanglish' carried their identity as transnational people who have English as part of their heritage; they were still perceived as competent native speaker teachers of English by their students. The participants felt comfortable in their translanguaging practice and would defend it against those who embraced a monoglotic perspective. The participants would often share their transnational upbringing experience in the classroom to validate their linguistic development and to also show empathy for their students who were sharing the same challenges in acquiring English. In a flipped scenario, Mutlu and Ortactepe (2016) investigated how some non-native English speaker teachers' identities changed as a result of teaching their first language (Turkish) as a foreign language in USA. The findings revealed that the participants were confident about their knowledge and sense of legitimacy as teachers of the language since they were native speakers of Turkish. However, while they were accustomed to explaining *English* grammar from their time teaching in Turkey, the participants found it challenging to explain some of the grammar rules for the *Turkish* language. In the end, the participants indicated that being a native speaker did not guarantee that they could teach the language better than a non-native speaker and that teaching training was essential if someone wanted to be an effective language teacher.

Institution-Identity

Institutions (government, schools, religious organizations, sport clubs, etc.) have the power to assign identities to its members. In PELI, there are different levels of teachers. Although the exact labels may vary, the basic levels of teachers include newly recruited or teachers considered 'on probation', junior teachers, teachers, senior teachers, teacher trainers, and academic team leaders. These labels signal certain qualities, responsibilities, and roles for an English teacher in an institution and a teacher may have different identities across their career.

Liu and Xu (2013) looked at the turbulence that Feng experienced in her identity as she shifted from a more 'traditional' teacher identity to a more 'liberal' teacher identity when she was promoted to a position as the head of the Department of English Teacher Education. By becoming the department head, she moved her position from being an ordinary member of the department to becoming the member with the greatest responsibility and power. This change required a shift in the way she saw herself, not only as a teacher but also a role model for other teachers. Her new position required a major change in her belief and identity, one which she felt was not easy to manage. Thinking that she was not able to make the transformation, Feng made an outbound movement by trying to return to her original position as a teacher and eventually turned down the opportunity to become a Deputy Head Teacher. In summary, this study showed the dynamics in a teacher's life with relation to changing position within an institution; for some, a promotion or professional move requires a reshape of their beliefs and practices to better suit their new position. Institutional identity is a helpful construct to look at the construct of PELI teachers' identities throughout their careers because PELI teachers often move from one PELI to another, thus acquire different sets of qualities along the way.

Discourse identity

Discourse Identity refers to how discourse, either in what we say about ourselves or what other people say about us, assigns a certain identity to us. Some of the common discourse around English language teachers are whether teachers are qualified teachers, language experts, communicative, grammar-focused, fun, strict, English expert versus morale guru, native speaker and non-native speaker, etc. Uzum (2013) investigated how a beginner foreign language teacher negotiated her multiple identities in the ways she positioned herself and her students within wider social and cultural contexts; this research was done by investigating her use of various personal pronouns from her instructional time in classroom. The participant in the research was a Turkish English teacher who was teaching Turkish to six students during a Fulbright language teaching assistantship at a university in the USA. The findings showed that the teacher used both inclusive and exclusive pronouns to relate to her students. In using inclusive pronouns, she related meaningfully with her students as a foreign language learner. On the other hand, exclusive pronouns helped her to distinguish her position as a language expert in comparison to their position as students. Thus, it could be said that the participant enacted multiple identities (e.g. professional or personal) which suited his/her teaching and communication goals.

Affinity identity: PELI teachers

Affinity identity relates to the identity that we construct based on the group that we are a part of. Motteram (2016) emphasized the relationship between belonging and identity when he explored the influence of becoming a member of an international English teacher organization (here, IATEFL) upon a member's professional identity. He claimed that being a member of a professional organization such as IATEFL give a sense of identity to many teachers. Moreover, even though the online world is very much a part of reality for teachers in the 21st century, some participant still

appeared to value the idea of belonging to a community that had a basis in the physical world. These teachers, however, also acknowledged that their professionalism could be developed through being a member of an online community of practice as well as a physical one. This study shows that being a part of an organization, a social group, or to affiliate ourselves with a certain group or way of life could be a source of our identity. In the area of ELT, with the development of the internet and social media, English teachers could join virtual groups of English teachers which share the same beliefs or practices.

My review of literature around English language teachers' identity also points to two features of English language identity: that English language identity is complex, contextual, temporal, and social and that teacher's beliefs and practice are parts of teacher's identity.

1. Professional identity is complex, contextual, temporal, and social

Mutlu and Ortactepe (2016) used a definition of teacher identity as dynamic and requiring a continuous readjustment or calibration of layers of identities in response to various social, cultural, and political contexts and multitudinous relationships. Teachers perceive their professional identity by considering their knowledge of the subject they teach, their communication skills in delivering the lessons, and their professional trainings and credentials (Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000). Moreover, identity is "ever-changing [and involves] relationships between others and involvement of meaning construction in multiple context with socio-cultural implications" (Hsiao, 2018, p. 66): in other words, that identity is how we give meaning to our existence in the world, how we relate to the world throughout our life, and how we see our prospects in the time to come (Norton, 2000). Hsiao (2018) concluded that changes in a teacher's identity happens throughout their entire career as they

interact with wider social groups indicating the contextual, social, and temporal aspects of a teacher's identity.

 2. Teachers' belief and practice

A teacher's beliefs are an important element in the formation of a teacher's identity, as clearly demonstrated in the literature (He & Lin, 2013; Liu & Xu, 2013; Sampson, 2016; Supasiraprapa & De costa, 2017; Tseng, 2017; Wessels, Holmes, & Herrera, 2011). Sampson (2016), an English teacher at a 5-year technology college in Japan, conducted an auto-ethnography study to examine how his own motivation evolved in context over various time scales through experiences and adaptations in interactions with a particular class group ('Class E'). Although the focus of his study was teacher motivation, one of his claims is that his beliefs as a teacher played an important role in understanding himself as a teacher amongst the various class dynamics. He noted that his belief in communicative language teaching created an expectation in his planning that his students would practice their speaking through activities such as pair work and group work. However, as he continued to teach Class E, he began to view his students as 'individual people', who are much more complex than just their status as English language learners in his class. This enabled him to be open about some of the struggles he faced when learning Japanese. Sampson believed that being open about his identity as a language learner with his students was important so that they could relate to him; this step resulted in meaningful relationships and provided commonality between him and his students, who were learning English as a foreign/second language.

Equally importantly, Wessel et al. (2011) challenged 15 pre-service teachers from a university in the USA to be critical about their beliefs which were spurred by their learning experiences and socialization processes while teaching abroad at a Mexican school; he called for reflective practice, which can be confirmative or transformative of one's perspectives. The study shows that the teaching

abroad programme confirmed the participants' beliefs regarding what a teaching and learning process should look like. Their beliefs were shaped by their previous learning experiences in the USA. Another finding was that the participants' general perspectives were unchanged after the teaching abroad experience; they continued to believe that the US education system was superior to the Mexican one. This study shows the role of learning experience in shaping a teacher's beliefs regarding how to best teach students.

In short, the studies around English language teachers' identities have focused on some key areas for this thesis, such as how native speakerism is still a dominant discourse in perpetuating the idea that native speaker teachers are superior to their non-native counterparts; the idea that teacher identity is complex, temporal and contextual which implies the dynamic nature of identity; and the notion that teachers' beliefs and practice are a part of their identity. The following section will look at the studies around English language teacher's identity in Indonesia.

3.1.3 Studies pertaining to English teachers' identities in Indonesia

In the previous section, I have considered central issues related to English teacher identity from across the context. I now move to look at some studies pertaining to English language teacher identity in Indonesia. As mentioned in Chapter One, there are few studies which investigate English language teacher identity in Indonesia; the relevant studies which were located will be briefly discussed here.

Afrianto (2014, 2015) conducted a study around motivational aspects of teacher identity for 52 pre-service teachers undergoing a teaching practicum at a university in Indonesia. The study showed that the participants were driven into the teaching profession because of their life experiences, the

important influence of others, and moral and religious values. The participants in the study viewed teaching as a noble profession because they associated teaching with the similar activity of *'dakwah',* or religious preaching. In contrast, Kuswandono (2014) exposed a disheartening picture of 13 pre-service teachers; most of them claimed that they did not want to become teachers once they completed their studies. The participants stated that their reasons for choosing to study at an English language teaching faculty were primarily driven by their interest in the language and not the aspect of *teaching* it. Moreover, their reluctance towards entering the field was fuelled by the participants' judgment of teaching as a boring job. They did not see teaching as providing them with excitement or the challenges that they desired.

In a different Indonesian context, Yumarnamto (2019) investigated a university teacher who struggled to claim her position as a legitimate professional. Designed as a narrative inquiry, Yumarnamto illustrated how a university teacher who did not have an undergraduate degree in English or teaching made use of her linguistic capital to enter the field of education. Using the concept of professional capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012), Yumarnamto explained how the participant developed three forms of capital (human, social, and decisional capital) through her education and experience; this acquisition allowed her to finally embody her own merit and enabled her to teach English at a university. According to this understanding, professional capital is a function of three interconnected forms of capital: human, social, and decisional capital, which together form a certain professional quality. Human capital refers to the professional quality of an individual such as his or her degree, practical skills, and experiences. Social capital refers to the capacity of a team or group in advancing that human capital, and decisional capital refers to the ability to make effective and accurate decisions (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). This study shows that the concept of capital is still relevant to understand the dynamic of a field where each agent is trying to claim a social position of status depending on the value of their capital.

Another study from the context of Indonesia was a narrative case study done by Basalama and Machmud (2018) which investigated factors influencing the construction of a respected English language teacher's identity in Sulawesi, Indonesia. The study emphasized the role of family background and upbringing experiences in shaping secondary school English teacher identity. Basalama and Machmud (2018) explained that the object of the study was a teacher who functioned as a role model for the other English teachers in the area due to her enthusiasm and competence in teaching. This role model teacher grew up in a family from a high socioeconomic class and was educated in a Dutch school in Indonesia during the Dutch colonization period (only people from high social and economic statuses were allowed to study at these schools). Moreover, she also had a high literacy competence from her reading books, novels and other materials. The study argued that the success of this role model teacher in developing a professional teacher identity was due to her background as a privileged person in society and from having a professional role model in her own family (her father who was also a respected teacher). The study recommended exploring the social aspect of learning English in investigating the construction of English language teacher's identities in Indonesia.

As can be seen from this limited pool of sample literature, all of the studies mentioned have investigated *formal* schoolteacher identity, probably because a great proportion of teachers are employed in those institutions rather than at PELIs; thus, studies about school teachers have more potential to bring change to the teaching of English in Indonesia. However, this does not mean that researching teachers at PELIs are somehow worthless. On the contrary, their contribution to developing students' English level is undeniable, as can be inferred from the spread of PELIs across the country and the fact that students and parents are willing to pay great amounts of money for

access to English studies at these institutions. Moreover, conducting research in a PELI setting may provide a unique perspective for understanding the lives of teachers in Indonesia on the whole.

Section conclusion

So far, I have explained the concept of identity used in this study, that identity is a social construct, and that people have multiple identities as the product of their socialization. This section then presented Gee's (2001) multi layered lens of looking at someone's identities by looking at the various sources of identity and how a person constructs their identities based on the these sources which include nature, institution, discourse, and affinity. Ater that, this section reviewed a range of studies which specifically looked at English teachers' identities. Finally, this section shows the gap in the literature about English teacher's identities that will be fill by the present study. The next chapter will elaborate the key concepts which will be used as the lens to look at non-NESTs' identities from a non-essentialist point of view.

3.2 Conceptual Framework

The previous section looks at the various strands in analysing a teacher's identity such as by looking at the notion of native and non-native speakers as a determinant in constructing an English teacher's identity (N-Identity and D-Identity), the significance of institutional identity in a teacher's construction of identity (I-Identity), and the inclusion of a teacher's beliefs as part of his or her professional identity. This section will elaborate on the concepts of *habitus, investment,* and *trajectory* to propose for a developmental and performative identity construction to understand the identity formation of non-NESTs' identities. Looking at a teacher's identity from a developmental lens one might refer to the inclusion of the teacher's learning experience as a significant factor which shapes his or her identity. On the other hand, looking at an identity from a performative point of view

gives an understanding of an identity as a performative or 'doing' construct, made possible by the development of *habitus* which is shaped by *investment* which, itself, is influenced by *trajectory*. Figure 3.1 visualises the relationship between these three constructs.

Figure 3. 1 Theoretical lenses of analysis
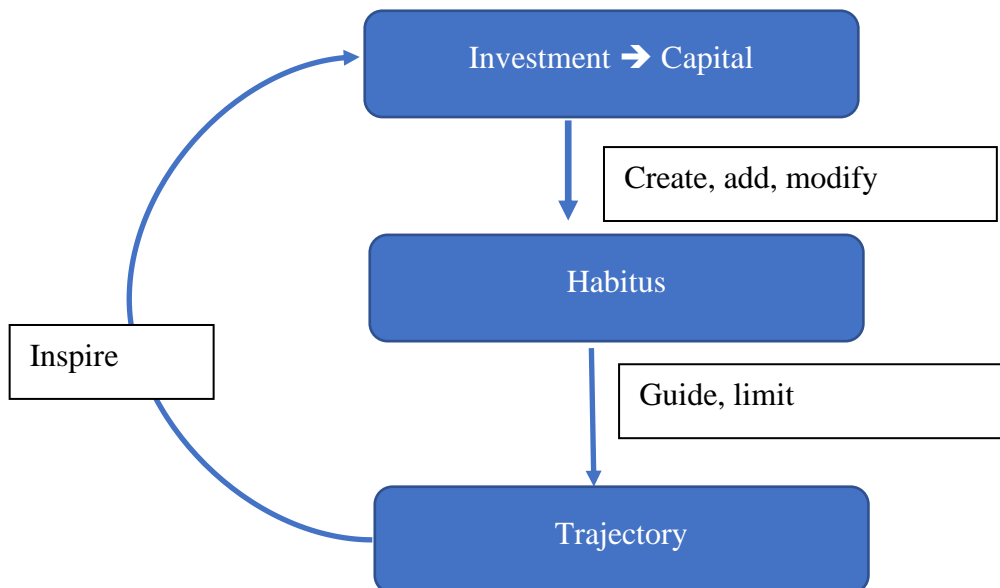
Accordingly, this section will first elaborate on the concepts of *capital* and *field* from Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977, 2000) and *investment* (Darvin & Norton, 2015b; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007) helps us to understand the mechanism of gaining more capital which shapes an agent's habitus. The second section will talk about the key concept in this study, *habitus,* as a lens to understand teachers' identities. Finally, the third section will discuss teachers' career trajectories (Barnatt et al., 2017) and communities of practice (Wenger, 1998) in order to understand the roles of PELI to mediate the learning to teach process through various professional development schemes and initiatives.

3.2.1 Capital and field

Bourdieu's works focussed on understanding the relationship between the objective structure and subjective actors, such as in the development of habitus, through his observation of Kabyle people in Algeria (Bourdieu, 1977a). Bourdieu was also interested to see how a social class comes about and what legitimises a person to be in a particular class (Bourdieu & Nice, 1986). He was also interested in how a dominant discourse and hierarchy is maintained and reproduced in a society through education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Looking at why a person acts in the way he does from a Bourdiuean point of view leads to an understanding that we develop certain qualities (habitus) as the products of our experiences, i.e., being a member of a particular social class which ascribes to a certain way of life, although how actors interpret their experiences is not determined by the structure but rather negotiated by the actors (agents).

Among all of Bourdieu's social theories or concepts, this study mostly makes use of three constructs namely, capital, field, and habitus. These three concepts are most relevant to this study because they are useful in understanding the process of acquiring English as a foreign language in Indonesia, the values of English as a linguistic and symbolic capital in Indonesia, and understanding the hierarchy within the field of ELT in Indonesia. As mentioned in Chapter 2 English language is highly valued as the most used language in international communication in the world; therefore, the ability to speak in English is sought after by Indonesian students. Moreover, the ability to speak English is also a social marker of someone's high social class. Therefore, using Bourdieu's concept of habitus as the lens to see the construct of non-NESTs' identities will provide a holistic understanding of the construct because it covers the social, political, and economic aspects of professional identity.

The concept of 'capital' is a starting point for this discussion: from a Bourdieuan approach, capital is defined as the accumulation of human works which, when it is acquired by a person or group of people, would enable them to acquire other types of capital or enlarge their capital through converting one type of capital to another (Bourdieu, 1985). Bourdieu argued that the concept of capital is needed to understand the structure of a society since the appropriation of capital determines one's position in society. Bourdieu expanded the concept of capital to include not only recognized economic capital but also cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1985). Economic capital is the easiest to be observed because it takes a material form in tangible assets such as houses, cars, or land. These items have monetary value which are accepted across most contexts of society and thus are very 'liquid', meaning that these assets could easily be converted into money or other forms of economic capital. The other two forms of capital, cultural and social capital, require more in-depth investigation as they do not exist in strictly material forms.

Cultural capital manifest in the embodied state, in the objectified state, and in the institutionalized state. Cultural capital in the *embodied* state can include ceremonies, folklores, or traditions which are inherited within a family or tribe. When manifested in forms such as writing, paintings, monuments, or music, to name but a few examples, cultural capital becomes more material and thus *objectified*. Cultural capital in the *institutionalized* state can be seen clearly in educational and professional qualifications, marital status, or other recognitions arising from a state of organization thus becoming an institution-identity (Gee, 2001) to its holders. In this study, the possession of a particular educational qualification, such as a degree in English language teaching or CELTA (Certificate of English Language Teaching to Adults) certificate, will provide a certain economical value to its possessors, one which can be converted into money, such as in terms of salary.

Social capital includes any resources which a person can gain from being a member of a social group or community. In other words, social capital is the source for affinity- identity (Gee, 2001). Some of the most common forms of social capital are related to race, tribe or ethnicity, belonging to a certain social class, graduating from a certain school, or being a member of a certain political party. In Basalama and Machmud's (2018) study, a role model teacher benefitted from her familial background in belonging to a high social class which enabled the teacher to enjoy Dutch education during the Dutch colonisation period in Indonesia. At that time, Dutch schools only accepted Europeans and a few, selected rich children from royal families. Her membership of that elite society allowed the role model teacher to develop her literacy and skills in foreign languages, such as Dutch and English.

Alongside capital, the concept of field is important for this discussion. A *field* is understood as a network or a configuration of different positions which are occupied by agents. Each agent occupies a single position or multiple positions based on their possession of the valued commodity or form of capital at stake in the field (Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, 1992). Thus, a field could be perceived as a social arena where people (agents) compete to gain specific resources or access to resources and trade their capital for a social position within a community. One field is distinct from another based on the types of capital or resources which are valued; these might include lifestyle, property, level of education, profession, political alignment, socio-economic class, or other forms of identification that people can use to differentiate themselves from others (Jenkins, 2002). A field is often unequal in terms of power relations; there is also often unequal competition for resources, some restrictions and constraints which limit agentic? freedom, and a tendency for preferentialism and subordination (Moore, 2012). In the field of English language teaching in Indonesia, teachers are valued based on the capital they possess, for example, their educational background, level of English proficiency, 'evidenced' by TOEFL or IELTS scores, and their professional teaching qualifications

(institutionalised cultural capital); their experience of living abroad (social capital); the perceived 'nativeness' of their English and their teaching experience (cultural capital); or the institution where they work or have worked (another form of social capital).

In this section, I have explained the notion of capital and field, how they lay sociocultural foundations for understanding the world of English language teachers, and how they help us to be aware of the different positions English teachers occupy and power relations within the ELT field. In the next section, I will introduce the theoretical concept of *investment* as a means to acquire capital.

3.2.2 Investment.

Investment, as previously developed by Norton (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013), is useful for this study since it takes a learner's decision to participate in a second or foreign language community as an act of his or her identity. This approach also acknowledges the roles of beliefs and identity as guiding determinants for someone's decision to make certain investments. In brief, investment is every effort which an agent makes to gain capital or to expand the capital they already have. Darvin and Norton's (2015) concept of investment looks into what drives the participants to invest both money and time in developing their English (English speaking habitus) and teaching skills (English teaching habitus); they proposed that investment lies in the intersection of identity, ideology, and capital.

Norton (1997) put forward the concept of investment as complementary to the concept of motivation for understanding success and failure in second language learning. She argued that the concept of motivation, as understood from a psychological point of view, was not sufficient to understand why a language learner succeeds or fails in their language learning; motivation does not consider the power

relations within which the language learning occurs, relations which may grant or deny access to practice the target language. The latest study of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015) accommodates more nuance in understanding how the social space mediates identity construction, ideological discussion, and the roles of the internet and technology advancement in expanding ways to gain and convert capital. Having an internet connection facilitates new forms of economy, social and cultural capital, such as being a member of an internet-based professional association, developing a Youtube channel as a platform to make money, having conversations with native speakers through online media applications, or attending online professional development seminars.

As mentioned earlier, the concept of investment is closely related to the concept of capital because it is generally accepted that people make an investment to gain profit and increase the quantity or quality of their capital. Worldwide, non-NESTs make investments in learning English as a foreign language and in developing teaching skills and teaching credentials. In Indonesia, the investment in learning English may include investment in learning English as a subject at school (formal learning), at PELI (non-formal learning) and through daily experience (informal learning). Further, investment in developing teaching skills could be accomplished via pursuing a degree in education (formal), engaging in CELTA training (nonformal) or by talking to other teachers and observing other teachers as they teach (informal).

Thus, with Norton's (Darvin & Norton, 2015) understanding of investment, we can gain a more holistic understanding of teacher identity; this form of 'investment' moves beyond an instrumentalist understanding which focuses on the materialistic and non-materialistic worth of an investment. Teacher investment must be understood as ideological positioning, identity enactment and capital accumulating activities which are not only driven by a quest for 'profit' or gaining more capital but

also as a fulfilment of one's desire to become a certain kind of teacher. Moreover, looking at investment as a mechanism to construct an identity (*habitus*) emphasizes the agentive performance of an actor. In other words, how actors invest or what practices actors invest in is shaped by their life histories from which they developed their values and beliefs about those practices (Billett, 2006).

Across studies, there are examples of teacher investment and its impact on teacher identities. Forms of investment relevant for this thesis include investment in learning English, in developing proficiency in English and in developing teaching skills and credentials. Each aspect is explained below.

Investment in learning English as a foreign language.

The most common investment towards learning English as a foreign language occurs when an individual engages in English learning at school, either when learning it as a school subject or when it functions as the medium of instruction. The most common practice in Indonesia is the teaching of English as a school subject, which means that English, like maths or biology, is taught to all students as a mandatory subject or as an elective subject which students can do voluntarily. Secondly, students invest in learning English at PELI as an after school lesson. Finally, students invest in learning English through their daily activities, such as listening to music, watching movies, playing games, etc. (see more detail in Chapter Two). How a student invests in the learning process will influence his or her success or failure in learning English (Darvin & Norton, 2015), and, as mentioned earlier, a student's investment is influenced by his or her identity.

Wu (2017) for instance, conducted a study investigating how a learner's imagined identity (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007) influenced their investment. In her study, she recorded life histories of three high achieving students in Taiwan ('Brie', 'Alicia', and 'Leo') throughout their journey as English language learners until the time when they became English teachers. The results of the study showed that all the participants' imagined identities changed during the various stages of their English learning experiences. Two of the participants, Brie and Alicia, initially did not have good learning experiences and, therefore, did not imagine using English beyond their classroom interactions. Leo, however, having a father and grandfather who could speak English, developed an imagined identity as a proficient English speaker and an English teacher. Therefore, he invested in various afterschool English learning activities, such as listening to English songs and watching English TV programmes. Later, during their high school years, Brie and Alicia excelled in English and had a sense of achievement which motivated them to invest in afterschool learning activities, such as studying at a PELI and listening to English songs. The study confirmed the dynamic nature of the English learning process and the role of imagined identities that inspired investment in language learning.

As mentioned above, the second type of learning is non-formal learning such as in PELI. PELI offers English lessons to the general public, ranging from classes for children to adults from various occupational backgrounds (more detail about PELI is provided in Chapter 2). Wai and Yung (2015) explored 14 students' experiences in learning at PELI during their secondary education in Hongkong. The findings show that all of the participants had positive experiences learning at PELI although not all of them consider that their learning at PELI helped them to develop their ability to communicate in English. The participants thought that learning at PELI helped them considerably with national exams. They stated that their school learning did not prepare them for the test and that learning at PELI was necessary for them to succeed in the exam. This study shows that the participants invested in learning English at PELI mainly to help them to pass the English test at school although they also

desired to improve their communicative ability in English. All of the participants had a positive experience learning English at PELI because it was relevant to their needs and identity as secondary students at Hongkong schools where the education system puts an emphasis on academic achievement.

Finally, students invest in their learning English ability through informal learning activities undertaken in English, such as watching movies and listening to music. The role of informal learning to support formal learning has been an area of study in the ELT field. Some studies suggest that informal learning supports students' achievement in their formal learning at school, such as in a study by Van Marsenille (2017) in Brussels, Ismail and Shafie (2019) in Malaysia, and Horowitz (2017) in Puerto Rico. Van Marsenille (2017) argued that school teachers should find ways to incorporate their students' modes of informal learning to support their formal learning process at school. Ismail and Shafie (2019) specified that, in their study, the students improved their receptive skill, such as reading and listening, more than their writing or speaking skills. The participants, Malaysian university students, engaged with social networking sites and reported that they felt more confident in using English the more they engaged with the networking sites. Finally, Horowitz (2017) also reported increased confidence of the participants of his study to communicate in English as the result of playing multiple online games. Horowitz pointed out that multiplayer online games provide space for the students to communicate in English, although how students responded to those opportunities was varied.

In summary, non-NESTs start off as English learners. During their period as English learners non-NESTs develop their English abilities by investing in various activities, such as learning English as a subject at school, attending English lessons at PELI or getting involved in activities undertaken in

English, such as listening to English songs and watching English movies. All of these modes of investments were chosen according to the students' needs and the opportunities that they have. Non-NESTs learning experience is an important factor which influences their identity as English teachers because their learning experience becomes the foundational belief about how to learn a foreign language (Borg, 2003) thus influencing their teaching beliefs.

Investment in learning to be a teacher and progressing in the career.

The second most important investment in the construction of non-NESTs' identity is the investment made in developing their teaching skills and credentials. Winch (2011) explained that pedagogical knowledge can be gained formally from taking a degree in teaching or education, attending professional training, and through daily experience and interactions in the educational field. In most teacher training programmes or in university teaching English degree programmes, pre-service teachers develop their subject knowledge and pedagogical knowledge through attending lectures as well as through hands-on experience during teaching practice, such as in peer or micro teaching or during teaching practice at school, where they are under the guidance and supervision of a mentor teacher.

Another way English teachers invest in developing their teaching skills is through attending non-formal professional training seminars or workshops such as CELTA. CELTA, as an initial teacher training certificate, has gained its status as an internationally recognised certification (Barnawi, 2016) which can open doors for its holders to work as English teachers internationally (Dave ESL, 2020), but requires significant financial investment (Anderson, 2020). To date (October 2020) the fee to take CELTA was £1,495 + £156 (International House London, 2020), which could be considered as very expensive for Indonesian teachers because the cost of CELTA is equivalent to more than 7

times the highest minimum wage in Indonesia. Moreover, there are only two places in Indonesia that offer CELTA, one in Jakarta and the other one is in Bali (Tesol Indonesia, 2020). This professional qualification and others like it are designed to equip English teachers with the practical knowledge needed for the job, making it an appealing option to those without a teaching degree as well as those who have a teaching degree. A study in Iran involving six private English language schools, Ganji, Ketabi, and Shahnazari (2018) commented on CELTA's effectiveness in equipping teacher trainees with knowledge about teaching and learning; the training programme enabled them to put that knowledge into practice. Moreover, the CELTA course offers constructive feedback during the course to help the participants make their lessons more effective. Anderson (2020) also noted that CELTA, as an intensive teacher training programme, had the potential to change teachers' beliefs and boost their confidence as internationally certified teachers. In his study with 28 Egyptian English teachers, Anderson pointed out that, after the CELTA training, the participants were committed to implement the communicative language teaching strategies, such as reducing teacher talking time and increasing student talking time, using pair work and group work and creating student centred lessons.

Finally, teachers can invest in developing their teaching skills and knowledge through their engagement in day-to-day teaching practice. Teachers can learn from other teachers by observing how other teachers teach or just by talking to them. Looking at the learning community of teachers signpost to the concept of community of practice will be elaborated in section 3.2.5 below.

This section has looked at the various investment that English teachers can make to develop their teaching skills and credential, such as through formal teacher training in a degree programme, CELTA training programme, or through their informal learning strategies with other teachers at their

institution. The next section will look at how the collection of new skills or beliefs which were acquired or developed through investment become a *habitus,* a construct which will be used as a lens to understand the construction of teachers' identities.

3.2.3 Habitus

As mentioned in the introduction of this section, this study uses *habitus* as a concept to understand the formation of non-NESTs' identities from a developmental and performative perspective. Bourdieu's concept of habitus is suitable to view how an agent develops a set of dispositions with which they construct and co-construct their identity with and within their surroundings. These dispositions enable them to have a "practical sense"(Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 68) which enables them to function as English teachers. The concept of *habitus* could be used to explain how non-NESTs negotiate their set of dispositions as valuable and legitimate capital within the field of ELT in Indonesia.

In this thesis, habitus is defined as

> a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53)

Habitus has a generative function in regulating a person's actions; Stahl (2013, 2015) conceptualised it as a matrix of dispositions which are dynamic and adaptive to the varied social milieu and discourse. Bourdieu (1990) indicated that habitus accumulates from lessons learnt from personal and group life experiences, and so it is a mechanism which ensures the active presence of past experiences, which are internalized and materialized in the ways a person thinks, understands, and acts. Wacquant classified habitus into two categories: primary and secondary habitus (Wacquant,

2014). Primary habitus is developed in a person's childhood, whereas secondary habitus is that specific capacity which an agent develops in later life through either explicit instruction or by gaining experience through consistent engagement with a particular practice for a period of time. How a person initially learns English could serve as their primary habitus, although in the later stage of their lives, they may learn various teaching approaches and experience new ways of learning English which could alter their primary habitus; here, they begin to develop a secondary habitus. The formation of secondary (sometimes called tertiary) habitus depends on how far or how different the second or tertiary habitus is from the primary habitus. The farther they are apart, the less likely or more difficult it is that they become a habitus. For instance, Shin (2014) investigated the Early Study Abroad (ESA) phenomenon which was popular among middle class Koreans. Shin argued that those who took part in ESA did so to acquire near-native English ability as one aspect of their linguistic capital which would differentiate them from others who studied English in Korea. The parents who participated in ESA believed that their children would develop English habitus as the result of their interactions with the White students in their schools and their neighbourhood. The participants in Shin's study believed that the earlier they immersed themselves in an English environment the more likely (easier) they would develop near native English-speaking skills.

In the present study, a teacher who learned English through the grammar translation method and teaches English also using grammar translation methods will find it challenging to apply communicative language teaching strategies because the two approaches to language teaching are very different. Moreover, someone who learned English through playing video games and listening to English songs will find it difficult to teach exam preparation classes because he learned English conversationally, so paid little attention to the grammar or punctuation, which is a crucial aspect of English tests.

One of the most prominent critiques of Bourdieu's habitus is that it failed to escape from a deterministic model. Jenkins (1982) argued that because "structures produce the habitus, which generates practice, which reproduces the structures, and so on." (p. 273) this implies that habitus is a product of an objective structure which means that an agent's practices are determined by the social structure in which he is in. This understanding of habitus does not allow for any creative capacity of an agent to produce actions or practice which is different to the practice of his class or social group. An agent merely reproduces practices which are practiced in his group or class.

To this critique, Yang (2014) elaborated four conditions by which Bourdieuan theory is not deterministic and thus accommodates social changes: "the mismatch between habitus and field, explicit pedagogy, reflexivity and an open system" (p. 1538). Yang argued that the mismatch between habitus and field would create awareness of an agent that their habitus is not compatible with the field he or she is in. This incompatibility might be because an agent moves from his or her social class or group to a completely new field, which is called "deviant trajectory" (Bourdieu, 1996, p.184). An agent's awareness of the gap between his habitus and the field is further enhanced through changes in the field. When a dramatic change in a field occurs, certain habitus became incompatible. An agent would recognize this change when he or she realized that, suddenly, their habitus was no longer appreciated. The covid 19 pandemic has changed the way people go about with their business. In Indonesia and other parts of the world all teaching was converted to online classes. Teachers were required to convert their lesson plans to suit the online learning situation, and the internet and information technology became crucial for the success of the teaching process (van der Spoel, Noroozi, Schuurink, & van Ginkel, 2020). Therefore, teachers need to develop their skills in using information communication and technology (ICT) in their lessons effectively. Regardless of

the cause of the gap between habitus and field, an agent would be aware that he or she needs to develop a new set of habitus or otherwise be isolated in the field. This awareness proves the plasticity of habitus.

Secondly, Yang (2014) argued for the significance of explicit pedagogy in transforming someone's habitus. He explained that explicit pedagogy, such as through school instruction, is particularly necessary for the development of a secondary habitus. Explicit pedagogy must be accompanied by practical familiarization of the new practice or habitus in order to fully alter the primary habitus, especially when the gap between the primary and secondary habitus was wide. The role of formal education to alter or change someone's habitus has been investigated in various studies in an Indonesian context, such as in Ma'rifah and Mustaqim's (2015) study about the role of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) to reproduce *santris* (students) who embodied the values of a particular Islamic sect in Indonesia, and Puspita and Almawangir's (2019) in their investigation of the role of habitus in nurturing the intellectual capital of students at grade VIII in a *Madrasah* (Islamic school) in Indonesia.

Alam, Nilan, and Leahy (2019) argued for the potential of the working environment in shaping employees' habitus. Investigating 26 environmental activists in Bandung, Indonesia, Alam, Nilan, and Leahy observed how the habitus, in terms of the participants' choice of clothes and consumption practices, were changed as the result of their involvement in Greenpeace and these changes continued even after their involvement in Greenpeace ceased.

Thirdly, an agent is able to transform his or her habitus due to their ability to be reflexive as the result of being aware about the gap between their existing habitus and the habitus of the field. The

ability to be reflexive could be understood as one form of habitus, thus every agent has the capacity to assess their position and the value of their capital in the field in relation to other people in the field.

Finally, the fact that we now live in an open system, where we are exposed to different cultures and traditions from around the world, is important. This system was made possible by technological advancement and the internet, where social boundaries are blurred thereby extending social belonging. An open system offers limitless possibilities for an agent to engage in multiple fields which could raise the awareness of their habitus gaps with the habitus of the fields. In conclusion, habitus is a dynamic construct which is adaptive to changes through modification of primary into secondary habitus as the results of an actor's internalization of experiences.

Elements of habitus

The final aspect of habitus to be discussed here is related to the various elements of habitus. Habitus can be seen "as a deep, interior, epicentre containing many matrices" (Reay, 2004, p. 435) which creatively create choices of actions a person can take into their social interactions. There are three elements in habitus, namely the *cognitive*, *conative*, and *affective* elements (Wacquant, 2014).

Firstly, *cognitive* relates to a human's ability to think, classify, categorize, and discern matters according to their own rationale. In this study, the cognitive aspect of non-NESTs' habitus includes their beliefs about teaching and learning, their ability to think strategically, and their reflexive consideration of their teaching practice. Next, *conative* refers to the sensory and motoric ability to carry out the necessary actions. This aspect for the non-NESTs covers the routines of their teaching, such as their ability to communicate in English proficiently and their ability to put beliefs into actions, as with the ability to plan lessons, monitor activities in the class, assess students' progress,

and evaluate the achievement of the lesson's objectives. Lastly, *affective* indicates the motivation or aspiration to carry out the necessary actions to develop habitus. Wacquant (2014) explained that the affective aspect of habitus inspires a person to pursue a particular set of behaviours or skills. This aspect of habitus implies the reflective element of habitus which casts doubt on some of the critiques that view Bourdieuan habitus as deterministic and merely an automatic mechanical response system as a result of repeated behaviours throughout someone's life, as discussed earlier in this section (see, for example (Jenkins, 1982, 2002)) or that reduce habitus to tacit knowledge as the product of experiences (Bottero, 2010). Non-NESTs' affective aspect is shown in their professional trajectory and the investment that they need to make to help them develop relevant skills and knowledge to enable them to carry out their professional tasks effectively. Opportunities for investment, as discussed in the previous section, include investment in formal education to get a degree in English language or teaching English, or nonformal learning such as through observation and discussion with other teachers.

In summary, habitus functions as identity-in-practice; there, we perform our roles within a community or society. In looking at identity as habitus, a researcher is enabled to see the interplay between an individual's choice of actions and the limitation or boundaries given by his or her social environment. Furthermore, understanding identity through habitus implies the process in which a person reflects (both consciously or subconsciously) upon their life experiences and from that they draw certain qualities and develop distinctive sets of identities. Habitus as a self-accrual mechanism is suitable to be used in understanding professional identity because "it conceives of culture as an exchangeable-value in which some activities, practice and dispositions can enhance the overall value of personhood" (Skeggs, 2004, p. 75). Teacher habitus in this study is viewed from a teacher's beliefs and practice.

Teachers' beliefs as part of habitus

Bourdieu (1990b) believed that people's beliefs determined their behaviour. In the context of this study, how the participants teach is seen as an activation of their beliefs. Teacher's belief as a construct has been theorised for decades according to various scholarly backgrounds (Pajares, 1992). Pajares claimed that "all teachers hold beliefs, however defined or labelled, about their work, their students, their subject matter, and their roles and responsibilities" (p. 314). In other words, teachers' beliefs refer to how teachers view their roles, positions, and teaching and learning strategies (Miguel, Dos Santos, 2019). Sharing a similar view about teachers' beliefs, Xu (2012) argued that teachers' beliefs have a key role in language teaching because they help teachers to make sense of the world and inform how they comprehend and evaluate new information. Teachers' beliefs are a personal construct which help teachers to understand, judge, and evaluate their teaching practice (Miguel, Dos Santos, 2019). Borg (2003) further noted that a teacher's learning experiences become the foundation of their understandings of language learning and teaching, which influences their conceptualization of L2 teaching throughout their teaching careers.

In reviewing previous studies on teachers' beliefs, Xu (2012) broadly identified three types: beliefs about learners, about learning and about themselves. Teachers' beliefs about learners influence the way they plan their lesson, the way they interact with their students, and how they see their own role with respect to their students. Citing Meighan (1990), Xu (2012) explained that if a teacher sees her students as resisters, receptors, or raw material, then she would focus on delivering language lessons which are teacher-centred. The teacher has a very dominant role in deciding what should be covered in a lesson and how it should be taught. In contrast, if a teacher sees her students as democratic explorers, she would engage the learners in planning her lessons by eliciting ideas from the learners

to understand what they need to develop their English skills. The relationship between teacher and students will be more egalitarian in comparison to the authoritarian approach of the first category.

In Xu's (2012) analysis, beliefs about learning refer to how the teacher views the learning process; for an English teacher, beliefs about learning are related to how English as a second/foreign language should be taught or learned. Holding certain beliefs about teaching would shape the kinds of instructions and activities used in the classroom. If teachers believe that a language should be taught communicatively, then we would expect to see that most of the classroom hour would be filled with speaking and listening activities, with role plays and pair work discussion as the most common strategies to improve students' English ability. However, teachers are often in a dilemma when their values around teaching are in opposition to institutional values or goals. A teacher who believes in the value of the communicative approach would find it difficult or uncomfortable to teach test-driven or test-focussed lessons.

Finally, teachers exhibit beliefs about themselves as teachers; this category from Xu (2012) includes teacher efficacy and teachers' emotions. Teacher efficacy relates to the way that teachers see their capacity as a teacher, including what 'counts' as quality and what types of lessons they can deliver. Teacher emotions relate to the ways that emotion can influence practices, goals, and aspirations.

Across these forms of teachers' beliefs in the area of ELT, the foci of discussion cover theoretical as well as practical aspects of the field. Borg and Busaidi (2012) investigated how teachers at a university language centre in Oman view learner autonomy. Conducting a mixed-method research, they noted that the participants have different ideas, views and beliefs about what it means to be an autonomous learner. Furthermore, the ways they planned their lessons or worked with their students

was influenced by their beliefs. For those who saw some evidence of their students being autonomous learners, they would set their tasks to allow the students to learn independently; such tasks included using an online-based learning programme. The teachers who believed that their students were not autonomous would maximise class hours for content learning because they believed that otherwise, they would not be able to cover the materials.

In summary, looking at teachers' beliefs as part of their habitus demonstrates that teachers' beliefs are socially constructed through their social interactions as learners, speakers, and teachers of English. Moreover, teachers' beliefs are the fruit of their experiences, which act as guiding principles as they plan their lessons, manage their class, interact with their students and colleagues and see their roles as English teachers. Therefore, understanding teachers' beliefs as a combination of primary and secondary habitus enables me to comprehend why they teach the way they do.

Teachers' practice as part of habitus.

As mentioned earlier, teachers' beliefs influence their practice, although teachers also find themselves teaching in ways which are not in line with their beliefs. Teacher practice refers to what a teacher *does* in the class to achieve the objective(s) of the lesson. The way that a teacher's beliefs shape approaches to teaching grammar, for example, or other skills have been investigated in various contexts, according to a variety of methodologies, and with differing objectives.

One example of how teacher habitus influences teaching practice is shown in a study of 70 Malaysian teachers' practices (Othman & Kiely, 2016). The study elaborated three main themes regarding teacher practice in teaching English to young learners: teachers utilised a focus on forms,

fun activities and use of the mother tongue. The study found that the participants' teaching practice was influenced by their personal experiences in learning English. Those who had experienced learning English through rote learning and grammar-focused lessons emphasized the importance of teaching grammar through drilling activities. like fill-in-the-gaps and using grammar substitution tables to improve students' accuracy. Those who experienced learning English through songs, big story books and role plays included games, role plays and action songs to insert a fun element into their lessons; they believed that by doing so, they would enhance the language development of their young learners. However, all of the participants felt the need to use their mother tongue particularly when teaching low level students. They admitted that ideally they would not use Malaysian language in the class because that is what they learned in teacher training college; however, during teaching practice, they noticed that using their mother tongue would save time in giving instructions and would keep the students on task because they could understand the instructions. In sum, this study showed that how the participants taught contradicted with some of their held beliefs.

Additionally, Alghanmi and Shukri (2016) conducted a case study investigating the beliefs and practice of grammar teaching at a university's English language institute in Saudi Arabia; in showing the two aspects in contrast, the research displayed a disharmony between the teachers' newly-shaped beliefs and their teaching practice. Through surveys, interviews, and class observation with 30 English teachers, Alghanmi and Shukri stated that the ways the participants taught English grammar were informed or shaped by their teaching beliefs, despite some inconsistencies in their practice. Their results showed that, while all participants preferred implicit grammar teaching rather than explicit methods of grammar translation and mechanical drilling, a contrasting finding was drawn: in the observations, the researchers noted that all of the teachers used explicit grammar explanation in their lessons. The participants opined that the reasons for this inconsistency were due to their professional development stage as teachers and the students' level of proficiency. The participants

also claimed that they were at the stage where they were caught between what they *recently* learned and what they had *previously* learned; they felt unable to completely implement implicit grammar teaching in their lessons. The second reason for the inconsistency between belief and practice was related to the students' lack of English ability, which made the implicit teaching of grammar difficult for the teachers. This study showed that the participants had not developed a secondary habitus in terms of being able to carry out implicit grammar teaching. In contrast, it showed the dominance of their primary habitus in their teaching practice, which was a product of their own learning experiences.

Section conclusion

In conclusion, habitus is a person's specific capability which is acquired through his or her investment in developing certain skills or abilities and beliefs through their participation in specific social practices over a period of time. In this study the relevant habitus of a non-NEST includes their capability to learn English as a foreign language and their capability to teach English as a foreign language in Indonesia. Moreover, people develop different kinds of habitus as they engage in different social environments throughout their lives. The next section will discuss a teacher's professional trajectory as a construct which could begin a formation of a habitus through the work of investment.

3.2.4 Trajectory

As can be seen from Figure 2.1 in the earlier section, another theoretical piece which will be used to understand the richness of non-NESTs' identities is *professional trajectory*. Trajectory refers to how we see our positions within the field, which connects our past and our possible future. And together with our life histories, our trajectories influence our investment in a particular field (Pearson et.al,

2011). Pearson et.al investigated how the various personal histories, goals, family background and social responsibilities of 5395 PhD candidates from 38 universities in Australia shaped their engagement in their PhD candidacy. In their study, the participants' trajectories influenced the ways they invested in certain forms of capital within their field; for ELT professionals, this investment might include improving the ability to communicate in English or developing certain teaching skills. As a teacher gains new capital, he or she also develop new habitus according to the new capital which also updates their professional identity.

Trajectories are continuously unfolding: our identities are formed through our memberships and engagements with various groups or communities and, as we move from one community to another, "our identities form trajectories, both within and across communities of practice" (Wenger, 1998, p. 154). Consistent with the temporal aspect of identity, trajectory should be understood as continuous motion of identity which is being pulled in different directions in a field of multiple influences. When looking at someone's trajectories, we can see the lines connecting the past, present, and future.

In the professional field of ELT, English teachers' trajectories could be observed in how they position themselves in the field within certain periods. In the formal school context, Olsen and Anderson (2007) conducted a study involving 15 teachers at four elementary schools in an urban area of the USA and explained that there were three categories of teachers: the stayers, uncertains, and leavers. The stayers were those who planned to stay as teachers, though they might be at a different school to the one where they were currently teaching. They also had unique career trajectories, such as earning a PhD or becoming certified teachers. The uncertains were those who did not have a clear direction of what they wanted to do with their career in the next five years. Some of them were thinking that they might leave the profession as soon as they started family because they thought that

teaching was very time-consuming. Others were considering pursuing a career in administration. Finally, the leavers were those who thought that they needed new challenges in their career; similar to some of the stayers above, some of the leavers wanted to start a doctoral programme and others were considering applying to be a school administrator. This study concludes that the reasons underlying the teachers' decision to stay or leave their school or the teaching profession are influenced by their personal goals and work environment. There were those who were satisfied with their school environment, for example, they liked having like-minded colleagues, supportive administrators and peers and opportunities to take on multiple roles.

In a less structured manner, Haworth (2016) used English teachers' life stories to understand their trajectory. He argued that competence, relatedness and autonomy functioned as the determining factors for teachers' career trajectories. These factors help teachers to identify some strategies to achieve their career goals. Similarly, Barnatt et al. (2017) framed their study about early teacher career trajectory as a study of teachers' lives, worlds and career decisions. Looking at the career trajectories of four 'similar' novice teachers, Barnatt et al. drew on the work of Bakhtin (1981) and Holland et al. (1998) to describe that an agent's trajectory is a result of reflexive practice of the agent by taking into account their understanding of their position in a field and which actions are allowed within the field and their position at the field.

Furthermore, Barnatt et. al (2017) showed that each participant in their study entered the teaching world with an assumption about who they were as a teacher and what they would do to teach effectively (*figured self)*, and *which* school or context would fit them best (*figured world*). They were thus able to act with agency and engage with broader collaborative capacity. The notions of *figured world* and *figured self* are useful tools to understand how an agent gives meaning to his or her

positions and values in the field. All professionals, including teachers, are continuously and

constantly working out their *figured world* and *figured self* as they navigate through the changes in

the field. Finally, teachers' ability to understand their figured world and thus to navigate successfully

in that world was influenced by how much they knew about that world before starting teaching. The

better they understood the figured world before teaching, the greater chance they would stay at their

school.

In conclusion, teacher trajectory gives vision to teachers to pave their professional journey through

investing in relevant capital and habitus which can help them achieve their professional goals.

Moreover, teacher trajectory is also influenced by changes that happen in their field, forcing them to

adjust their habitus so that they can perform effectively.

So far, I have explained how I use the concepts of investment, habitus, and trajectory (as presented in

Figure 2.1) to understand the construct of non-NESTs' identities. However, the construction of

habitus needs to be placed in a social space where the participants make the investment to gain or

acquire capital and realize their trajectory. It is why I am now exploring the concept of community of

practice (Wenger, 1998) as a place where non-NESTs learn how to be English teachers. CoP is a

concept which was popularized by Wenger as the result of his ethnographic study in the medical

claim processing centre of an insurance company in the US. Central to his inquiry was how a group

of people who are doing the same things in their everyday work could learn from each other's

experiences. Wenger argued that the local community of practice which was naturally born out of an

organization was a crucial element to the success of the claim processors (agents) in performing their

job. Although the claim processors worked individually, their colleagues and relationships were

important: those relationships would affect the atmosphere of their working space, and in that space,

"they exchange information, making sense of situations, sharing new tricks and new ideas, as well as keeping each other company and spicing up each other's working day" (p. 47). The concept of 'practice' in the community of practice is in line with Bourdieu's social theory (Bourdieu, 1977a, 1990b) in that both approaches see 'practice' as a central concept by which individuals construct themselves as social beings.

3.2.5 Community of practice (CoP)

Community of practice (Wenger, 1998) has been used as a framework in study around English teachers' professional identities (such as in Herbers et al., 2011; Liu & Xu, 2013; Murugaiah et al., 2012; Plata-Ramirez, 2017). CoP is a learning theory which emphasizes the social aspect of learning and argues for the effectiveness of gaining knowledge and developing practical skills in a particular area of expertise through participation in the practice (e.g. teaching, writing, accounting) and in collaboration with other members of the organization. A CoP stores a collection of knowledge, values, practical tools and behaviours which were developed throughout the history of the CoP so that whenever a new member arrived he or she would have a means with which he or she can construct their identity as a member of the CoP (Graze-Crampes, 2020). Moreover, a CoP provides space for its members to individually and collaboratively reflect on their current teaching practices (McDonald & Star, 2008). In addition, in order for a community to become a learning community, each member of a CoP needs to be open and willing to receive some feedback and support from the other members of the CoP (Tosey, 1999). The members of the CoP need to be aware how they give feedback to the other members because it may be perceived as a threat or personal criticism which may lead to conflict between the members of the CoP (Murugaiah et al., 2012).

The concept of CoP is employed in this study because it provides a systematic analysis for how we learn from our experiences by being parts of multiple communities of practitioners. Some of the CoP (Wenger, 1998) concepts relevant for this study are *legitimate peripheral participation, shared repertoire, identification,* and *negotiability.* Legitimate peripheral participation refers to the process of learning that occurs when a new member is accepted in a community. If a new member of a CoP was not accepted in the community, then the learning process would be very difficult because they would not be given access to the *shared repertoire.* Shared repertoire refers to the "routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence, and which have become part of its practice" (Wenger, 1998, p. 83). Next, identification and negotiability refer to the two-fold process of identity formation. Identification relates to the multiple modes of belonging (engagement, imagination, and alignment), similar to some of the sources of identity in Gee's (2001) study, that we acquire or have invested in, such as our nationality, being a professional, being a member of a political group. Negotiability refers to the ability to give meaning to our experience and contribute to society according to our identification.

As mentioned earlier, one of the characteristics of a CoP is the accumulation of shared repertoire which, in the context of education, could include teaching materials, teaching strategies, teaching aids, etc. which have been developed or compiled by the members of the CoP (Wenger, 1998). Blankenship and Ruona (2008) investigated the practice of knowledge sharing among the members of a group of teachers in a secondary school in the USA. Blankenship and Ruona explained that the CoP provides space for its members to share their practical knowledge, either in a formal setting, such as in a teachers' meeting, or informal setting, such as in their casual conversation in the staff room or during their lunch break. Moreover, the CoP also helped new teachers to settle in quickly to the system by letting the new teacher know that he or she can always ask the other members of the

CoP whenever he or she needs help with anything. This study sheds light on how a CoP shapes its teachers' teaching habitus through acquiring new teaching practices or modifying their teaching practices as they engage in knowledge sharing with the other members of the group.

Hsiao (2018) used the concept of legitimate peripheral participation to understand the identity formation that occurred during teaching practice for ten EFL student teachers from a northern university in Taiwan. Seeing themselves as peripheral members of a community of teachers enabled the student teachers to have a 'soft introduction' to the teaching world in Taiwan. As peripheral members of a community of practice, the participants found comfort in wearing a nametag which indicated their status as student teachers: they realized that they were not as competent as their mentor teachers at the school, and so wearing a nametag reduced their anxiety when interacting with students. As they progressed through their teaching practice, student teachers got more access to teaching resources and had a better understanding of work practices; they thus adhered to institutional demands, enabling them to move to the centre and learn to be fully qualified teachers.

Yazan (2018) used the concepts of "identification and negotiability" (Wenger, 1998, p. 188) to investigate how three ESOL teacher candidates negotiated their identity in their interactions with language learners from their classes in a MATESOL programme at a university in the USA. The concepts of identification and negotiability enabled the researcher to see the tension between the individual, his or her unique aspiration or imagination and the common practice shared within the community of practice where the participants did their teaching internship. Through their participation and non-participation in the community of practice, the participants negotiated the type of teacher that they aspired to become. Identification and negotiability provided a lens to see the dynamic identity work that takes place during teaching practice and early career periods wherein a new member of a community of practice shares their ideas or beliefs, values, knowledge and practice

(essentially, their identities) with the other members of the CoP as a strategy to be recognised as a particular kind of person.

Looking at the concept of identity through the lens of CoP means that our identity is "shaped by belonging to a community, but with a unique identity. Our identity depends on engaging in practice, but with unique experience." (Wenger, 1998, p. 146). This resonates with the concept of identity as something that is "developed and creatively made by individuals out of the social, material and psychic resources available in their external setting, their relationship, their life histories and current experiences" (Elliot, Gunaratnam, Hollway, & Phoenix, 2009, p. 19) that "identity is not something that one has, or not; it is something that one does" (Jenkins, 2008, p. 5). In this view, identity represents an understanding that people 'think to act' and *how* one thinks is influenced by what options are *available* (which is compatible to shared repertoire in CoP) and the *intention* behind the action (Fiske, 1992). Moreover, people are aware of norms and values and what is acceptable in their immediate environment, and therefore they adjust their thoughts and actions to align with that context (Ferguson & Bargh, 2004; Fiske, 1992). In summary, the concept of CoP sees the close relationship between identity and practice and offers a lens to see the social learning process that shapes a teacher's identity.

3.2.6 Positioning this research amongst the current studies

After reviewing relevant studies around English teachers' identities, some theoretical and contextual gaps can be identified which will be filled in by the present study. Theoretically, although some research has mentioned the role of teachers' beliefs as guiding teaching practice, the studies position belief merely as a cognitive construct which is constructed through the process of reflection on their teaching practice (Wessels et al., 2011; H. Xu, 2013); the investigated literature did not attempt to

examine the *origin* of those teachers' beliefs. The present study, on the other hand, investigates the roots of teachers' beliefs and sees them as a product of life experiences as a language learner, speaker and teacher. Secondly, although Norton's (2015; 2007) concept of identity and Wenger's (1998) communities of practice have been used in other studies, this study frames the construct of teachers' identities according to the manifestation of their habitus as learners and teachers of English, a conceptualisation which particularly resonates with Darvin and Norton (2015). The main difference is that while Darvin and Norton emphasized the role of a student's identity upon their investment in learning a foreign or second language, this study views investment as a mechanism of developing habitus which becomes the teacher's identity.

Secondly, this study also fills a gap in the research context. The studies around non-NESTs have been excessively dominated by studies conducted in formal school settings (be it schools or universities) and the subsequent lack of research conducted in PELI contexts. The only exception that I could locate is a study by Mora, Trejo, and Roux (2014) which took place at a language centre, though it is a language centre affiliated with and integral to a university. Though in a slightly different context, Mora et al.'s work complements the discussions in this area of research by offering a different vocational setting for ELT. PELIs, by focussing on developing students' English communication skills as opposed to the more test-driven approach taken at mainstream schools, are a unique site for research because, through their practices, PELIs arguably develop 'different' kinds of teachers.

3.3 Chapter conclusion

This study uses Bourdieu' idea of *habitus* as a marker of non-NESTs' professional identity which enables us to look into the participants' life journeys from when they started learning English to the

time when they began to teach English. I hold that people tend to change their habitus depending on their evaluation of their situation, which includes their understanding of their position within the field, the opportunities available to them in the future and their commitment to stay in the field. In this study I am assuming that private English language institution (PELI) teachers continuously develop their professional credentials through investing in various learning opportunities either within their organisation or beyond it. Moreover, PELI teachers modify their habitus as an adaptation mechanism towards changes that happen in their field, either within their institution or in the wider context, such as the growing demands for delivering online lessons during and after the Covid-19 outbreak. Ultimately, through this research, I hope to offer another perspective on understanding the formation of professional English teachers through learning from their life experiences as a successful language learner and developing teaching skills through formal and informal learning as they become English teachers.

In other words, this study understands identities as social constructs, the products of the internalization of life experiences which serve as the guiding or directing mechanisms and forms of enablement to respond to any social event. Consequently, this chapter has argued for a theoretical framework wherein the concept of habitus functions as a cumulative ability to act based on how we understand ourselves in relation to other people and the structure present within a field. This study also uses the concept of investment as a means for habitus formation, the concept of trajectory as one inspiration for investment and community of practice as a learning environment. The concept of trajectory looks at the array of options for our future social positions that are influenced by, but not limited by, our existing habitus because we are exposed to different realities and experiences in life which may inspire us to be what used to be an 'unthinkable' being. However, our trajectory or future aspiration will not become a part of our identity until we labour for it or invest in gaining or developing the skills and knowledge which are embedded in the trajectory; this occurs through

practicing the knowledge and skills in our social space until we have internalized and materialized the necessary skills and knowledge and the resulting form which becomes our habitus. Finally, the concept of community of practice is useful to describe the role of a community of learning in developing each other's skills and knowledge which could become part of one's habitus.

Chapter 4

Methodology

Introduction

This chapter elaborates upon the ontological and epistemological perspectives for this study along with the methodological tradition and the methods employed to gather evidence to answer the posed research questions. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section explains the ontological and epistemological stances and how these stances guided me towards the interpretivist paradigm. The second section explores the suitability of a narrative inquiry research design for understanding non-NESTs' professional identities by looking at their habitus. It also argues for the data collection instruments used in this study and sets out in detail the process of the data collection stage. The third section explains the use of thematic analysis as a tool to map out codes and generate themes which could help in interpreting and reporting on the data. Finally, the last section describes some of the issues related to the trustworthiness of the research design and the ethical dilemmas faced during data collection and the analysis process.

4.1 Overview of Research Paradigms

Ontological and Epistemological Perspectives

As can be seen in Figure 4.1, this research study was conducted based on an ontological and epistemological stance upon which the researcher makes sense of the phenomenon under study. Ontology refers to issues concerning being (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1995) and deals with questions such as *what is truth?* and *what is reality?* Ontologically, this study takes a subjectivist approach.

Therefore, realities should be understood as multiple, intangible mental constructions, being experienced and socially produced, and contextually-located so that they must be understood within their local context, although they are often shared among individuals across different contexts and cultures (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Figure 4. 1 Methodological framework

Ontological stance: realities are subjective and multiple.

Epistemoloical stance: knowledge is constructed through interpretation of observed phenomena.

Methodological: narrative inquiry

Methods:
Narrative interviews, Field Observation, Email correspondence, WA Chats

Data analysis: Analyis of narratives and narratives analysis
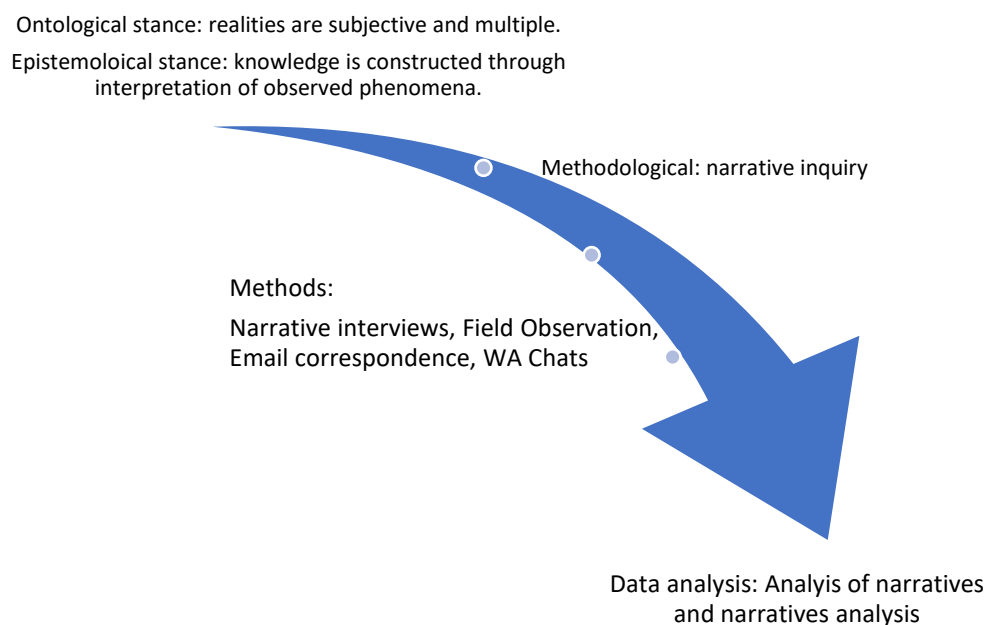
Consequently, this study seeks to understand how individual English teachers view their unique positions in the field, which depends upon how he or she gives meaning to his or her life experiences. Although all of the participants in this study experienced similar ways of learning English through formal schooling, the way they internalized their learning experiences might be different from one another. The way they give meaning to their learning experiences is influenced by other factors such as family upbringing, social and economic background, social environment, and school culture, to name a few. Therefore, as a researcher I need to be sensitive to the unique

interpretations each participant has and not expect that they share identical perspectives about their experiences.

Epistemology: Interpretivism

The second philosophical stance relates to my epistemological perspective (Figure 4.1) or how I get to know about the phenomenon that I am investigating since "the mission of epistemology, the theory of knowledge, is to clarify what the conception of knowledge involves, how it is applied, and to explain why it has the features it does" (Rescher, 2003, p. viii). Therefore, epistemology relates to questions such as how knowledge is acquired, the nature of understanding, or how we know what we know (Heigham & Croker, 2009). I hold that we understand our own identities better than anyone else and so, in order to understand teacher identity, I must talk to the teachers and get to know them from their perspectives. However, the way I understand their perspectives is influenced by my own interpreting 'device' which was formed as the result of my own life experiences, because every qualitative researcher goes into the field with their "intellectual baggage and life experiences with them" (Croker, 2009, p. 11). Therefore, instead of claiming that my analysis of the participants' stories is objective and unbiased, I need to be reflexive regarding my positionality in this research.

Consequently, I took an interpretivist stand as the foundation for conducting this study. Using interpretivism as the research paradigm means that my understanding of English teachers' identities is constructed through my interpretation of the opinions or words of my participants, and so I understand participants' identities through interpreting their narratives. I also believe that the participants are constantly interpreting the activities that they take part in as they make sense of their experience.

In addition, the interpretivist approach is suitable for investigating teachers' identity because it "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 67). Therefore, in my investigation, my understanding about teachers' identity should be placed within its social and cultural environment as experienced by the participants. In other words, I need to comprehend the phenomenon which includes a series of social actions, from the perspective of the actors/participants who have experienced and interpreted them. Finally, in line with the epistemological and ontological stances of the study, this research was designed as a narrative inquiry in that it collected stories and analysed stories to understand the construction of non-NESTs' teacher identity by looking at their habitus, investment, and trajectory

4.2 Methodology: narrative inquiry

Narrative inquiry as a research field has been approached through multiple philosophical and methodological perspectives which widen up our understanding about human experiences viewed from different disciplines (Chase, 2008; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2012) as could be seen from the entries in *The Handbook of Narrative Inquiry* (D. Clandinin, 2012) and *The handbook of narrative analysis* (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015) which include studies from diverse fields. In TESOL, narrative inquiry as a research methodology has gained tremendous popularity for the last few decades (Barkhuizen, 2011; Benson, 2014). Moreover, in line with Barkhuizen's claim that that "narrative research in language teaching and learning (LTL) is concerned with the stories teachers and learners tell about their lived and imagined experiences" (p. 450) this study seeks to understand the formation of teachers' identities by looking at their dispositions (habitus) which they developed throughout their journey as language learners, speakers, and teachers. In addition, the design of this study followed Barkhuizen's (2011, p. 396) "narrative knowledging" framework (Figure 4.2). Narrative knowledging refers to the meaning making, learning or knowledge making process which happens throughout the research process in contrast to doing it once the data set is completed. The first block

of this framework shows the data collection stage, where the participants acted as the narrators of their own stories. My role as the researcher was as the recipient or audience although during the conversations with the participants I was actively involved in making meanings of their stories. The second block represents the data set that was collected through the interviews and field observations. The third block displays the data analysis stage and report (thesis) writing.

Figure 4. 2 Narrative knowledging
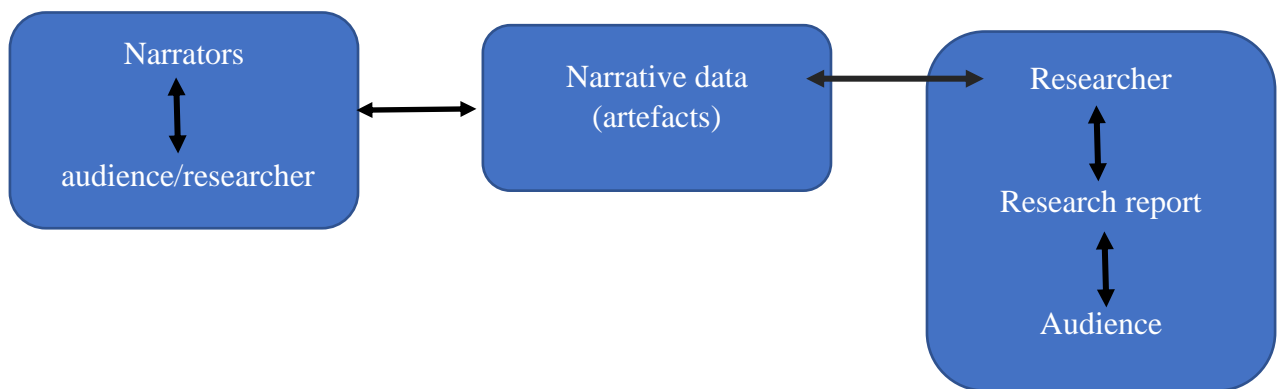
The adaptation of the "narrative knowledging" framework is presented in Figure 4.3 which details the number of PELIs and non-NESTs, the data collection methods, and data analysis.

Figure 4. 3 Overview of Research Design
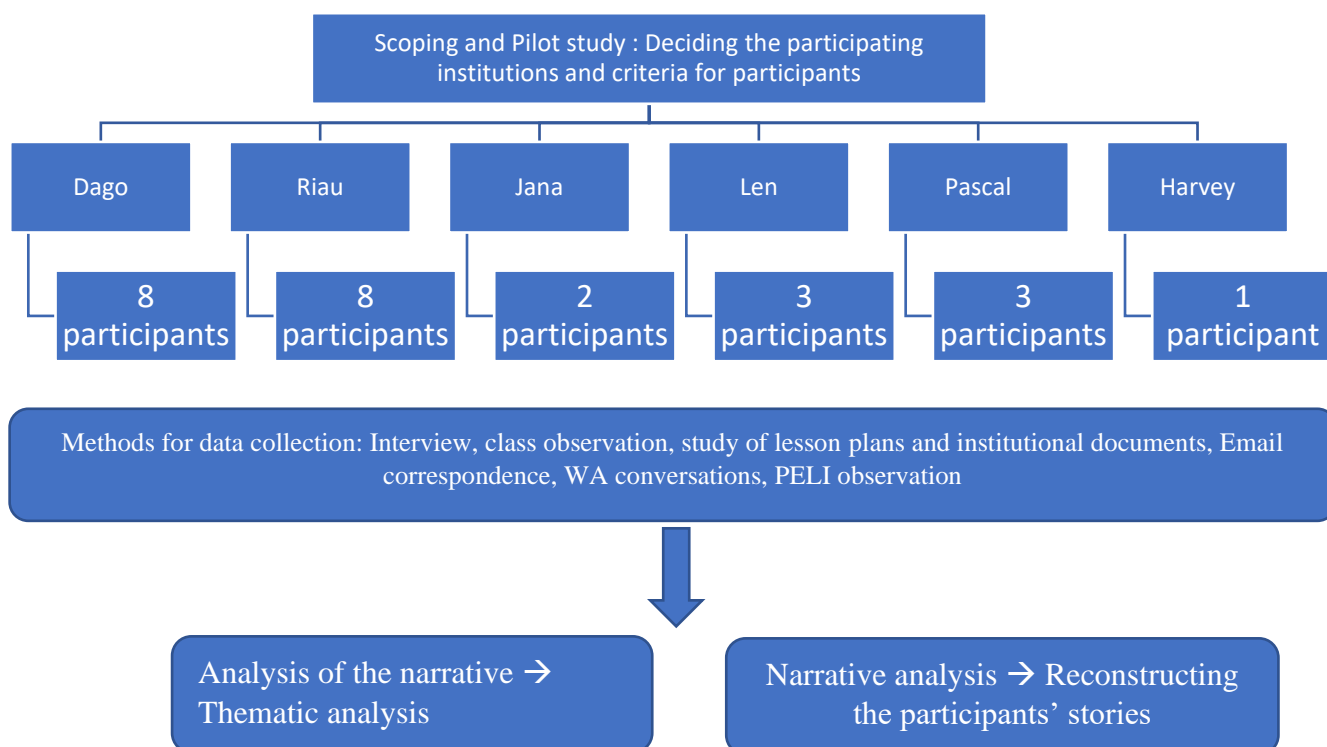
4.3 The participants of the study

The selection of the participants followed the principle of purposive sampling. Purposive sampling procedure is very common in interview research because it seeks to include those who live through or have the most experience of the issues under investigation (Creswell, 2013) and therefore reduces the time needed to select most relevant participants (Bryman, 2016). In addition, the main goal in qualitative research is to comprehend the social phenomena under investigation, therefore the number of participants is less important than the criteria used to select them (Patton, 2002). Consequently, in this study, the participants were only teachers who had taught at their institution for

at least 5 years. This is in line with Kirkpatrick's (2007) and Eros' (2011) criteria for second-stage teachers who have passed the survival period and developed sufficient knowledge and skills and experience working as English teachers at their institution, which I assumed would enable them to develop observable teaching *habitus* and help them be able to reflect upon their development or changes as English teachers. Moreover, I also aimed at having a balance in terms of gender, age, and educational background. As can be seen from Figure 4.2 the total number of participants were 25 teachers, the details of which are shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4. 1 Research participants

NO	Teachers (pseudonym)	Institution (pseudonym)	Teaching experience
1	Claire	Dago	10 years
2	Valerie	Dago	8 years
3	Mirna	Dago	5 years
4	Maya	Dago	5 years
5	India	Dago	8 years
6	Irama	Dago	6 years
7	Arbo	Dago	18 years in total, 5 years at Dago
8	Nada	Dago	10 years
9	Yulia	Riau	17 years in total, 7 years at Riau
10	Yanni	Riau	17 years in total, 10 years at Riau
11	Triana	Riau	6 years
12	Diana	Riau	17 years
13	Tantri	Riau	23 years
14	Mary	Riau	16 years in total, 6 years at Riau

15	Michael	Riau	11 years
16	Darren	Riau	10 years in total, 6 years at Riau
17	Anji	Jana	12 years in total, 6 years at Len
18	Tracy	Jana	15 years
19	Andrew	Len	6 years
20	Shofia	Len	6 years
21	Lia	Len	7 years
22	Putih	Pascal	7 years
23	Eric	Pascal	7 years in total, 5 years at Pascal
24	Andara	Pascal	7 years in total, 5 years at Pascal
25	Willy	Harvey	6 years

In terms of choosing the participating PELIs, I intended for the sample to offer maximum variation (Creswell, 2013) of the participants, therefore I chose PELIs from various market segments, high, mid, and low. High end PELIs are those offering programmes with native speaker teachers and with the most expensive price (more than IDR 500,000 per month) such as Dago, Riau, and Jana, middle range (between IDR 300,000 to 500,000) such as Len and Pascal and low (under IDR 300,000) such as Harvey. Consequently, the types of facilities and programmes varied between these PELIs. High-end PELIs, such as Dago and Riau, offer programmes which are taught by NESTs, classrooms with air-conditioner and use English books from Pearson, Cambridge or Longman. On the other hand, smaller PELIs such as Pascal and Harvey develop their own course book and only have Indonesian teachers. A more detailed comparison between these PELIs is found in Appendix 10.

4.4 Data collection methods

The majority of research projects in the areas of human science gathers its data from interviews, and the goal in conducting interviews in narrative inquiry research is to generate detailed accounts of the understudied phenomena from the perspective of the interviewees (Riessman, 2008) and to facilitate the reconstruction of the participants' experience within the topic of the study (Seidman, 1998). Seidman emphasized the benefits of using interviews to understand the meaning people give to their experiences. In line with this, the interview protocol for facilitating teachers' stories was done following the approach taken in ethnographic interviews where these became conversations between two equally important interlocutors (researcher and the participants) who collaboratively construct narrative and meaning (Riessman, 2008). Consequently, during the interviews, the dynamics of the conversation follow day to day conversation with its "turn-taking, relevance, and entrance and exit talk" (p. 24) and use open ended questions (Seidman, 1998). In terms of gaining the 'target' response, which is teachers' stories, as it is in everyday conversation, the researcher should be sensitive to know when to, and how to give comments. Moreover, interviews for narrative will take more time than other types of interviews which focus on specific content, because one story can lead to another story and another story (Riessman, 2008). In this study, the narrative interviews were designed to invite participants to reflect on their experience in learning English and developing their teaching skills, examine the values, principles, and experiences which were shared amongst the participants, and explore the strategies participants developed to enable them to 'play the game' effectively. The detailed data collection schedule is presented at Appendix 11.

Rationales for using life stories

This study uses teachers' life stories or narratives as the main data to look at their identity construction through the development of their *habitus*. The reason behind this decision is that this

study seeks to understand teachers' identities through the way that identity is represented in the stories the teachers share; for the topic of identity, narrative inquiry is a widely-used methodology (Barkhuizen, 2015; Endo, Reece-Miller, & Santavicca, 2010; Guerrero, 2011; Liu & Xu, 2011, 2013; Tsui, 2007) because in principle, narrative inquiry involves the reconstruction of the participants' life experiences in their relationship to other people and to other aspects of their lives (D. J. Clandinin & Connelly, 2000)

A life-story is a person's subjective, reflective report of past experiences and the meaning of those experiences to that person. It can be a basis for inferring how a person has constructed her concept of self and understanding how relationships, circumstances, and events have been interpreted and incorporated by an individual (Clausen, 1998). Life stories are suitable for this study because they provide the storyteller's point of view (Denzin, 1989; Faraday & Plummer, 2005), reveal processes of identity making (Denzin, 1989; Cortazzi, 2001), and provide insight into wider social structures and how those structures are worked out in a person's particular experience (Cortazzi, 2001; Faraday & Plummer, 2005).

Therefore, in line with the work of Denzin (1989) and Cortazzi (2001), this study uses teachers' narratives to understand their identity construction over time because they contain events or decisions that the participants experienced or made which display their identity constructions through different stages of their lives. Secondly, looking at teachers' life stories enables us to see the development of relevant dispositions which shape their identities as English teachers (Costa, Burke, & Murphy, 2019). More specifically, this study pays particular attention to how an individual's life experience provides insight into how they develop the relevant habitus for their profession and how their engagement with other actors in their institution and wider social structure are worked out in a

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person's particular experience. Finally, this study uses the terms 'life stories' and 'teachers' narratives' interchangeably.

Teachers' narrative

Simply put, narrative is any spoken or written text focussed on an event or action or series of actions or events (Czarniawska, 2004). We use narrative to construct and express meaning in our daily lives (Guerrero, 2011). This is in line with Brunner's (1990) idea about narrative which is closely related to 'folk psychology' wherein narrative functions as "a system by which people organize their experience in, knowledge about, and transactions with the social world"(p.35). This study views teachers' narrative as a medium in which they make sense of their life experiences as English language learners, speakers and teachers. Specifically, this study explores participants' habitus as a lens to see their way of being, their identity.

Ball and Goodson (1985) proposed some assumptions to be made when conducting a research project which used teacher histories as data. The first assumption deals with the history around how the participants learned English and developed a habitus as an English speaker in Indonesia. The second assumption relates to the social and economic background of the participants which could limit or expand their opportunity to learn English and how their background shapes the way they see their profession as English teachers. Finally, the third assumption posits that participants' stories must be understood from the perspective of events in their lives, and so participants' stories must be understood within this context.

4.5 Data Collection Process

The data collection was done following the lead of the participants in the field which required flexibility on my side as the researcher. In the first data collection schedule (April-May 2018, see Appendix 11) with only one participating PELI, Dago participated in the research; however, through the researcher's relationship with some of the participants, the number of participants multiplied into 25 teachers from six PELIs. Although I had a plan regarding which PELI to visit on which dates, I did not follow the schedule rigidly. In contrast, many changes to the research plan were made to suit the schedule of the participants. However, a typical day during the data collection process included me visiting one PELI and spending the whole day in that PELI. I used my time at the PELI to observe the interactions between teachers, students, administrators and other non-teaching staff. Moreover, by spending the whole day at one PELI, I got to see the complete operation of the institution and got a sense of the routine of a teacher at the PELI. While I was waiting for the participants to be ready to be interviewed, I would hang out with other teachers or write my observation notes if I saw an interesting event or picture which I could use as a cue in the interviews. Hanging out, as a qualitative research data collection instrument, can provide important contextual information which could offer a different perspective from the interviews (Maxwell, 2013). After getting to know the participants, I arranged for the interviews. All of the participants were very helpful in that they all kept their promises to meet me at the agreed time and place. I even had a few ad hoc interviews with some participants when there were issues I needed to clarify with them. Most of the interviews were conducted primarily as informal conversations in which I used both English and Indonesian. As mentioned above, conversational interviews, which are common in ethnographic and field study, are suitable in this study because they foster good rapport between the researcher and the researched and they provide some space for the participants to be flexible about what to talk about during the interview (Given, 2008). Having a good rapport with the participants encouraged

them to be continuously engaged in the research project in terms of responding to my emails, video calls and WhatsApp conversations after I went back to the UK.

Narrative Interviews

Systematically, the narrative interview or conversations in this study adapted Seidman's (1998) three interview approach, with each interview focussing on a particular set of information although the overall interview questions were developed based on Benson's (2017) list of the three stages of becoming a language teacher. These include becoming a language learner, language user and language teacher; each of these identities are products of peoples' stories about themselves. Following this approach to interview, I divided each interview into three main sections which could be seen as three episodes of the participant's identity construction, although in reality I often did not follow the order rigidly and instead went with the flow of the conversations. I tried to be sensitive to the stories the participants told me, to notice the important events or features of those stories and then to treat the events as the cues for my follow up questions. Because the interviews were conducted as conversations, the participants became very open to any changes in direction that happened during the conversation, and as the researcher I felt that I needed to respect my participants regarding how they wanted the conversation to progress. Follow up interview (2nd and 3rd interview) questions were constructed based on the data I obtained in the first interview.

The three episodes of participants' lives are:

Episode 1: Becoming an English speaker

The first part of the interview covered the participant's journey to becoming an English speaker. From their stories, I was sometimes led to ask more about their family background and their

schooling experience which contributed to the development of their proficiency in the English language. Another aspect which came out in this section was related to their hobbies and how those hobbies helped with their English.

Episode 2: Becoming a teacher

The focus of the second interview is to concentrate on participants' stories of becoming English teachers. I explored their teaching journey from the beginning to where they are now. This section focussed on the background stories which led them to decide to become an English teacher. Another focus was related to their beliefs as a teacher and how these beliefs influenced their practice.

Episode 3: Looking ahead

The third part of the interview looked at the participants' career trajectories and how they saw the changes within the ELT field in Indonesia. I wanted to know how as an agent they view their field at the moment and what position they would like to attain in the future.

During the data collection, I had the opportunity to interview some participants twice or three times so I got the opportunity to clarify some of the things they shared with me in the previous interview. For those whom I could only interview once, I continued the communication via email and WhatsApp conversation whenever there was the need to clarify any issues that came out in the interviews. The data that was gathered via emails and WhatsApp were more direct. The responses that the participants gave were significantly shorter than when they were asked to respond in face to face interviews. One of the disadvantages of using emails as an interviewing tool is that the possibility of missing some tacit knowledge or information which could be important for the research

project (Selwyn & Robson, 1998). In this study, however, the use of email was very limited (only 5 participants were emailed) and they were used not as the main interviewing tool but rather to clarify specific information which was missed during the face-to-face interview.

The duration of the conversation ranged between 15 minutes to more than two hours. Some interviews were interrupted by duties that the participants had to complete because the conversations were being done at their institution during working hours. I was able to carry out the interview within the participants' working hours after obtaining permission from their manager with the agreement that, whenever the teacher was needed, she must attend to her duties first and then go back to the conversation with me when time allowed. Consequently, some of the interviews had to be done in two meetings which , as a matter of fact, allowed for richer data than trying to squeeze in as much information as possible in one interview session because "one cannot hurry a good interview, nor can one push the interviewee to reveal what he or she does not want to tell or does not know about" (Nunkoosing, 2005, pp. 701–702). Moreover, throughout the data collection process, I made clear to the participants that I would work around their schedule and duties to make sure that I did not affect their work negatively. This flexible timing is appropriate for a conversation with friends because you do not treat the conversation as your priority. In doing so I felt as if I was included in the community and that I was just having a teacher-to-teacher conversation with the participants, something that they normally do in their staff room. In fact, some of the participants seemed to enjoy our conversations as if they saw them as an opportunity to share their opinions about ELT at their institution and to get some advice about some of the challenges that they were facing, such as how to motivate their students to use English outside of the classroom and how to teach academic writing or to obtain some advice about how to get a scholarship.

In addition, this study also employed observation and document analysis to provide information regarding the context of the study, PELI. Observation is a suitable means to be gather information when dealing with specific locations, such as schools, hospitals, or religious places (Angrosino, 2011). Moreover, information gathered through the observations and document analysis were used to prompt questions during the interviews or as topics during hangout sessions. However, the order of data collection varied between the participants depending on their availability and when I would be on the site myself. The most common order was initial interview – observation- post observation interview and looking at the lesson plan.

Observations

Observations allow a researcher to gain data in a naturalistic setting. There are two types of observations in this study; field observation and classroom observation. In field observation I paid attention to the interactions between teachers and teachers with students outside of class, the physical environment of the PELI such as staff room, lobby, and other facilities. During classroom observations, I observed classroom teaching and activities, interactions between students and teacher, and any personal stories that the teacher used. In terms of my positionality as an observer, I sometimes attended purely as an observer and sometimes took the role of observer as participant (Creswell & Poth, 2018) depending on how the teacher treated me during the lesson. Some teachers included me as a participant in their lesson by asking me to work with a student in a pair activity or to answer survey questions. Irama and India asked me to pronounce some vocabulary as they thought that I had a good British accent.

The purpose of the observation was to see the individual habitus which make the participant different or distinct from other teachers, such as their accents, life stories and ideas for activities in class and

to observe shared practices and variations between the participants. The second aim of the observation was to understand the institutional context in which the participants were teaching. Some of the data about the institutions was about the building, classroom, staff room, teaching resources, school facilities, etc. These data were used in the interviews to elicit some comments from the participants with regard to their beliefs and practices as Indonesian non-NESTs and their career trajectory. For example, when I showed Andrew a marketing poster that his PELI used showing a picture of a NEST teacher teaching some teenagers, he said that the poster showed that a NEST is the ideal teacher to teach English. Another example was when I asked Anji about the new building that his PELI occupied; he said that the new building is modern and minimalist and so very different to the previous building it used which was more like a big house. All of the classrooms in the new building have glass walls so parents can see how English is taught. He said that it is good marketing but on the other hand it puts pressure on the teachers to be very careful with how they teach to make sure that the parents like what they see.

Samples of teachers' lesson plans

Lesson planning can simply mean the way teachers organize their ideas to ensure that they achieve what they want to achieve in their lessons. Teachers can make lesson plans for one whole academic calendar, per semester, monthly, weekly or daily. The kind of lesson planning that the participants do is daily lesson planning which includes detailed descriptions and procedures to guide the minute by minute learning process in a class to ensure that the lesson objectives are accomplished (Farrel, 2002). The participants do not have to follow a certain format or template when writing their lesson plan except if they are to be observed by other teachers or their supervisor. Richards (1998) argued that a lesson plan also helps teachers to anticipate potential problems which may affect the running of a lesson. In this study the participants' lesson plans were used as a cue to generate some questions related to their beliefs and the rationales behind the activities that they include in their lesson plans.

The lesson plans used in this study were the ones from the observed lessons as well as from a collection of the participants' lesson plans compiled throughout their teaching career.

4.6 Analysis and Interpretation

In recent years, the social sciences have taken a 'narrative turn' with an increased and expanding interest in the analysis of narratives and performance (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006). The plethora of approaches to narrative analysis is summarized by Elliot (2005, p. 38):

> "First, analyses can be characterized by whether they examine the content or the form of narratives. Second, while some researchers attempt an holistic analysis which seeks to preserve a narrative in its entirety and understand it as a complete entity, other analyses can be described as categorical analyses in that short sections of the text are extracted, classified, and placed into categories for analysis."

Structurally, the data collected in this study were analysed according to the research questions. The first research question explores the roles of *habitus, investment, and teacher trajectory* in constructing teachers' identities. The participants' *habitus* was explored through questions related to how they learn the English language and how they develop their teaching skills and credentials. The second research question examines the space which is provided by the institutions. A PELI is the immediate social space in which non-NESTs negotiate and perform their identities; it has unique values and principles that need to be followed by their teachers. How a PELI as an institution allows for and restricts certain practices and discourses could be seen as a form of "doxa" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 164) where the teachers accept whatever values or beliefs which are maintained and promoted in the PELI. Doxa is a situation where an opinion, belief, value or order is taken for granted or is accepted as an objective truth. In this study, each PELI has a set of organizational values which are accepted as the truth by the teachers which will feed into the construction of its teachers'

professional identities. If a teacher's habitus resonates with the institutional doxa then that teacher

will be satisfied with his or her role in the institution and will internalise his/her institutional

identities as part of his or her identity.

This study recognises the challenge of preserving individuality of the narratives situating the analysis

within the broader context (McAlpine, Amundsen, & Turner, 2014). Therefore, in the first analysis,

the contents of teachers' narratives were chronologically ordered, beginning with their experience as

English language learners, their initial start in teaching, and finally their future aspirations.

Barkhuizen's (2015) short stories analysis was combined with Clarke's (2009) identity work scheme

to reconstruct participants' stories. For the categorical analysis or the analysis of the narrative

(Polkinghorne, 1995), the participants' narratives were analysed thematically following Braun and

Clarke's (Braun & Clarke, 2006) thematic analysis (see Section 4.6 below) focussing the

development of the participants' habitus as the result of their experiences learning English and later

teaching English in their career journey.

4.6.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data from the interviews. There are eight steps which I

followed when conducting thematic analysis (Fig. 4.3).

Figure 4. 3 Thematic analysis
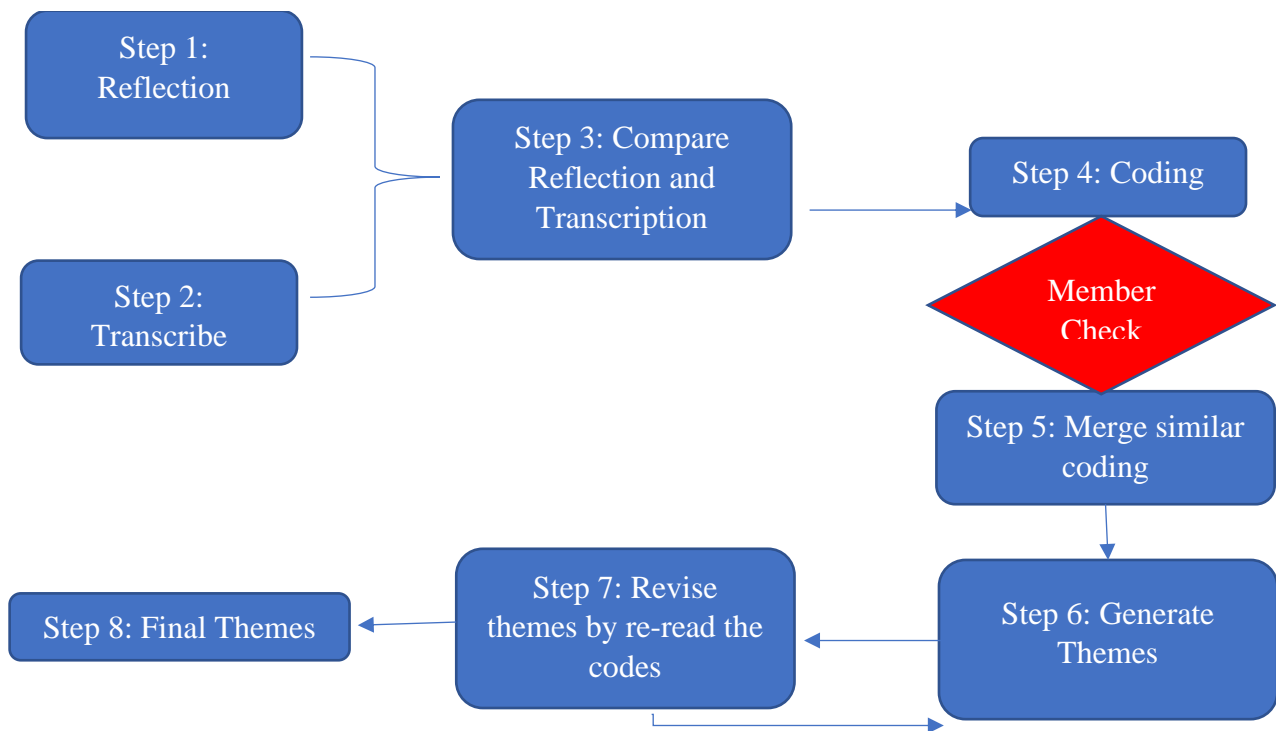
The first thing I did when I finished an interview (Step 1) was to write my impressions or to reflect on how the interview went and my impressions about the participant. Sometimes I did not have the chance to write it straight away, so I would wait until I finished my fieldwork for the day and wrote up my reflections when I returned to my accommodation.

Step 1 Reflection on the interview process

Listening to the recording I reflect on:

- How did the interview go?

- Did I enjoy the conversation?

- Did the participant give long or brief responses? Why?

- Did I establish good rapport with the participant? Did I think that the participant was comfortable talking to me? If not, why not?

- Did I miss anything? What questions would I ask in the next interview?

- What did I think about the participant as an English teacher?

- Did the participant have a positive/negative attitude towards a teaching career?

- Easy going? Reserved? Confident?

- What were the HOT topics which I need to follow up?

- Did I have enough time?

- Was it a good place to have an interview?

During data collection, most of the participants were interviewed at least twice, two were interviewed three times (Yulia and Claire) and three were interviewed once (Andrew, Willy, and Putih). When I first interviewed Arbo, one of the participants, he was very laid back and would answer my questions in one or two sentences, so I had to elicit for more information. Moreover, in the first interview, there were times when I did not feel comfortable talking to him, probably because I did not really know him personally and he had quite a negative attitude towards his career. However, I continued and finished the conversation and got the information which I could work with. After some encounters in the staff room, he became more friendly and we had a few conversations about cars and his hobbies in collecting toy cars. However, when I interviewed him for the second time, he was more enthusiastic about 'helping' me with my research. I did not have to elicit so much from him because he gave sufficient and often long explanations to the questions I asked.

After writing my reflections, I transcribed the interview (Step 2). Often I waited until the weekend to transcribe the interviews that I did during the week. After transcribing, I spent time reading through one transcription and re-reading my reflections to 'bring me back' to the interview event. I found it useful to do this particularly to help me notice some of the main topics that were 'hotter' than others during the conversation (Step 3), which I could follow up in the next interviews or via email

correspondence. Two of the participants, Mary and Tracy, gave stories that were particularly interesting because they shared a similar upbringing as transnational learners of English. They both lived abroad for more than six years and used English as their first language throughout their childhood. Knowing this fact, I constructed second interview questions to focus on their experience of living abroad.

After that, I started to code the transcriptions (Step 4). I used NVivo to help me organise the codes (Figure 4.4). I read the transcription for each topic or question first and then moved on to code at the sentence level. By doing this, I avoided coding a sentence out of its wider context or explanation which often came in the following two or three sentences or in another section of the interview. The codes in NVivo were documented as nodes, so a chain of responses which contains more than one sentence may only have one code and became one node, but on the other hand one sentence may contain more than one code, which means that that sentence has more than one node referring to it. I developed the nodes as I progressively coded the transcription from each participant. After making codes for more than one participant, it became clear that some participants shared similar thoughts about some issues. This means that one node could contain sources from multiple participants (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4. 4 Coding
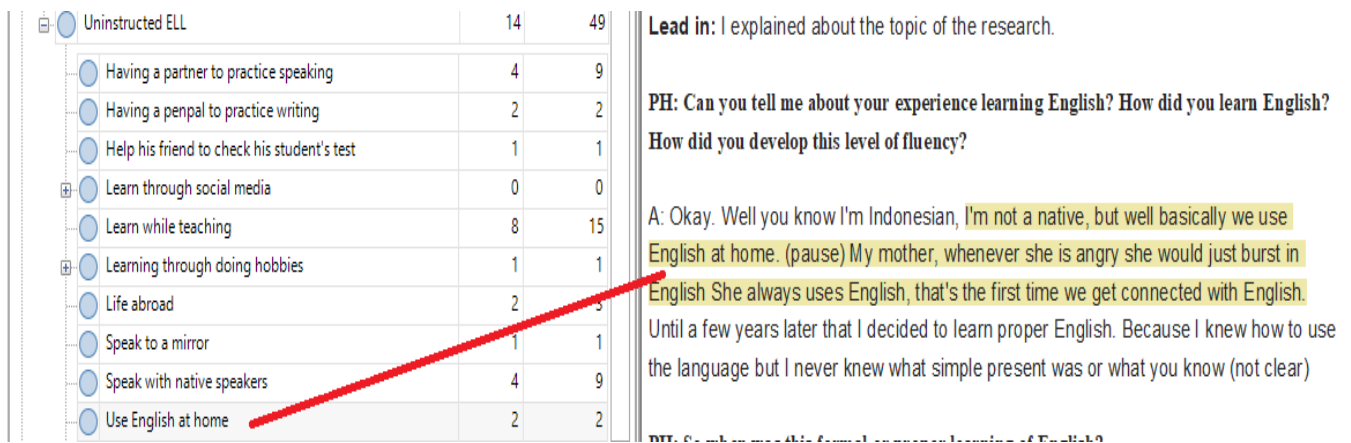
Figure 4. 5 Multiple source coding
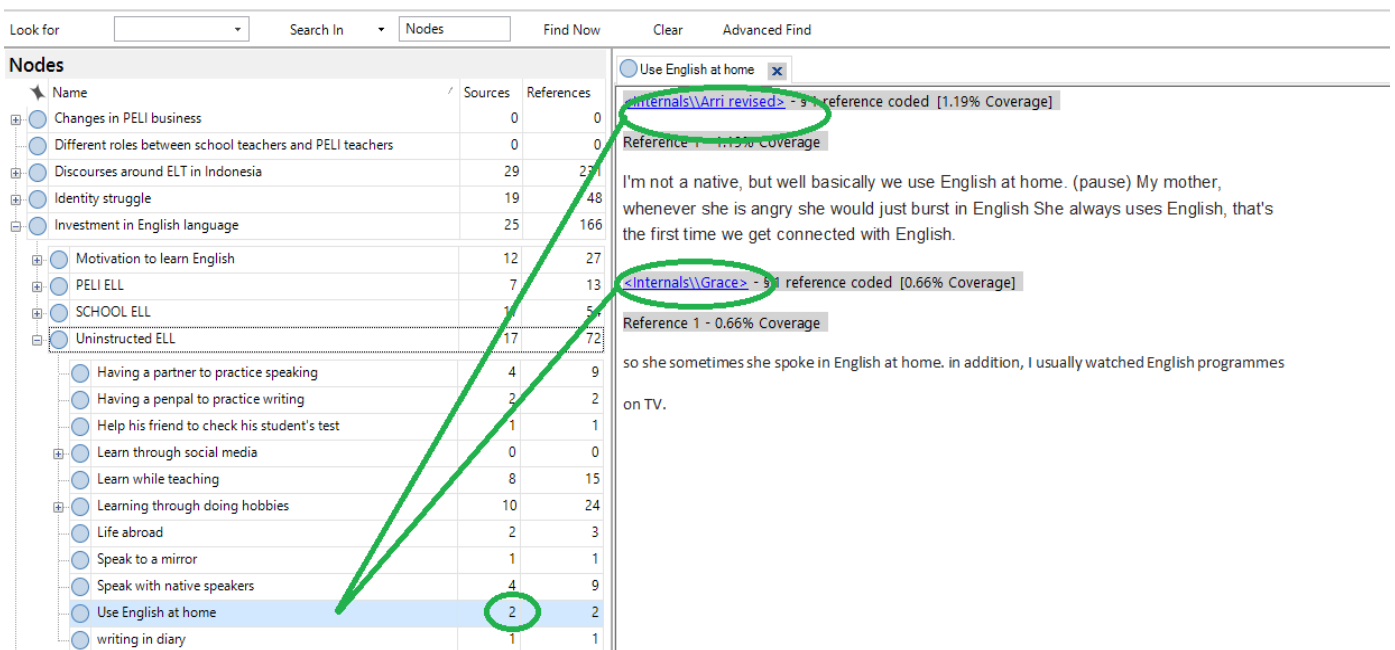
Before moving to Step 5, I sent the codes to participants to get their feedback on my interpretation of their words. However, only three gave me feedback confirming the codes. I sent the codes together with the transcription, so it is possible that it was too much for the participants to read and comment on. In addition, I also met them during my visit to Indonesia after I finished analysing the data; at that time, I was able to show them my version of their stories (after Step 6, explained below). I used

their feedback to revise the stories. I believe that member check is very important in my analysis because it improves the authenticity of the narration or stories.

Once I had coded all of the transcriptions, I then re-read all of the nodes and merged some of the similar nodes and assigned a new parental node to them (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4. 6 Merging codes
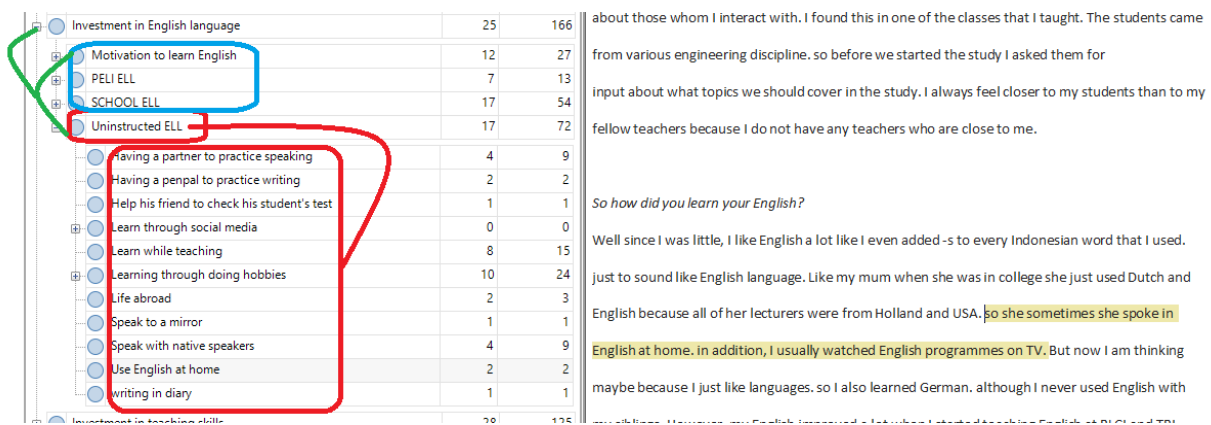
Next, I started constructing some themes by grouping the parental nodes which support the themes (Step 6). The themes were revised five times (Step 7) and the level 2 nodes were moved around or changed to suit the themes. In the end there were three layers of nodes of analysis and eight themes constructed (Step 8). As an example, Figure 4.6 illustrates investment in English language learning as one of the themes; out of those eight themes, only four are reported in this dissertation due to their significance and relevance to the aim of the study and the research questions guiding the study. The

themes which will be elaborated in this study are *investment in English language*, *investment in teaching skills*, *teachers' trajectories*, and *the role of institutions in shaping a teacher's identity*.

Figure 4. 7 Theme clusters
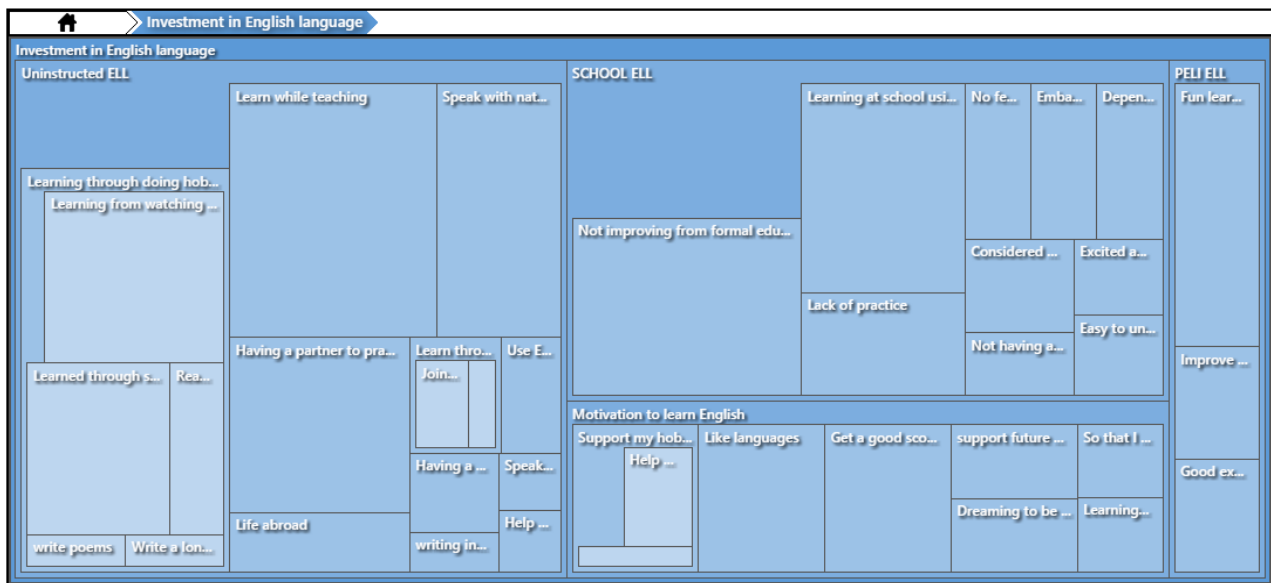
4.6.2 Reconstructing teachers' narratives

Although teacher's narratives are presented first in the organisation of the thesis, the process of constructing the narratives was done after thematic analysis. I followed this process because some of the participants were interviewed two or three times, making it difficult to reconstruct coherent stories before the more holistic data was gathered. Teachers' narratives were analysed as a narratives in themselves, which included analysis of the actors in the stories, the place and the time. Barkhuizen (Barkhuizen, 2015) introduced three types of stories when studying teachers' identity using narrative inquiry: 'stories' (written in all small letters), 'Stories' (with a capital S), and 'STORY' (all in CAPITALS). The first type, 'stories', deals with individuals' perceptions of who they are in relation to their social interaction with other people. The second type, 'Stories', covers a larger space of a person, be their stories about the institution or school they are in. The last type, 'STORY', tells about the national or global discourse around someone's identity. It is important to place individual stories

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within their wider contexts to better understand teachers' identities because identity is contextual, temporal and social. Thus, this study uses the participants' life stories, institutional policies and national and global discourses around English language teaching and teachers to theorize non-NESTs' identities in Indonesia. The second part of analysis aims at reconstructing participants' stories, Stories, and STORIES. Each interview was transcribed and analysed following Barkhuizen's (Barkhuizen, 2015) and Bamberg and Georgakopoulou's (2008) steps of analysing small stories. Barkhuizen's (Barkhuizen, 2015) approach to analysing teachers' narratives is particularly useful when analysing short stories told by the participants which contain some specific events where they had to negotiate their claims of identity. Figure 4.7 outlines the process of narrative analysis in this study.

Figure 4. 8 Analysis of narratives

| Interview | → | Transcribe | → | Cluster the stories : learner, speaker, teacher | → | Analysis level 1, 2, and 3 | → | Reconstructing the stories |
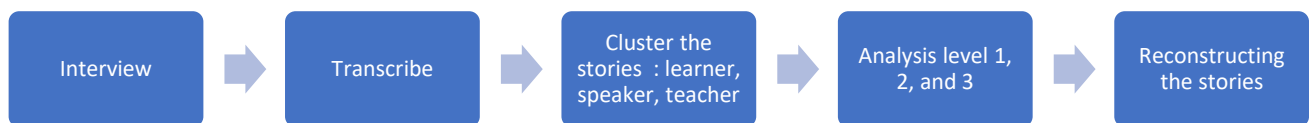
Once the transcriptions were clustered into three segments namely the participant's experiences as an English learner, speaker, and teacher, all indicators of *who, where,* and *when* were listed and analysed. The analysis of the *who, where,* and *when* constructs the context of the stories which is needed before doing further analysis. In the Analysis Level 1, all of the characters in the stories are listed and how they relate to the participant is analysed. Level 1 analysis focuses on how the narrator positioned himself/herself in the various episodes or events in his/her life. This level focuses on the personal relationships that the participants had such as with their friends and family. Figure 4.8 provides a sample of narrative analysis of Arbo's experience learning English at home with his mother and siblings. In this snippet, Arbo identified his identity as a non-native English speaker. He

explained that English had been part of his linguistic repertoire since he was young because his

mother and siblings used English at home. This fact indicates the social class of his family because

English in Indonesia was mainly used by people from a high social and economic background

(Smith, 1991).

Figure 4. 9 Arbo's learning English at home
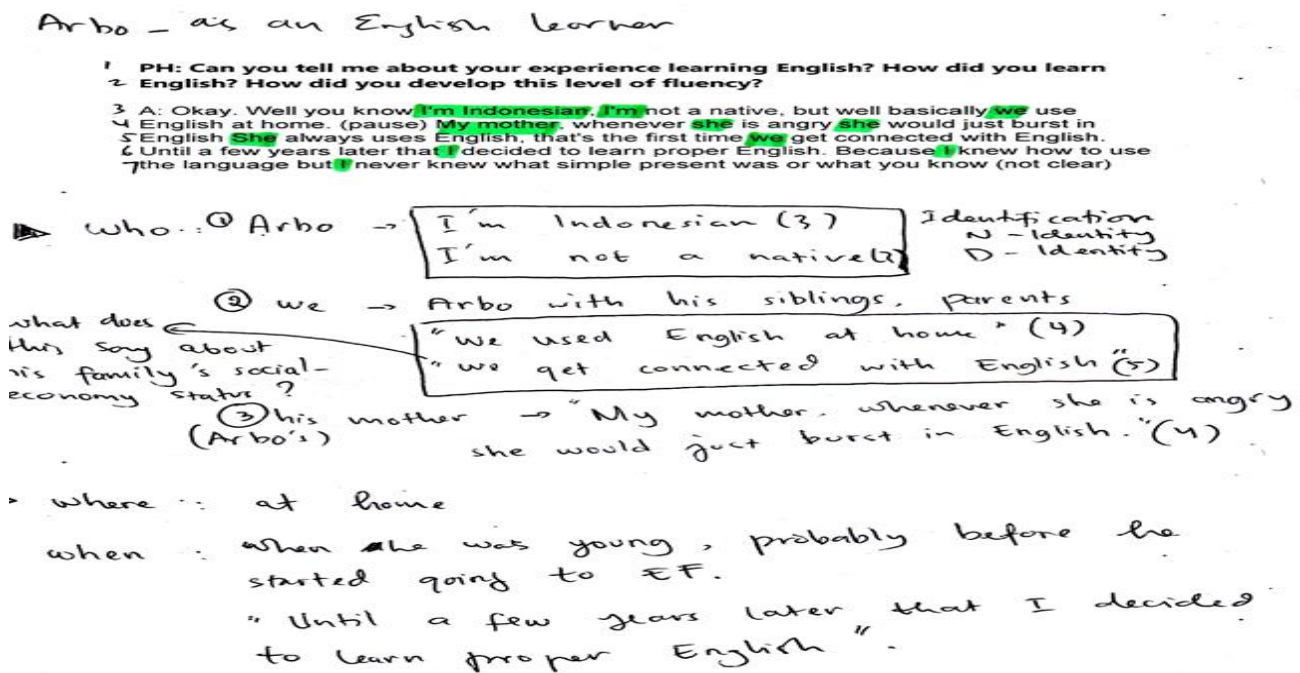
Level 2 analysis investigates how the participants view themselves in relation to the various

institutions they were or are in, and how they see their institution's positioning of them. Analysis

Level 3 analyses how the global or regional discourse positions the participants. Figure 4.9 shows a

snippet of Arbo's experience with the CELTA course. It could be seen that he felt that he was being

'forced' to take CELTA by his colleagues although he also acknowledged that he did not get any

training when he worked at EF. From this, we can see the role of Dago to shape their teachers (into

CELTA teachers) by treating the CELTA course as a 'mandatory' teacher training programme for its

teachers. On the other hand the snippet also shows that Arbo maintained his agency by saying,

"Okay let's see what happens (in CELTA)*"* (line 7) to show that he still had the control of what he

wanted to do even during the CELTA training, whether to complete the course or not. Finally,

Clarke's identity work was used to reconstruct the participant's stories in chronological order (Figure

4.11)

Figure 4. 10 Arbo's experience in CELTA

Arbo → CELTA

1 PH: Why did you take CELTA? I think you have no problems teaching, I mean you've got some
2 experience in teaching
3 A: Yes and no actually because again I didn't get proper training. and basically at my previous
   definition of a successful teacher
4 workplace as long as the students are happy then you are a successful teacher that's it, so we were
5 made to believe that that we are good teachers just because the students idolized us ya. I took the
6 CELTA not because I wanted to (pause) at the beginning it was more like because a lot of the fellow
7 teachers here pushed me and I said okay, let's see what happen. I just said to myself look if I am
8 not gonna learn anything new then I will just gonna stop I'm gonna quit I don't care. uhm.. let's give
9 it a week. then after three day this is interesting, like you know just like a proper training *CELTA is*
10 and they basically the workshops taught me how to analyse what I did wrong why stuff like that.
11 so ya... I'm glad I took that (you learn something) a lot.

① who :
   Arbo(3). "I didn't get proper training."
   You(4): teacher in general / English teacher
   EF teachers (4)(5) "so we were made to believe that
                      we are good".
   EF students (5) ... because the students idolized us.
   Dago teachers (6,7) .. a lot of the fellow teachers here
                      pushed me.
   CELTA trainers (10) they taught me how to analyse
                      what I did wrong.

② where : EF (3,4,5)
           Dago (6, 7)
           CELTA training (9,10) = Proper training,
                                   right or wrong

③ When : in the past, when he was working at EF (3,4,5)
          at Dago (6, 7)
          → CELTA (8,9,110)

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Figure 4. 11 Darren's identity work following Clarke's (2009) identity work framework

Darren		

Past trajectory

Future trajectory

PAST- Historical accounts	NOW - Reality	FUTURE- Expectation/aspiration
ADAPTATION	TRANSFORMATION	
• INVESTMENT AS A LEARNER AND TEACHER • HABITUS • CAPITAL	• CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH INVESTMENT • POSITION • CHANGES IN THE FIELD	• IMAGINED POSITION • IMAGINED COP

Historical accounts	Reality of PELI teachers: Values and Practices	Teacher aspirations/trajectories
•why did they become a PELI teacher? •what motivated them to become a PELI teacher •what were their initial perspective of PELI teachers and school teachers which helped them to decide to become a PELI teacher •what have they done or invest in becoming a PELI teacher? in terms of how did they learn English language? How did they develop their teaching skills and qualification? •What capitals have they accumulated before becoming a teacher at PELI?	•How do they see their role as a PELI teacher? •How do they feel about being a PELI teacher? •Have they changed their perspective about PELI teachers? •How do they adapt to their reality? •Which capital is the most valuable in their field? •What capital do they hope to have? •what investment are they doing now?	•What are their dreams or aspiration for the future? •what motivates them to have such aspirations? •How optimistic are they about achieving their dreams? •what are the obstacles in achieving their dreams? •What are their strategies to overcome those challenges?

Learning at school the 'old way' such as just about grammar, textbook and translation Considered weird when trying to use English (speaking) in the class	CELTA changed him as a teacher Aware of his investment in CELTA and improved English so want to get paid more	Want to teach abroad, being married to a native speaker this is very possible Want to work for a British council because they pay a lot

Next, I interpreted the stories and went back to the participants to do member checking. This is a different member checking than the one in thematic analysis above in two ways. First while the member checking for thematic analysis was done by emailing the participants the codes, member checking for the narrative analysis was carried out in person. Second, member checking for narrative analysis was only done with nine focus participants compared to all participants for thematic analysis member checking. Finally, revisions were made based on the feedback received from the participants during the member checking meetings.

4.7 Methodological issues: Trustworthiness, Ethics, Reciprocity, Reflexivity and Positionality

4.7.1 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness in this study is achieved by member checking, as discussed earlier. Integrated with thematic analysis, initial codes were shown to the participants to allow them to 'validate' the way I coded their responses. The participants had the opportunity to amend any parts of the coding and thus indirectly change the narrative to suit their perspective and perception. Moreover, in dealing with the interview transcriptions, I kept all the content as it was provided by the participants although I

corrected some of the grammatical errors that they made. Another member checking procedure was undertaken during the reconstruction of nine focus participants' narratives. The participants were shown my version of their stories. They were then encouraged to give comments about it. After that, revisions were made according to the feedback or comments from the participants.

Due to the Covid 19 pandemic, all of the PELIs had to stop their business for a few months until they could start online classes. However, all of them experienced a significant drop in the number of students during the Covid 19 outbreak. This also affected the salary of the participants because the less classes they taught the less income they will receive. I did not feel that I could ask them to read the narrative and give me feedback because I knew they were in a difficult situation and participating in a research project was not their priority. In the end I only received feedback from five participants and all of them approved the way I wrote about them.

4.7.2 Ethics

In conducting their research projects, social scientists are obliged to comply with ethical practice of conducting research to protect others who are taking part in the research as well as the wider community in which the research project is done, to gain trust from the participants, and to assure research integrity (Israel & Hay, 2011). Coming in as a fellow non-NESTs certainly helped me to gain access to the participating PELIs although it also posed some challenges in relation to supressing my assumptions about the life of a PELI teacher and positioning myself as a teacher, researcher, and friend. Moreover, using face to face interviews as the main means of data collection raised some issues regarding talking to female participants as this could be misinterpreted as having personal relationship if not handled appropriately: This is because, as I develop a relationship with the participants, I inevitably become part of their lives and their attempts to explain the meaning of

their experience (Clandinin, 2013). Overall, the ethical considerations for this study include practical issues in relation to interviewing the participants, dealing with personal stories, observing classes, positionality and reciprocity.

Ethics in conducting interviews

Interviews as dialogues have the potential to change our perspective of the phenomenon or our relationship with the participants; thus it is more important to consider how the interviews might affect the participants rather than foreground my own need for data to help in answering my research questions (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). I need to be sensitive in how I engaged with participants in the interviews because, ultimately, I need to put their interest above my research. Therefore, during the interviews I ensured that the way I conducted it did not open space for misinterpretation by other people who happened to witness the events, especially when I interviewed female participants. In this section, I present some of the ethical concerns that I encountered in the course of the research. Procedural ethics were followed in that I obtained clearance from the University of Bristol Ethics Committee. Prior to conducting this research project I gave an information sheet to all the participants and asked for their agreement to participate in the study by signing a consent letter (see Appendix 6).

Contextually, interviews must be done in a way which ensures that the research context is acceptable to the community. Contextual awareness is even more important when conducting interview research because interviews can be misinterpreted by others as an intimate conversation between two people because both parties seem to be intensely engaged in the conversation. In most areas in Indonesia, when a woman has a conversation with a man, it can be implied that they have a close relationship, usually a familial or personal relationship. Even though it is more common nowadays to see

colleagues spending time together for lunch or a coffee break, there is still a stigma about opposite sex one-to-one conversations and they are taken as something romantic or intimate. Therefore, in most parts of Indonesia, opposite sex conversations should be held in 'public', meaning that they should be observe-able by other people. If a man makes a visit to his friend's house and it happens that the friend is not at home, then his friend's wife should not invite him to come into the house. The guest must wait outside the house or on the terrace where other people (such as neighbours) can see him. Accordingly, when I conducted interviews with female participants, I always met them at public places, such as in their office or the staff room, a restaurant, café, or in a classroom. When conducting interviews at their workplace, I first of all obtained permission from the principal or senior teachers at the institution to ensure that I did not disturb the teacher's work. Moreover, getting permission from the person in charge reassured the teachers that I was not there to assess their performance or to check how the PELI runs and that I showed respect to the institution.

Practically, there are some advantages to meeting participants at their workplace; for example, it was more appropriate for me to meet female participants in the staff room rather than at their house or even at a café. Secondly, it was easier for the participants to participate because the interviews did not take up their personal time when they were at home with their family. However, there were also disadvantages to this approach. One disadvantage of conducting interviews at the workplace is that the teacher participants could be interrupted by some sudden tasks that they were required to attend to, a challenge that would not arise if the interviews were done in a café or restaurant. Moreover, meeting teacher participants outside their offices seemed to help them to feel more relaxed and open. Therefore, some of the interviews in cafés and restaurants lasted significantly longer than those at the institutions. Another consideration that I had to make was related to the time of day when I had the conversations with the participants. Interviews with female participants were done in the afternoon

between 4 and 6 o'clock to avoid any negative connotation which may occur as a result of talking to an 'unfamiliar' man; conversely, interviews with male teachers could be done later.

Ethics in dealing with personal stories

Even though this study is based on multiple case studies, it uses teachers' narratives as the main source of data to understand the identity construction of non-NESTs in Indonesia; therefore, I find that some of the ethical principles within narrative inquiry research should also be applied. Moreover, any researchers conducting a narrative inquiry should adhere to their ethical commitment at all stages of the research project, and ethical considerations should always be at the heart of our research (D. J. Clandinin, 2013). Our ethical commitment to participants is relational. I indicate my respect and relationship with the participants through the way I elicit questions, interpret the data, present the findings and write up the final paper. In working with interview transcriptions, I offered participants the opportunity to check them to see if they had any objections to any part of what was written, but only three took up the offer. This can be understood culturally as a sign that they have trust in me as their friend or, more probably, because of the imbalanced power dynamic that occurred throughout the research project between me as the researcher and the participants as the researched. I therefore need to keep my promise to them that I will not share their stories with other people and that I will use pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality. Moreover, I was also aware that my relationships with the participants would not end once I finished 'researching them'; on the contrary, I will maintain the relationships and so honesty and respect will be the basis of my continuing relationships with the participants, by keeping the confidentiality of the information that I obtained from them.

Ethics in observing classes

Any class observation inevitably disrupts the learning and teaching process and affects the dynamic of the class (Merriam, 1988). Moreover, being an observer can be very confusing in terms of when to participate and when to observe. During my data collection, I observed eight teachers teaching in four institutions. Some of the observation had to be done outside of the classroom because the room was too small and there was no place for me to sit or stand without disrupting the lessons. On these occasions, I sat outside the class and listened to what the teacher and students talked about and wrote notes about it. I also looked through the window (I tried to be unnoticed by the students) to see the interactions between the teacher and students. I tried to be sensitive in order to minimize the impact of my presence upon the teaching process. Further, classroom observations can cause teacher anxiety. Although class observation is a common practice in all of the participating PELIs, the fact that someone is watching an individual teach could cause worry at some level. Therefore, prior to the class observation, I explained that the objective of my observation is not to judge the individual on his or her teaching practice but rather to just understand the rationale behind their actions.

When I had the opportunity to observe some teachers in the classroom, the teacher introduced me to their students as a researcher who was looking at the way they teach. Since it is quite common to have an observer in the class, I think that the students did not seem to be under stress and they seemed to be engaging well throughout the lessons. In fact, some of the teachers said that the students were extra active in the class because of having an observer there. Some of them asked me several questions about my experience in the UK.; I assumed that they were interested in obtaining a scholarship to study abroad. I waited for the teacher to assign me to a seat. Since the seating arrangement was a horseshoe, the teacher asked me to sit at one end, close to the teacher's chair. There were always some gaps between me and the students, so I could not see what they were

writing or reading. During the observation, I paid attention to how the teacher interacted with the students and the language that was used for the majority of the lesson. I took some short notes while I was observing, though nothing was too detailed as I did not want to make the teacher nervous or think that I was analysing his or her performance. After the observation, I had a short discussion with each one of them just to ask how they thought the lesson went and so that I could give encouraging comments about how they taught. I feel that the participants were looking to get some feedback from me regarding how they performed in the class. The issues relating to how I gave feedback on their teaching will be explained in the reciprocity section below.

4.7.2 Reflexivity and positionality: power relations, and insider and outsider dilemma

Power relation in interviews

Research interviews are different from day-to-day conversations in that there are certain roles for the participants over the course of a communicative event—namely, the interview. Moreover, there is an asymmetrical power relation between the interviewer and interviewees during the interview as well as post the interview event; thus, the researcher should be aware of the influence of this power relationship on the construction of knowledge as the product of the analysis of data from the interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). During interviews, I encountered many types of power relationships. There were ways that the participants enacted their power, such as in deciding the place and time of the interview. Willy for example, asked me to wait until he finished teaching at 9:30 pm although I asked if we could meet in the morning or afternoon. Moreover, the interview did not start until 10:00 pm because he needed to deal with some administrative tasks before he was ready for the interview. As a researcher I needed to respect Willy's schedule and I had to be willing

to meet him when he wanted or when he was able. In this case, he had more power in deciding when and where the interview should be done.

Another participant, Myrna, insisted that I should give her feedback on her teaching after I observed one of her lessons even after I told her that I was not there to evaluate her teaching skills. However, to respect her position as an equal partner in our conversation, I gave her my opinion about her lesson. I was careful about the way I gave my feedback to ensure that I did not evaluate her but instead commented on what I learned from her lesson. When she asked me about the mistakes that she made in the class, I rephrased her statement by giving her some alternatives to the activities. She offered her own comments in response: some suggestions she agreed with but others she challenged. Throughout this conversation, she was quite brief with her responses and was very aware of the time. She even told me how much time she had for the interview so that I must make sure that there were not too many questions to ask. She did offer to have another interview if I still required additional information.

Insider-outsider dilemma

This research project was conducted in a context where I, as the researcher, was a part of it and in fact I was friends with eight of the participants. This situation had some advantages and disadvantages. Some of the advantages were easy access, 'guaranteed' support either from the individual participants or the institution, access to sufficient knowledge with regard to 'life at a PELI', and possibly quite simple exit procedures. On the other hand, when conducting a research project in a familiar context, the researcher needs to be aware of the danger of being overly self-reflective in terms of projecting his or her personal experience or perspective onto the information gathered in the interviews. Consequently, the researcher can fail to 'listen' to the participants' voices

and is unable to see the phenomenon from different and novel angles. In this study, my professional experience working at one of the PELIs enabled me to identify connections between data, but, on the other hand, it may have also prevented me from understanding the data from different angles or perspectives (Engward & Davis, 2015). Therefore, it was immensely important that I was being reflexive at all times throughout the research process, not only when interpreting the data but also at the earlier stages of choosing the research topic and formulating the research questions. As warned by Davies (2008), "reflexivity at its most immediate obvious level refers to the way in which the products of research are effected by the personnel and process of doing research."(p. 4). Being reflexive means being aware of the values or constructs which influence the research process both implicitly or explicitly; this process requires that we, as researcher, question ourselves in the way that we design our research, the way that we interact with the research participants and recognise that the way that we interpret the data is shaped by our own life history (Lincoln & Guba, 2005).

Reflexivity

I realise that my experience working at Dago will influence the way I interpret the information I get from conducting the fieldwork for the study. Coming as a former English language teacher who is now doing a PhD may have positioned me as a 'more knowledgeable' teacher in the eyes of the participants. For participants, this might result in a 'fear' that I will academically or professionally judge their work; conversely, I may fear being judged by the participants. The participants might further worry that I might somehow communicate my findings to their manager. In contrast to this initial and assumed worry, some of the teachers actually asked me to evaluate their teaching performance (see the next section on reciprocity). Some managers did ask me some questions about some particular teachers; however, I managed to avoid giving them any judgemental comments about the teacher's performance. Instead, I engaged them with broader issues related to the

phenomenon of English as a global language and the irrelevant demand to speak standard English in an EFL context.

My education and professional experience may position me as an insider as well as outsider. For this dichotomy, I find the concept of continuum useful for describing the positionality of a researcher in a research project (Miled, 2017): I occupy multiple positions according to my engagement with the participants. I come as a father, a lecturer, a Christian, a man married to a native speaker and an Indonesian who has experienced education abroad, which affords me a prestigious status. How the participants positioned me depends on how they see the similarities and differences I have with them. At one institution where I worked five years ago, I was asked to cover some classes because the teacher could not come. In this way I was treated as an insider. This status enabled me to build a relationship with the teachers, most of whom most I never met before. These teachers saw me as a 'senior or experienced teacher' who they could seek out for questions regarding teaching practices. At other institutions, the participants saw me more as a PhD student and a lecturer, which means that I was viewed more as an outsider than insider, especially given the way people in general assign expert status to those who undertake research or teach at a university.

In addition, to promote openness and honesty between me as the researcher and the participants, I was open about the fact that I used to work at one of the participating PELIs, and that I am still in contact with the institution (which is in competition with the other institutions in this study) and my former colleagues, However, I assured the participants that any information I obtained from them would not be shared with anyone other than my supervisors. In terms of the choice of language to use during these interviews, I gave freedom to the participants to use any language with which they felt comfortable and, in the end, four participants preferred using Indonesian and the rest used English.

When the conversations were held in Indonesian, I translated them at the same time as I transcribed them and used the English version as the data when I analysed them using thematic analysis.

Another point to reflect on was how I employed more conversational interviews instead of a formal interview format for the data collection instrument. Conversation helps the researcher to get to know his/her participants faster than formal interviews. In conversation, the equal position between two interlocutors allows for genuine interest in each other's stories. Therefore, in the interview, I also shared my own life stories which were similar to or different from the participants'. As the result, I sometimes struggled not to direct or lead the conversation. There were times when I would say 'too much' which led the participants to take their lead from me. In a natural conversation, it happens frequently that one interlocutor slightly directs or leads the conversation. But in a research setting, if not being careful, the researcher might lead the conversation to the point of 'suggesting' or 'encouraging' the participants about what to say. Being a talkative person, I was aware of the danger of stepping too quickly into the conversation. I tried to let the participants finish their stories before giving my opinions.

Reciprocity

Reciprocity refers to the ways a researcher gives back to the participants of his or her research project (Trainor & Bouchard, 2013). Although this study requires voluntary participation from participants, and it is true that I, as the researcher, know some of them personally, it does not mean (and should not) that I can selfishly 'mine' the data which I need to write my dissertation without considering how I can give back to them. None of the participants asked me for anything except some advice about how to teach a particular class or about how to get a scholarship to study abroad. The types of reciprocity that I have been able to perform and offer include the following:

1. Offering to conduct a teacher training session

One of the senior teachers asked me if I could do a teacher training session after I finished my study and returned to Indonesia. I would love to do this because I think it is important that we share our knowledge with other teachers; I would also like to encourage the teachers to develop their academic skills such as through reading some journal articles and conducting classroom research as a way to continue improving their teaching skills. Upon completing my study, I would offer at least one training session to each participating institution and maybe establish a teacher forum where teachers from different PELIs can get together to share their knowledge and experience.

2. Became a guest speaker on Dago's marketing campaign through Instagram

I was asked to be a guest speaker in an online talk show with Dago to share my experience of studying abroad. The aim of the programme was to promote its academic English programme, so I was asked to talk about some of the challenges that I faced an international school especially in dealing with written assignments.

4.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has elaborated subjectivism and interpretivism as philosophical tenets underpinning the research paradigm for this study. It also explained the rationales for choosing qualitative study as the methodological approach to answer the research questions. It then presented the process of data collection and some practical challenges which occurred. After that, I elaborated upon the data analysis process which employed thematic analysis and narrative analysis and included member checking to improve the trustworthiness of the study. Finally, I reflected on the ethical aspects of conducting a qualitative research project within an Indonesian context.

The next two chapters will present the findings of the study. Chapter Five presents the first part of the analysis with the elaboration of nine teachers' narratives. Teachers' narratives are keys in understanding the construction of a teacher's identity because it is through their stories that they communicate who they are as English teachers. Moreover, in this study, teachers' narratives provide the evidence for their identity claims as English language learners, speakers and teachers. In Chapter Six, teachers' narratives are compared across all participants to indicate the key incidents or events which contribute to their identity construction. These incidents or events are compared and analysed to create themes which serve as overarching ideas or concepts to explain and understand their professional identity. Moreover, these themes are analysed by using the concepts of habitus, investment and trajectory as tools to argue for their agency in the construction of the individual's professional identity. In addition, Chapter Six explores the importance of the PELI as a private institution which has more freedom in regulating its social space compared to schools and in mediating or nurturing certain kinds of teachers.

Chapter 5

Findings: Teachers' narratives

Introduction

As it is mentioned in Chapter Four, "it is widely accepted that narratives are a fundamental means through which people make sense of and share their take on experiences" (De Fina, 2017, p. 31); thus, life stories can be used as a platform for exploring how a person understands and interprets their lived experiences, or the positions they take throughout his/her life events and relationships (Clausen, 1998). In the same vein, this study looks at teachers' narratives to explore their habitus formation as a lens to understand their identity. This chapter addresses the research questions guiding this study through the reconstruction of the participants' life stories. Each story contains a teacher's past learning and teaching experiences and explores their future trajectory as professional teachers. Through analysing the participants' experiences in learning English, I seek to identify their learning habitus, which I posit is the primary habitus on which they built the secondary habitus of teaching English. The stories will explore some of the critical events or relations that the participants have experienced which have guided or directed their decision-making throughout their professional lives. Through their stories, the participants represent themselves as unique individuals who, although sharing some similar experiences, give meanings to their experiences subjectively or personally. Teachers' stories are filled with their struggles and achievements, conflicts, and resolution. The participant's journey of becoming an English teacher is an ongoing process which was started when they entered the field of English language teaching. However, their contact with the subject that they teach, English language, happened long before that.

In this study, most of the participants initially viewed English language merely as a subject at school; but soon after they developed the ability to communicate in simple English conversations, the participants realised the role of English as an international language which allowed them to enjoy global entertainment in the forms of music and movies. Furthermore, as they progressed in their English language skills and thus acquired English as their cultural capital, they took on a new identity as English speakers. This identity and their experience in learning English subsequently played an important role in shaping the way they want their students to learn and the way that they teach. As a result, one of the most obvious features in their teaching practices and beliefs is to help their students to develop an ability to communicate in English. Consequently, the participants embrace communicative language teaching (CLT) strategies and focus their lessons on speaking and listening activities rather than focusing mainly on building their students' grammar knowledge to help them to pass the final examination (Lie, 2007; Musthafa, 2001).

In addition, teachers' stories provide evidence for some of the claims that they make with regard to their practices; in those stories, we can see the choices they made during various live events. These choices were not made randomly: on the contrary, they were chosen based on the teachers' understanding about who they were, what were they able to do, what options were feasible for them, and who they wanted to become. Each teacher in this study has unique stories to tell; however, there are some common themes in their stories. Thus, I identified common threads which weave throughout these stories and helped to conceptualize the construction of their identities. More details about these themes will be explained in Chapter 6.

Because of the similarities shared in the teachers' narratives, only nine participants' stories are presented in this chapter; this decision was made to avoid repetition and the nine included cover the

entire spectrum of teachers' lives as told by the participants themselves. In addition, these particular nine stories were chosen because they emphasize some particular aspects of the construction of teacher identity as it is conceptualized here. Thus, these stories contain rich description of live events from which I was able to identify the formation and enactment of their identity. The nine narratives highlighted are the stories of Yanni, Claire, Arbo, Anji, Darren, Mary, Willy, Nada, and Sofia; however, all 25 teachers' stories are used in the thematic analysis of this study which will be presented in consecutive chapter.

These stories are presented in a specific order based on the themes they most strongly associate with. The first four stories, from Yanni, Claire, Arbo, and Mary, focus on the participants' investment as English learners through various media for learning. The next stories from Anji, Willy, and Shofia demonstrate the various routes taken to become English teachers at PELIs and what it means to them to teach at a PELI. The final two stories, from Nada and Darren, focus on their trajectory to become an internationally recognized teacher on par with native English speaker teachers (NESTs). As mentioned earlier, these stories provide evidence for the development of the participants' learning and teaching habitus, their investment as language learners and teachers, and their future trajectories.

Consequently, each narrative begins with an exploration of the participant's experience in learning English. The participants learned English through a variety of mediums, including schools, PELIs or daily interactions. The second part of the narrative elaborates their effort to develop teaching skills. The third part of the narrative presents their journeys as English teachers and their teaching beliefs; each narrative closes with a discussion of their future trajectory.

Case 1. Yanni: "It's all because of *The Cosby Show*": aspiration to become a member of English-speaking communities

Yanni came from a mid-low socio-economic background, and he grew up in a small town (around 6 hours away from Bandung) where his father worked as a farmer in a small village in West Java, Indonesia. When he was little, Yanni loved watching the Cosby show so much that he said he dreamt about being a part of the Cosby family. He also imagined what it would be like to be a member of an English-speaking community. This kind of imagination could be seen through Norton's (2013) concept of identity which includes future possibilities or imagination of one's life or being. In practice, how we see ourselves in the future directs how we take actions or make day-to-day choices. Someone who sees a possible identity as a member of the English community in the future will invest in developing his or her competence in using English.

In this study, Yanni's dream and deep desire to learn about Western culture --including its language --manifested when he was finally able to learn English in school (at that time, English was taught starting from a secondary level of education). He invested in learning English at school by taking part in various English competitions and extracurricular activities where he could practice his English; his activities included reading English poetry, participating in singing competitions, and joining a drama club. Further, he also intentionally sought a friendship with one of his older neighbours who was an English teacher. This step shows how determined he was to master the language since it is not common in Indonesia to start a friendship with someone who is much older than you and takes great courage to do so. Not only did he make friends with his neighbour, he also got access into his neighbour's network of English teachers. Once he established a friendship with them, he started to write them letters in English so that he could improve his writing skills. Yanni's

initiative to write to his 'new' friends resonates with Norton's (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2017) concept of investment because, although writing is a familiar mode of communication, in this event, Yanni's primary goal was to develop English writing skills by becoming a member of English language learner and speaker community. This strategy was also shared by other participants such as Triana, Anji, and Tracy who intentionally looked for people and institutions where they could find English speaking sparring partners. As for Yanni, when he was still in secondary school, he became a pen pal with one of his neighbours' colleagues and often met him in Bandung whenever Yanni visited the city. At this time Yanni lived in Garut, which is 4 to 6 hours from Bandung. This relationship, which was ignited by Yanni's personal goal to improve his English, became a meaningful and personal relationship; they are still in contact, up to the time I interviewed him, almost twenty years after they first met.

Another strategy that Yanni utilised to develop his English skills was by writing a diary in English. He used to write about what he did on a particular day, the songs he listened to, or the movies he watched; he also composed poems. This habit of writing continues to the present day: he no longer writes in a diary but instead records his life on his blog or social media accounts. At the time of the interview (July 2018), writing had become one of his cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1985; Bourdieu, 1990b) which enabled him to write a movie script and an advertisement and thus generate income (economic capital) in addition to the salary that he received from teaching. Overall, looking at Yanni's investment in learning English language through singing, reading, and writing in English could be seen as an enactment of his identity (Norton, 1997) as a 'becoming' English speaker. Through his engagement with various means of language learning, Yanni internalised English skills and knowledge which became part of his dispositions.

Furthermore, Yanni's interest in learning English language and culture made him chose English education as his major. He thought that during his study, he would use English in his communication with his classmates or lecturers. However, what happened was quite the opposite: he commented that learning at an English language faculty did not help him to significantly improve his English because most of his lecturers taught in Indonesian despite all of them being fluent English speakers who had completed their masters and doctoral studies abroad. Even when Yanni tried to use English with them, his lecturers' choice of Indonesian as the language of instruction and communication with their students could be read as denying Yanni and his classmates' "access to social network" (Norton, 2016, p. 476) of English speakers. Yanni was discouraged to practice English with his lecturers. This experience disappointed Yanni because he really wanted to practice his English with them because he thought that they had good English and he could learn from them. This situation caused Yanni to invest in extracurricular activities such as in singing and drama where he could use and further develop his ability to speak English.

Yanni claimed that his English improved significantly when he started to teach because "I have to be the example for my students, so I had to practice before my lessons" (Yanni, Interview). He wanted to be seen as a competent teacher, causing him to put more effort into developing his English skills by spending time to (re-) learn the grammar points during his lesson planning. Moreover, working at PELI has also helped him with his English through his interactions with other teachers since "I got more exposed to the way they (read: NESTs) talk." (Yanni, Interview). Teaching at PELI means that Yanni is also a member of a community of practice (Wenger, 1998) from which he could learn from other teachers to further improve his ability to communicate in English.

Learning to teach

Yanni's first experience teaching English was during the teaching practicum of his degree programme. He was appointed to a small primary school at the outskirt of the city. The students came from lower-income families and could not afford to go to a PELI. Moreover, as indicated by Smith (1991), English is a language which is used by middle- and upper-class economic circle; in other words, English has become a symbolic capital (1977a) which is possessed by middle- and higher-income citizens in Indonesia. Consequently, students from low socioeconomic backgrounds would not have exposure to the English language in everyday communication and thus they have very limited opportunities to practice their English.

Yanni himself came from a low-income family, and he shared some of the challenges the students were facing:

> I thought I had a strong bond with them and I cared quite a lot about the school. And the school was struggling and then looking at the students who did not come from a rich family so I really wanted to help them learning English. (Yanni, Interview)

Therefore, even when the school offered a very low salary, he accepted it because he felt that he could relate to and care for the students and help them to be able to speak English. He taught there for three years and helped to improve the students' examination scores. He went further than just teaching the students in the class: he also took them to join some English competitions. He wanted to boost the students' confidence that they too could achieve great things even though they come from poor families. Yanni saw the opportunity to give them good English lessons which had not been available for students like those in his class. Yanni saw that his profession as an English teacher could make a difference in his students' lives. From this experience, Yanni exhibited an activist approach (Sachs, 2001) to his teaching because he was aware of the inequality surrounding the practice of English teaching in Indonesia and he chose to do something about it. In his position as the

English teacher at the school, he inspired his students to show that regardless of their economic status, they have the right and should develop English ability. More broadly, he also encouraged his students to think beyond their limited economic resources and low social status. It could be said that Yanni's identity has many layers: as an individual, a teacher, and a language teacher; his identity layers influence his motivation and commitment to the teaching profession, and he works not only to earn a living but also to contribute socially and bring about changes in his students' lives (Leibowitz, 2017). As an individual, Yanni relates to his students because he too came from a poor family.

After teaching at this school for three years, Yanni moved to work in PELIs such as the International Language Programme (ILP) and Riau, where he was exposed to the for-profit sector of TEFL in Indonesia. It was during his teaching at these institutions that he developed more teaching skills and was exposed to some professional certification such as CELTA and DELTA.

Up to the time when I interviewed him in 2018, Yanni had worked at Riau for more than ten years. Throughout those years he attended numerous teacher training and development programmes; the pinnacle was when he decided to take CELTA in 2016. It was the most prestigious certification that Yanni has because CELTA is arguably the most popular and respected teacher professional development programme in the world (Barnawi, 2016; Carbullido, 2002; Ganji et al., 2018). At Yanni's institution, only teachers with CELTA certification are allowed to be full-time teachers. Moreover, in their marketing campaigns either offline or on their website, Riau proudly mentions that their teachers are all CELTA-certified, a claim made to guarantee a high standard of teaching.

In spite of its reputation as the most acknowledged certification in ELT, not all English teachers in Indonesia are interested in taking CELTA or are even aware of its existence. The reasons might be because of the expensive course fee, the very few CELTA programmes run in Indonesia, and its popularity only amongst the more expensive PELIs in Indonesia.

Yanni too felt that CELTA training was too expensive for him, making him reluctant to do it. However, being surrounded by CELTA-certified colleagues, Yanni felt the pressure to take CELTA. Moreover, he often received some negative feedback from a senior teacher regarding his teaching styles. These critiques made him feel uncertain about his teaching skills and convinced him that he felt he needed to do CELTA. He became curious about what CELTA could do for him. Moreover, he was also aware that CELTA was the minimum credential that he needed to possess to progress in his career at the institution. So, after getting a loan from his institution to pay for the course, which is quite common in Riau, Yanni did his CELTA in Jakarta in 2016. He knew that at Riau, CELTA as an international certification in teaching English is more valuable than his 4-year degree or even his master's degree in education. To this phenomenon, Morgan (2016) invites English teachers to be critical regarding the types of readings or teaching methods which are preferred by their institution to ensure that they are aware of the power relations in their profession and thus are able to negotiate their identities as English teachers.

Yanni claimed that although he was discouraged by the comments made by a senior teacher at Riau and some CELTA mentors during his CELTA training, he viewed his experience of attending CELTA as a positive experience. He said that CELTA training was very useful in helping him to change some of his 'ineffective' teaching techniques such as spending too much time talking with his students or doing warmer activities. He also learned about the importance of giving feedback to

students at the end of speaking or writing activities. In addition, he felt that after completing CELTA, he picked up some aspects of the British or American accent of his tutors which made him more confident as an English teacher. In the end, he thought that the CELTA course was worth the investment to improve his teaching skills-- although in reality, when there was a vacancy for a full-time teacher at his PELI, the director of study recommended another teacher instead of him. He was disappointed with the decision because he had been working for the institution much longer than the elected teacher. He probably felt that he was considered less valuable than the other teacher, regardless of his investment in increasing his symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990b) by completing his CELTA course and by staying at the institution for more than eight years.

Journey as a teacher

His dream to be a part of a native speaker of English community came true when he began to teach at Riau, one of the most prestigious PELIs in Bandung. There, he was exposed to western culture in his interactions with NESTs. He enjoyed gaining more knowledge about western culture and being exposed to British / American accents. Furthermore, working with NESTs provided opportunities for him to practice his English although at risk of making some mistakes, such as when he innocently gave 'inappropriate' comments to a female NEST which resulted in him being embarrassed in front of other teachers (See Appendix 10).

Throughout his journey as an English teacher, Yanni has worked at a primary school, two universities, and three PELIs. Learning from these experiences, Yanni decided that the most preferable institutions for him to teach at were a university or PELI because they offer flexibility in terms of time and curriculum. At both institutions, a teacher, especially a part-time teacher, does not need to be at the campus or school building if he or she is not teaching. It means Yanni still had

plenty of time to enjoy his hobbies of writing articles, movie scripts, or painting (to name a few).

In 2005, while Yanni was concurrently part-time teaching at a university and Riau, the government of Indonesia, through the enactment of a new policy in education (see *Undang-Undang Guru dan Dosen No. 15 Thn 2005*), required lecturers to hold a minimum of a master's degree. Because of this new regulation, Yanni decided to enroll in a master's degree programme, majoring in English education while still keeping his jobs. However, as he was finishing his studies, he realised that he needed more time to study, and that he had to resign either from the university or Riau. In the end, Yanni decided that Riau was the best option because it paid more and offered more flexibility for him to manage his time. However, when he finally graduated from his university, he failed to get a job at a university; thus, he continued working at Riau.

Yanni's habitus

In reading through Yanni's experiences as an English language learner and teacher, it is obvious that as a learner he developed the ability to learn English through his engagement with English language in informal settings. He learned English through watching TV series, listening to English songs, reading English novels, writing in his diary in English, and speaking with other English language learners. Understanding Yanni's professional identity through looking at the habitus which he developed as an English learner helps me to understand why he, as an English teacher, loved to incorporate authentic materials such as songs and movie clips in his lessons. Yanni enjoyed spending instructional time talking about the latest movies, songs, or TV series. It is because Yanni valued the role of these materials in generating interest in learning English as it had for him.

Yani believed that a teacher must be friendly to his students and always have fun in the class. He considered it an achievement when he was chosen as the most liked teacher of the year at Riau. To him it was a confirmation of his identity as a fun and caring teacher. When I observed his class on July 16, 2018 (see Appendix 11) he was teaching a *General English* class focusing on developing speaking skills when talking about sportsman. In this lesson he spent almost 30 minutes (out of 90 minutes) doing games and engaging in small talk at the beginning of the lesson. He said that the game was a warmer activity to help the students to anticipate the upcoming lesson. Especially when teaching children, he believes that using games in his lessons is necessary to create a fun learning environment and to foster students' engagement.

However, this belief was challenged when he was doing his CELTA training. One of the mentors at the programme said that "we are here to teach, not to make friends" which seems to align with the business focus of CELTA (Block & Gray, 2016). As a trainee, Yanni accepted the critiques and worked to minimize his talking time with his students, but, on the other hand, he felt like it was against his beliefs about building good relationships with his students. We can see the imbalanced power relations that exist between the trainer and trainee. CELTA mentors, with their status as NESTs and Cambridge trainer, had much more valuable symbolic capital in ELT field and Yanni as a non-NEST and CELTA trainee. One of the mentors committed "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 1) when he denounced Yanni's belief about teaching. A mentor always has more power than a trainee and he can endorse his knowledge and cancel any alternative ideas because a mentor 'knows' more than a trainee. Understanding his subordinate position, Yanni did not argue or defend his belief. Instead, he did what he was supposed to do as a student, which was to obey the advice given by his mentors to reduce his talking time and to review his belief about building friendship with his students. It was a struggle for him to perform his habitus as a fun and caring teacher through talking to his students and doing games in the class in order to align with his CELTA

tutors' definition of being an 'effective' teacher. This is a perfect example of "self-marginalization" (p.22) in ELT where a non-native English teacher feels that his or her expertise is less valuable than NESTs' (Kumaravadivelu, 2012).

Career trajectory

In the future, Yanni wishes to publish a book or write scripts for movies or plays. One of his friends asked him to write a documentary script for a telecommunication company, and he was anticipating a response as to whether his script was accepted or not. This shows the multiplicity of his identities as the result of him developing a range of habitus. He did not think that he was just an English teacher but also these other things: a book writer, an actor, a painter, and a scriptwriter. Although these other identities were not as frequently enacted as his identity as an English teacher, they are still an integral part of his being. Yanni's other trajectory was that he would still be teaching at Riau while running some teacher training programmes with his colleagues from ILP. He was confident that with his CELTA, he now could deliver teacher training programmes. He in fact had an opportunity to taste what it was like to be a teacher trainer through leading one session of a teaching workshop at Riau in 2016. Unfortunately, Yanni has not been given more opportunities to deliver more training sessions at teaching trainings or workshops since then, which was needed for Yanni to develop a new set of habitus as a teacher trainer.

Case 2. Claire: exchanging economic capital for cultural and symbolic capital

I knew Claire when I worked in Dago in 2011. Claire came from a wealthy family. She owned an apartment although she rarely slept in her unit because she continued to live with her parents. She had a pet dog which implied her liberal view of Islam. She believed wearing a hijab was a personal decision and should not necessitate guilt emotions if she chose not to wear it, so she was unhappy

when others asked her to wear a hijab. Moreover, she enjoyed reading English novels and listening to English songs. Looking at her incorporation of the latest trends in fashion apparel, her habit of going to Starbucks, and her habit of inserting English words in conversation, one could conclude that she was a 'westernised' Indonesian woman.

Learning English at Dago

Coming from a well-off family meant that Claire could afford spending money on her hobbies, one of them being reading. She loved reading English novels and regularly wrote reviews of the books that she read. Claire's reading habits might contribute to the development of her English skills because a number of studies show that extensive reading in the target language improve reading fluency, writing skills, vocabulary acquisition and grammar understanding (Ng, Renandya, & Chong, 2019). This and the opportunity to study at one of the most elite English institutions in Bandung, Dago, helped her to become a competent user of English. She studied English at Dago from primary school until she started her studies at university, so in total she learned English for almost ten years, enough time to develop a distinct English learning habitus (Bourdieu, 1990b; Bourdieu & Nice, 1977). Learning habitus here is not only the practical ways to learn English but also the belief about *how* to learn English effectively. Claire commented that her experience learning at Dago had been very positive; she recounted the influence it had on the way she teaches English up to this day:

> I didn't remember much about the lesson but I remember about the environment, about the teachers, about my friends and how the approach was totally different from the one I had at school. And it was more relaxed the way teacher or our teacher introduced English was you know like really fun with games and outing sometimes we went out for like ice cream with the teachers. And I think at that time I'm learning English as something fun… I also studied here so ya I kinda knew how the teachers here teach. So my old teachers influence they way I teach because what I remembered most about my experience as a student here is how I enjoyed it and how much fun it was. (Claire, Interview)

From the quote, it is evident that Claire's teacher created a fun and safe place for her students to practice their English through using it in their conversations. This supports the notion that learning happens when the target language is used in meaningful communication between the students and teacher. The teacher's role is to make sure that everybody in the community is welcomed and acknowledged and has an opportunity to take part in the communication events.

Her investment in learning English as a foreign language, was not motivated by a dream to be an English teacher, nor was it done with the understanding that she was acquiring a new linguistic capital. It was more her parents' decision to enrol her in English studies at Dago. She said that maybe her parents realized the importance of English for her future, probably because in their jobs, they dealt with many foreigners and had to use English in their communication. So for Claire, going to Dago was 'normal' activity for teenagers, as part of the lifestyle of a child who came from high socioeconomic status. To borrow from Bourdieu (Bourdieu, P., & Nice, 1986), it was her class's distinct lifestyle, as described by Smith (1991) in that English has high status and people from middle and upper classes in Indonesia would use it in conversation with their peers.

Claire invested in learning English at Dago, a prestigious PELI in Bandung, throughout her childhood and teenage years. Her learning experiences shaped her learning habitus (primary habitus) which later influenced her teaching habitus (secondary habitus) in that she believed that her role as a teacher was to create a conducive environment for student enjoyment. Her teaching philosophy was that teaching is "a communicative activity" (Claire, Interview). She saw teaching English as a way to help her students develop communicative skills in English. It reflected her own experience as a student at Dago where she learned English through games and doing activities with her teachers and peers. The communicative approach seemed natural to her, which was probably why she preferred

the communicative focus for teaching at a PELI rather than grammar-based teaching at schools. Her inclination towards CLT could be seen as a manifestation or embodiment of her own learning habitus. She learned English through engaging in meaningful conversation with her peers and teacher. Moreover, as a teacher, she acknowledged that in her interactions with her students, she had more power than her students; therefore, she could use this power imbalance to manage how the communication was going in the class. She thought that she had to ensure that all students had the equal chance to speak and develop their communicative skills. She was also aware of the different ways that students communicate, and so a teacher must be attentive to the ways that students voice their thoughts. Moreover, "When I see teaching as communication, I learn to listen better and analyse my learners' behaviours better*"* (Claire, Interview). Finally, regarding the importance of having good communication in class she said, "Often, it is not about the best teaching methodology or the most effective activity, it is about communication and how to do it well." (Claire, Interview)

Learning to teach

Her desire to build her credentials in teaching English was ignited by a thought she had when she first started her job: because she felt that she did not have appropriate and sufficient teaching skills, she ended up spending two to three hours planning for an hour lesson. Similar to Yanni's experience, Claire was also encouraged by the senior teacher and other teachers to take the CELTA course. However, there is a big difference in *why* she was advised to take CELTA. While Yanni was suggested due to his 'below the standard' teaching, Claire was nudged to take CELTA because her senior teacher saw that she had the potential to be a great teacher for the institution. In addition, Claire was under peer pressure because most of her colleagues had CELTA qualification. Furthermore, the fact that Dago was also a CELTA centre explains why CELTA was promoted among its teachers as a 'must have' qualification.

Reflecting on her experience taking CELTA, Claire stated that it was eye-opening because she finally realised what she did right or wrong in the class. This experience was not uncommon among CELTA participants because CELTA tutors tend to direct the participants explicitly to adopt certain kinds of teaching strategies or methods without engaging in critical discussions over the rationales behind choosing those methods (Block & Gray, 2016). For Claire, CELTA became her main guide in planning and organizing her lessons. "So after CELTA I thought that I would start again from zero. Like I...I learned new things. I had to adjust myself and my teaching as well." Here, Claire committed "self-marginalization"(Kumaravadivelu, 2012, p. 23) that she considered herself as someone who knew nothing about teaching and that her teaching experiences meant so little compared to the things she learnt at CELTA course.

Claire witnessed the power of the CELTA certificate when she was promoted to be a full-time teacher straight after completing the course. This confirmed the claim what 'everybody' (at Dago said about CELTA: that the course 'certifies' you to be a qualified teacher. CELTA is a product of Cambridge Assessment English (CAE), one of the major players in ELT business world; the certificate itself could be seen as an extended hand of CAE in Indonesian PELIs—and worldwide: as a global player CAE influences or even directs the way English is taught around the globe. A number of studies in the area of TEFL also show how CELTA is superior compared to local teacher training programmes as seen in Ganji, Ketabi, and Shnazari's (2018) study in the context of Iranian TEFL. In their research they recommended that Iranian teacher training institutes adapt the CELTA modes of training to equip the teachers with practical as well as theoretical knowledge in teaching, develop teacher's teaching skills through experiential knowledge that they received during the CELTA course, and prepare teachers to be able to teach in a variety of teaching contexts. Carbullido (2002) on the other hand, being critical regarding the direct applicability of CELTA methods in teaching English in Japanese universities claimed that some of the key principles promoted in CELTA such as

acknowledging the individuality of students, eliciting responses, employing effective concept checking techniques can enhance the teaching and learning process. In this study, Claire, like other English teachers, was positioned as the recipient of the knowledge produced by CAE. Claire took the opportunity to invest in CELTA training because she knew the reward that she would get once she completed the course. Additionally, when she took the course, she did not have any certificate to prove her capability to the profession. She needed to have a materialized version of her symbolic capital which could prove her legitimacy as a professional English teacher. In this case, Claire's investment paid off instantly by her promotion to being a full-time teacher and being entrusted with more classes and classes for higher-level students. Moreover, with her CELTA qualification, Claire was confident to take on an identity as a professional English teacher and became a full member of the teacher community at her institution rather than simply being a junior teacher.

Journey as a teacher

Her involvement in the teaching field started when she volunteered with a social organisation in her neighbourhood to give some English lessons to poor children around the neighbourhood. She was so moved by this experience that she wanted to develop her teaching skills by attending GITE (*General Introduction to Teaching English)* which was run by Dago. She mentioned that by joining the teacher training programme, she learned not only about teaching strategies "but also probably there was a time I fell in love with teaching and I wanted to know more. I wanted to be better" (Claire, Interview). Upon the completion of the course, one of the tutors approached her and told her that she has the potential to be a good English teacher and encouraged her to apply to be a part-time teacher at the institution. She did it and got accepted as a part-time teacher, mostly teaching children and low-level general English courses.

Throughout her teaching career, Claire had only taught at Dago. She admitted that she liked teaching there because of the international atmosphere due to NESTs and the high salary it offered. In general, she preferred teaching at the PELI compared to teaching at schools because PELI gave her more freedom to approach teaching the way she felt was best for her and her students. It could also because of her familiarity with PELI as the result of spending more than 10 years learning at Dago. It could be said that Claire's learning habitus is compatible with Dago's principles in teaching.

Indeed, Claire felt inadequate to teach at schools because she did not have a degree in education. Secondly, she believed that school teachers had more responsibilities since they needed to make sure that their students pass the national exams. Such pressure does not exist at PELI. Moreover, she felt that she got great support from her mentor and the senior teachers at Dago. She said, "I just wanted to start slow and I want to enjoy teaching and I don't want to put a burden to myself and I don't know if I can actually do it" (Claire, Interview). Being able to enjoy what she was doing seemed to be an important aspect of her habitus as a professional teacher. She liked to have the authority to plan her lesson and to teach her lesson in the way that she thought was most effective for her students.

Career trajectory

Claire loved her role as a full-time teacher and her relationship with the other teachers. She praised her colleagues for having a positive attitude towards teaching and encouraging her to keep improving her teaching skills, such as by taking DELTA. So, she started her DELTA course in 2016 and completed the course in 2017. She explained that part of the DELTA module was teaching practice where she was observed by some tutors and received feedback on her performance. Having enough financial capital, she decided to do this module in London, UK although she could have done it in Malaysia which would have been cheaper. She wanted to do it at International House London to get

feedback from the leading DELTA trainers in the world. She also wanted to be a part of International House alumni which could give her prestigious status as a non-NEST.

The value of having a DELTA qualification is obvious in Claire's experience that once she completed DELTA, she was immediately offered a position as a member of Dago's national academic team responsible with teacher training and development programmes in Dago branches nationwide. She turned down the offer because she did not think that Dago was the best suited for her future plans. Her desire to keep on learning and building her credentials led her to pursue a master's degree in applied linguistics in London. Again, such aspiration could only be made possible if you have great economic capital (unless she applied for a scholarship, which she did not). She started her studies at the University College London in 2017 and enjoyed learning new things such as doing critical discourse analysis and other non-teaching related issues in English language teaching. During my conversations with her, she emphasized her desire to keep on learning more and more and that working at PELI might not be suitable to cater her curiosity for knowledge and her desire for learning. In my last conversation with her she told me that she would not only focus on developing her teaching career, but she was thinking about trying out another profession in London although she said that she would probably accept if there was an opportunity for her to teach English in England or other countries.

In reflecting on Claire's journey as a teacher, one could notice the freedom she had with regard to choosing a career path regardless of the amount of investment that she had made in the ELT field. Although she had spent a lot of money developing teaching credentials, Claire did not think that her future is restricted to a teaching career. Claire's story shows that a professional trajectory can change very quickly when unpredicted changes happen in someone's life and alter someone's priorities. In

Claire's case, marrying someone who works in London made her think that she would do anything (as a job) as long as she could support her husband. She realized that the chance of her teaching English in London was slim, partly because being a Non-NESTs, and therefore she did not feel the need to hold on to her identity as a professional English teacher although she also would not necessarily decline should there be an opportunity for her to teach abroad if her husband let her.

Case 3. Arbo: between many choices

Arbo first developed the ability to communicate in English from using the language at his home with his mother and siblings, as he recalled: "my mother, whenever she is angry she would just burst in English she always uses English, that's the first time we get connected with English." (Arbo, Interview). In addition, he reported that "I have a lot of relatives who live abroad and they don't really speak Indonesian, so I had to communicate in English with them." (Arbo, Interview). Thus, English had always been part of his linguistic repertoire. At school, English was taught as a mandatory subject, but he did not think that he gained anything from learning at school. Therefore, similar to Claire's experience, he also studied English formally at English First (EF), an internationally known English institution and also a prestigious PELI in his city. At EF, Arbo further developed his ability to communicate in English and in the future, he would begin his professional teaching career at this same place.

Similar to Claire, when he grew up and learned English as an additional language, he did not see it as a form of capital which had an economic value that he needed to pursue. In fact, he learned English because he enjoyed having conversations in English. However, when he was given the first opportunity to teach, he did not look away. His first student was his mother's friend's child at his

mother's request. It was common practice for university students in big cities in Indonesia to give private lessons to earn some pocket money, so his mother's request should be understood as her way of giving him a chance to earn some money and gain some work experience.

He had taught his student for three or four months when he asked Arbo to take him to EF, the PELI where he had studied before. It might be that his student made a judgement about the quality of EF based on Arbo's English, so he wanted to study at the same PELI. While Arbo was waiting for his student to take EF's placement test, he met his former teacher who was now the director of study. He told her that he was there to accompany his private student. Knowing this, the director of study offered him a job to be a part-time teacher there. Given the fact that this institution was and still probably is the largest English institution in Indonesia (Anto, 2018), getting a job offer from such an institution must have been taken as a confirmation of his ability to speak English well. Furthermore, EF is well known as a PELI that employs NESTs making it a prestigious institution to work at. Arbo accepted the offer and started teaching in 2000, which marked the beginning of his teaching career.

Unfortunately, EF did not offer any training programmes for its new recruits. Instead, the director of study let him observe some classes to see how other teachers taught there. Arbo mentioned that he got the ideas about how to teach mainly from his memory when he was a student at EF. As he started to teach he thought "hm... maybe I can do this maybe this; (teaching) can be my thing." (Arbo, Interview). He taught at the institution for about three years.

After teaching for three years at EF, a sudden change happened in his life. His mother got married to a Canadian which gave him the opportunity to move to Canada to live with his mother and her husband. So Arbo resigned from his job and moved to Canada in 2003. However, he was surprised to

know that Canada is a bilingual country (English and French) and that in some places French is more widely spoken than English. He said, "well, I lived in Cornwall there and they do not speak English there, they speak French." (Arbo, Interview). Cornwall is a bilingual city and most of its people are able to converse in both English and French (Immigration Cornwall.ca, 2020); unfortunately, although English is more widely used in Cornwall, during his time living there Arbo seemed to encounter people who spoke French more than English. He commented that it was difficult for him to make friends and to find jobs. Arbo expressed his disappointment by saying that "this is not my place" (Arbo, Interview). He finally decided to go back to Indonesia after six months in Canada.

Upon his returning to Indonesia, he tried various kind of jobs unrelated to teaching. He did not want to teach English again. He reflected on his teaching experience at EF where he did not get any training thus felt that he did not progress professionally. He thought that he was just "doing the same thing again and again and again." (Arbo, Interview). He wanted to try something different.

Arbo tried different jobs but none seemed to be suitable for him. So in 2008, five years after he resigned from his first teaching job, he went back to the same EF branch where he previously worked. He said that his intention was just be a part-time teacher or a substitute teacher who would teach only when the class teacher called in sick. However, the owner of the institution insisted that he had to come back as a full-time teacher. Arbo accepted the offer and worked there for two years. This time he was more confident with his English and he already knew how to teach at EF. He was even considered for promotion to a senior teacher role although it did not work out for him. He mentioned that the reason for leaving EF this time was related to the poor performance of the management.

Having some experience teaching English at EF, Arbo was confident that he could start his own PELI. He created the curriculum and compiled teaching materials and resources, including sourcing teaching materials from a English school that had closed-down. He also dealt with the legal aspect of the business which proved to be stressful and riddled with corruption. Unfortunately, his PELI did not take off due to issues with his business partner. However, because he had already rented a building, he then used it as a photography school and studio, drawing upon his semi-professional experience in taking photos for friends' weddings and music concerts. He did not have formal training in photography, but his interest in the area started as a hobby when he was a child. His grandfather was quite serious about photography and he taught him how to use an advanced camera. When his grandfather passed away, Arbo continued to develop his skills in photography through his connections with other photographers; he continued to sharpen his skills through doing small projects that he got from his family and friends. However, running a photography school was not the same as taking photos; there are a lot of business aspects that need to be taken care. In the end, the photography school was not successful; he did not have students and finally closed his doors even before the rental contract for the building ended. Looking at these events, we can see Arbo's multiple identities due to the kinds of habitus that he had developed. At this point of his life, Arbo might have thought that he was as legitimate as a teacher as he was as a photographer; after all, both skills stemmed from the same source, namely his family throughout his upbringing. Later on, however, I could sense that his attitude changed and he would come to see himself more as a teacher than a photographer.

After his business plan was not successful, Arbo again tried different kinds of job including working as a musician, magician, event organizer, and other roles - for almost four years, but none of these seemed to be successful. He reflected that "it seems like whatever I do whatever I decided to do it was not teaching it was never successful." (Arbo, Interview). So in 2014, he went back to his teaching

career with the help from a former colleague at EF who was now working at Dago. The colleague told him that her institution was recruiting new teachers, so he applied and got the job there; he was still teaching there at the time of the interview in 2018. He has been working at Dago for more than four years, which is the longest commitment he has ever given to an institution or to his teaching career.

Learning to teach in CELTA

While working at Dago, Arbo decided to take CELTA course. This step could be taken as a sign of commitment to the profession because, in order to do the course, he had to pay a substantial amount of money and attend an intensive training for one full month, during which he could not earn any salary. At first, he was quite sceptical about the quality of the course and whether he really wanted to do it: "I just said to myself, look, if I am not gonna learn anything new, then I will just gonna stop I'm gonna quit I don't care." (Arbo, Interview). Previously, he had a bad experience attending GITE at Dago which was supposed to be the mini version of CELTA. However, he eventually decided to do the CELTA because he felt that he needed a proper training for the job and, more importantly, because other teachers 'pushed' him to do it. However, after attending the CELTA course for three days he felt that he was starting to enjoy it and learned a lot of new things about teaching. He testified that,

> I would say I became I'm becoming more and more confident. I used to hate teaching skill lessons,
> honestly, like reading, they can read why do I have to teach them reading and so I didn't know how to
> teach, so my favourite was always language, always language lessons because it makes sense to me.
> But after the CELTA—okay speaking, reading, writing, okay there's something you can do with that.
> There's something you can do to help the students that if they have problems. After I did my CELTA,
> I have a better self-control, right the staging, and I know why I have to do that but then the way I
> interact with the students are pretty much different. (Arbo, Interview)

He really appreciated his experience learning in the CELTA course because he did not have any formal training. He felt equipped and qualified as an English teacher after he passed the course. In a way, CELTA gave him an identity (Institution-Identity, Gee (2001)). On the other hand, his experience in taking the CELTA course could be seen as the process of developing Arbo's secondary habitus as an English teacher. Moreover, throughout his teaching journey, CELTA was the most influential training that he experienced. On the other hand, if we look at the wider context of teaching English to speaker of other languages (TESOL), CELTA has been recognized as an initial TESOL qualification (Block & Gray, 2016; McNamara, 2008; Stanley & Murray, 2013). It carries with it the prestigious name of Cambridge to symbolize its reputation as a prominent institution in the ELT field. Thus, the pride that comes with passing the CELTA course for a new teacher, especially as a non-NEST, is understandable.

Another area where CELTA is beneficial for Arbo is related to his relationship with other teachers in his institution. He became more 'in tune' with his colleagues because he could now speak the same 'language' with them. He felt as though he was a part of a professional group of teachers. This can be understood as Arbo gained a better understanding of the lexical repertoire which was shared in the community of practice (CoP) of teachers at his PELI. One of the key features of a CoP is that there are resources shared amongst members (Wenger, 1998). In Arbo's case, he became a more integrated or legitimate member of the CoP after completing the CELTA course .

After he completed CELTA, he was entitled for a pay rise and was eligible for a full-time teacher or senior teacher position at the institution. In fact, he had been offered to a position as a full-time teacher and a senior teacher, but unfortunately, none of those positions worked out. He blamed it to the lack of professionalism of the management team. He was so disappointed that when asked about

the possibility of him taking the role if he were offered the position again, he replied, "I don't need the second chance you need the second chance. I never applied for the position, they asked me so ya…" (Arbo, Interview). Here we can see that although Arbo did not apply for the position, he was looking forward to the prospect of becoming a senior teacher. He mentioned that he was being trained to be a senior teacher by shadowing another senior teacher. However, when the promotion did not work out, he was hurt and lost trust in his institution and the senior teacher. He said that he just took her word for it and thought that it would be a smooth process. In the end, another teacher was selected for the position and he was not informed or given any explanation about why he did not get the job. He was very disappointed with the whole process which he thought was not transparent. He said that in the future, he would only participate in a similar process after he saw the contract. This experience made him more sceptical about the good intentions his peers may have had. It reduced his trust in his colleagues and CoP because he felt betrayed by them. After the event, he withdrew from interacting with other teachers. He became a passive member of the CoP in that he did not want to initiate any discussions in the staff room, though he would still respond if other teachers needed his opinions or asked for his advice. He saw his job from a business or vocational perspective in that he relied on official boundaries rather than his relationship with others to make decisions with regards to his career.

Arbo's habitus

Arbo's habitus was developed through his experiences learning English and learning to teach. As an English learner, Arbo had the privilege to use English in his daily conversations in his family. Moreover, his investment in learning English at EF could be seen as nearly identical with Claire's experience. It was part of his lifestyle as a member of a high socioeconomic class in Indonesia. In terms of teaching practice, Arbo was against translating expressions into Indonesian language

because he thought that it would get the students in trouble when they talked to a native speaker as the native speakers might not understand them due to using - wrong words or expressions. This habitus is shaped by his experience as a learner because the way he developed the ability to speak in English was through immersion in English-speaking environments, including living in Canada for six months. In addition, his teaching habitus was also changed after as he developed a new set of teaching beliefs and practice. Furthermore, teaching at Dago meant that he was a member of a CoP where CELTA methods and approaches function as the core of their valued practices which he internalised and became part of his identities.

On the other hand, in his perspective, teaching was just an option to generate additional income. He mentioned that he had other resources of income which he had considered as his jobs. He said that his job is "something else." He further stated that "I was a musician, professional musician. I was a professional magician," (Arbo, Interview) and although he had not done any of these for a while, he still claimed to be all of them. It showed that he was not a mono-identity person or passive agent who just accepted any "institution identity" (Gee, 2001, p. 102) which was assigned to him, but rather he negotiated and co-constructed his multiple identities through his narration and practices. Gee (2001) explained that in a post-modern society, an agent needs to find an institution which recognises any identity claim she or he makes. Moreover, since people have multiple identities depending on the context he or she is in, Arbo's claim to be understood as a musician, magician, and photographer should be understood in his active involvement and practices within those fields. In addition, looking at Arbo's identities from his habitus meaning that although Arbo had not been performing his identities as a musician, magician or photographer (or being consistent in performing these identities), he still considered them as his identities because he had developed the habitus or a range of habitus which was relevant in those fields. As a system of thought and practice, habitus, once developed, will remain a part of someone's identity, although the opportunity to put these

dispositions onto practice may not be available all the time. In other words, he could enact relevant practices in photography or music when there was space for them or when he entered those relevant fields.

Career trajectory

A final note from Arbo's narrative is that contrary to his claim that teaching is not his job, he also said that he loved his teaching job. This contradiction should not be seen as being uncertain about his life but rather should be understood as the wealth of his habitus which has enabled him to be a member of many professional communities. Moreover, at the end of the interview, he mentioned his intention to take DELTA course in the future, which shows his commitment to the teaching profession. He was not really sure if he would work at Dago in the future. What he had made clear, however, was that he wanted to pursue the possibility of becoming a teacher trainer. Arbo's narrative shows us that people may have more than one identity; there is multiplicity of identities. Our identities are the product of our history and they are never the same at any one time in any context, but they rather occupy various positions depending on the context in which we find ourselves (S. Hall, 2016). Hall observed that some third-generation black men and women in the UK claim three identities: as people who came from the Caribbean, as British, and as black. They did not want to give up any of these identities because they function as all of them. Arbo's professional identities could also be understood from this perspective. Like the black men and women in Hall's (2016) study, Arbo positioned himself in three fields and he did not want to lose any of these positions even though he understood that he was not always able to perform all of his identities. In the end, identity is a site of struggle. It is a tension between what we desire and what is expected from us (Mahboob, 2017; Toohey, 2017). However, what could also be concluded here is that his CELTA training shaped his habitus and contributed legitimacy to his professional identity (institution identity).

Therefore, it is understandable that pursuing work as a teacher trainer became his professional trajectory.

Case 4. Anji: developing secondary habitus at PELI

Anji developed a love for the English language from when he was young, in spite of the poor quality of English teaching at his school. He was so motivated that when he was at secondary school, he agreed to use only English in his conversation with one of his classmates. Moreover, his hobby of watching English-language cartoons provided the attraction for him to learn English, and so he claimed that he learned English vocabulary from watching TV programmes such as *Sesame Street*. He did not think that his formal schooling helped him develop his English, but rather he felt that he learnt his English mostly by himself or through practicing with his friends, watching English language TV series, and listening to English songs. He said that he was motivated to learn English because "I just like the way people speak English." (Anji, Interview).

His interest in English continued after he graduated from high school in that he chose English education as his major in university. However, I asked him about his experience learning at his university, he did not mention anything related to the learning process. He only commented on the duration of the study. He claimed that the English that he learned there was too formal and unpractical for his day-to-day teaching. He felt that his formal training only prepared him to teach at a formal school which was different to his first teaching experience at PELI.

Journey as a teacher

Anji started his teaching career at EF. He started teaching while he was finishing his teaching degree, so he had to juggle between work and study. He said that before being accepted as a teacher, he had to pass EF's institutional English test and he had to do a demo lesson. He was very happy when he was accepted as it felt like a confirmation of his English ability and his teaching skills. Being accepted into a well-known institution must have boosted his confidence in teaching and English. However, when he started to teach there, he felt as if his English and his teaching skills were not as good as those of others. He also felt that his teacher education did not make him - a better teacher or better prepared for the job compared to those who did not have a degree in education. He stated that other non-NESTs in the institution did not have a degree in English or education, but their English was better than his and they could teach very well. It was surprising for him to realize that having a degree in English education from a reputable university did not necessary mean that someone would become a better teacher than those without a degree in English or education. "It was an eye opening for me." (Anji, Interview).

In that situation, Anji might be thinking that his investment in developing his teaching skills did not give him a high return. Anji's linguistic capital was not valued highly at his institution. Being a graduate with a degree in teaching did not give him any more credit than those without the degree. In contrast, as was mentioned before, Anji felt that his English and teaching skills were not as good as other teachers. This situation affected the way Anji saw his identity as an English teacher. He felt that he was not a qualified English teacher and he positioned himself as a learner who needed to acquire a lot of knowledge to become a good English teacher.

As a non-NEST, he mentioned how being in the same office with native speakers was a new experience for him. He felt like "it was like being in a real English environment." (Anji, Interview). The term 'real' here could mean that he used English all the time or that he considered English from a native speaker as 'real' English where his was not 'real'. Such a perspective of English language is influenced by the ideology of native-speakerism (Holliday, 2006) which views native speaker teachers as the ideal speakers and teachers of the language. This 'racist' ideology although has been challenged by many educators and experts in ELT (Doan, 2016; Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002; Kramadibrata, 2015; Watson Todd & Pojanapunya, 2009) up to the present era.

Anji, being surrounded by NESTs and non-NESTs who were more fluent in English and better at teaching, felt the pressure to improve his English and teaching skills. This is similar to the participants in Fotovian's (2015) study who felt that their English was not good enough because they could not speak and write like native English speakers. Because of this, Anji felt that he needed to prove that he could be as fluent in English and as good at teaching as the other teachers at EF; as a result, he spent long hours to plan his lessons and to practice his English. He said that "so in order for me not to get bullied by the more senior teachers, so I had to develop myself" (Anji, Interview). Anji did not specify what kind of bullying he experienced but it certainly gave him a reason to improve his English and teaching skills. Anji was constructing an identity as a competent teacher and he wanted to be seen by his students as equally professional with his colleagues. Therefore, he was willing to invest his time and effort to improve the quality of his cultural capital (English language and teaching skills) to gain more respect from his colleagues and students and to legitimise his position as an English teacher at the institution.

After working at EF for four years, he accepted a job offer to be a trainer at a hotel in a different city. He accepted the offer mainly because of the high salary offered. He thought that he would teach English for specific purposes. In reality, Anji encountered a very different teaching practice between teaching at PELIs and teaching at a hotel as a trainer. First of all, there were differences in terms of the availability of teaching materials and the classroom setup. All PELIs would have a set of teaching materials ready for their teachers to use. In addition to the materials provided by the institution, teachers at a PELIs often form a community of practice which accumulates shared teaching materials. Therefore, once a new teacher joins a PELI, he would not need to worry about preparing teaching materials because they would be ready for use. Moreover, teaching at a PELI means that the teachers do not have to worry about setting up the classroom because normally the classrooms are already set up for them; teachers could make changes to the arrangement, but rarely would they need to prepare the chairs or whiteboard for the lesson.

In contrast, when Anji started the job, he asked the Human Resources (HR) staff there if he could see the training materials used in the past, but the manager said that he did not want him to use any of the previous materials and he wanted to develop a new training programme from scratch. It could be said that Anji had an inaccurate assumption in thinking that the institution (the hotel) would have a set of materials that he could use similar to when he joined EF or other PELIs. Moreover, whenever he needed to teach he had to get the chairs from a storage which was 30 floors below the meeting room. After the lessons, he had to return the chairs back to the storage. This showed that ELT field has variations in its practice and English teachers should be aware of it and be ready to adjust and adapt to their immediate situation. Teachers need to recognise the norms and values in their teaching context, and make the necessary adjustment with their thoughts and actions accordingly (Ferguson & Bargh, 2004; Fiske, 1992).

Moreover, because the English training programme was a part of the HR department, he was required to assist with operations of the HR department, such as dealing with internal correspondence. Anji's identity as a professional English teacher was challenged because now the company assigned a new identity, an institutional identity (Gee, 2001) which required him to do non-teaching duties. After working for six months, Anji resigned from his job. He said that his family situation forced him to resign because his wife needed his help taking care of their baby boy. His career trajectory changed as a consequence of a change in his personal life.

After he left his training job in Jakarta, he had the option to go back to EF, but because he wanted to gain more experience, he applied to work at another PELI. He felt that there was nothing new for him to learn or expect at EF. This is in line with Barnatt et al.'s (2017) study about the role of teacher trajectory in career decision process of four new teachers in the USA. In their study, the participants made their career decisions based primarily on their working conditions and what they envisioned for their future based on their current situations.

After applying to some PELIs, he was accepted as a part-time teacher at Dago. However, his income as a part-time teacher was not enough which made him do another job to earn enough money for his family, so he also offered private lessons and taught at a private primary school. Having three jobs required efficient time scheduling and allocation of transport time to get to his workplaces which was too challenging for Anji. Therefore, he decided to stop giving private lessons and applied to Jana as a part time teacher. Working for Dago and Jana means that Anji often taught the same level of students so he could use the same materials for some classes at both PELIs thus minimizing lesson planning time. By working at two PELIs, Anji became members of two CoPs thus expanded his networking which he used to help his wife get a job at Riau even after he resigned from Dago.

Anji resigned from Dago and became a permanent or full-time teacher at Jana. He took the offer to become a full-time teacher at Jana because they promised to sponsor his CELTA training. He was looking forward to it because he heard about the value of CELTA from his colleagues at Dago. Unfortunately, there was a change of principal at Jana and the new principal was not willing to sponsor Anji to do the course. The new principal did not think that CELTA certification was necessary for his teachers. Anji was very disappointed about the decision but could not do anything about it since the principal had the highest authority at the institution. There was a power imbalance between Anji and the principal, and, through his "institution-identity" (Gee, 2001, p. 100), the new principal overruled the agreement that Anji had with the previous principal. Anji realised that he was in the weaker position, so he accepted the decision and continued to teach there. However, this experience changed his professional trajectory.

When he was working at Dago, he was thinking of becoming a teacher trainer after completing CELTA but as circumstances changed in his PELI, he realised that he would not be able to afford CELTA training. He now wanted to pursue a master's degree, focussing on business English. He thought that his experience teaching business English and his work as a trainer at a large hotel in Jakarta would enable him to be a specialist in teaching business English. Although his experience at the hotel was not pleasant, Anji saw it as valuable in helping him to understand the business world from a more practical view. In addition, through his experience as a staff at HR department at the hotel he was exposed to different areas in business such as planning, scheduling, and reporting which boosted his confidence in teaching business English.

Anji's habitus

In terms of teaching beliefs, Anji believed that a good teacher should have two main qualities. Firstly, a good teacher should 'make sure' that his/her students learn something from attending his/her class. Secondly, a good English teacher must be adaptive to classroom dynamics including understanding how to interact with different types of students and how to attend to students' needs. Anji interacted with his students respectfully. How he positioned himself to his students depended on the type-s of his students. When teaching children's classes he positioned himself as their father, so he gave a lot of instruction and closely controlled how the lesson proceeded. For teenage students, he positioned himself as an older brother, so he would learn about the teens' favourite movies and songs so that he could 'talk' to them. Finally, with his adult students, he positioned himself as a friend and would avoid giving too many instructions; he would instead talk to them as he would talk to his friends.

Career trajectory

Anji did not see his future at Jana. He thought that to progress in his career, he needed to work in managerial position at a bigger organisation. He thought that Jana did not provide job security and pension for him. He hoped that by developing his professional credential by getting a master's degree, he could have a better opportunity to get a job for a bigger company which provide career and pension. This sense of pessimism around his future in PELIs was shared with other teachers across the different PELIs participating in this study. They did not see teaching at PELIs as a long-term career. This is probably because of the changes in the field of ELT in Indonesia (See Chapter 3 and Chapter 7). He also noticed that Jana began to switch its business target from adult learners to children. He said that after only teaching adults for years, he was not sure if he wanted to teach children anymore. He told me "I don't think I can be effective teaching kids' classes. Because the

level of energy that you need when teaching children is so high so I don't think I will have the energy for that." (Anji, Interview). In summary, because of his extensive experience in teaching English to adult learners, more specifically teaching business English he developed a career trajectory as an expert in teaching business English.

Case 5. Mary: fluctuating value of English

Mary had an uncommon upbringing for an Indonesian child because she had the opportunity to live abroad for most of her childhood. She was only two years old when her father got a job at the Indonesian embassy in New Zealand. They lived in New Zealand for three years and later on moved to Australia for four years. Barely able to speak Indonesian (although she could understand some words), Mary grew up with English as her first language. She used very little Indonesian when she was in Australia, though her parents often used Indonesian at home. She probably was not aware of the importance of learning Indonesian or the value of Indonesian language for her future, thus did not invest in learning the language.

However, when she returned to Indonesia, Mary went to an Indonesian-speaking school, and there she first realised that she did not have the most important language (and form of linguistic capital) for her world. Due to her lack in Indonesian language, she could not join a regular class for the first year, and instead she was required attend a class only to listen to the teachers teaching in Indonesian as a way of developing her language skills. After the first year, she was moved to a regular class where she was required to participate in class activities alongside the other students. Mary found her time at school stressful; it was difficult for her to socialize with other students. She thought that the way her teachers taught was boring. She recalled having a lot of homework and the focus was placed on passing the tests. She said, "Oh my God, it is so different (to her experiences in New Zealand and

Australia) and everything was so stressful because they have test everyday." (Mary, Interview). She said that she used to love going to school but now in Indonesia she hated it, "so I was so scared to go to school and every morning I would hide because I didn't want to go to school and started throwing up because I was so scared." (Mary, Interview). Mary obviously had developed her primary habitus when she was in Australia, and therefore living in a new place must have required her to develop a new set of habitus which was acceptable in her new community. Moving to a new place requires someone to adapt to the local values and codes of conduct (Ferguson & Bargh, 2004; Fiske, 1992).

As mentioned earlier, Mary had a difficult time going through her primary school and she struggled in the areas of academic and social relations. It was challenging for her to understand the lessons and she could not have deep conversation with her friends. This situation made her miss her Australian life so much. Being surrounded by people who did not speak English made Mary think that her ability to speak English was not valuable in Indonesia; therefore, she decided not to speak English. Although English is internationally recognised for its valuable linguistic capital via its status as the most widely used language in the world (Heller, 2010; Niño Murcia, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2013), the value of it as linguistic capital is determined by the local context in which it is used. In Mary's case, throughout her primary and for half of her secondary education in Indonesia, she felt that English had no value in her life because nobody in her social network used English.

In her English class, she did not want her teachers to know that she could speak English because she was afraid that her classmates would make fun of her and think that she was the teacher's pet. Outside of her school community, in the wider context of Indonesia at that time, speaking English publicly was considered inappropriate and was seen as showing off one's social class. English in Indonesia, like in many developing countries, was seen as an elitist language (Kachru, 1996); as

observed by Smith (1991), "English has high status and many middle and upper class Indonesians will use English for peer interaction" (p. 41). Smith further indicated that, due to the poor condition of English teaching at Indonesian schools (in the 1990s), it was very unlikely that the students would have been able to develop sufficient skills in English language which would have enabled them to communicate in the language. English was symbolic capital as well a linguistic capital for people with high social and economic status. Therefore, if someone could speak English and used English in their communication, people would infer that the person came from a high socioeconomic status because only people from this social class would had been able to develop the ability to speak English as a result of studying at expensive PELIs or from traveling or living abroad. Looking at the frustration that Mary shared, she must have tried to use her English at school and received a negative response from her classmates. Therefore, she thought that one way to be accepted in the community was to disassociate herself from English language and culture. By doing this, she thought that she would conform with the majority of her classmates and friends. She stopped listening to English songs and using English at home. The rejection Mary experienced because of her English was not merely undermining her linguistic capital, but it was also a rejection of her identity as an English-speaking Indonesian. It was more than a struggle to communicate more deeply: it was a struggle of her identity. She was 'forced' to take up a new identity and get rid of her old identity.

However, the situation changed when she was in high school. She participated in an exchange programme to visit Canada. As part of the programme, she was required to be a teaching assistant at two elementary schools where she helped the class teachers to prepare some teaching materials and introduced Indonesian culture to the students. This experience made her realise the benefits of having good English. She realised that it was her English which enabled her to be chosen for the programme and to be able to perform well and enjoy her time in Canada. The fact that she went to Australian primary schools must have helped her to figure out what an elementary school classroom would be

like in Canada. This is not to say that the education system in Australia was the same as the one in Canada, but rather that Mary had some experience going to an elementary school in Australia which also used English as the medium of instruction. After this experience, she did not hide her ability to speak English anymore. On the contrary, Mary embraced her identity as an English speaker and continued to develop and use her English whenever she could.

Mary's experience of living abroad and participating in an exchange programme to Canada indicates the international orientation of her life. Moreover, Mary was also inspired by her father because, as it was mentioned earlier, her father worked at the Indonesian embassy in Australia for some time and when he returned to Indonesia, he worked at the Canadian embassy in Jakarta. He must have set an example for her around working in an international environment, and although he rarely took her to his office, Mary's understanding about her father's jobs created an "imagined identity" (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, p. 598) for her. It was with this imagination in mind that she pursued a degree in international relations. This decision could be seen as a kind of investment toward her future trajectory working at an international organisation.

In fact, after she graduated from university, her imagined identity came true: she got a job at an international organisation. However, in contrast with her dream, her job at this organisation turned out to be unsatisfying. In her day-to-day duties, she dealt with emails and other administrative tasks which was very different to what she imagined. She wanted to travel but her position as an administration officer meant that she only worked at the office. Disappointed with the reality of her "imagined identity" (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, p. 598), she resigned from her job.

Not long after she decided to end her career at the international organisation, she got married and

moved to Bandung with her husband. Marriage as an institution gave her an institutional identity (Gee, 2001) as a wife and a mother, which in Indonesia meant that she was expected to look after her children and her husband would function as the breadwinner. She was occupied by her duties as a housewife so much so that she did not think she would ever be able to realize her imagined identity to work again at an international organisation. Mary's case shows how professional career trajectories are intertwined with personal responsibilities (Billett, 2006).

However, realising her ability to speak English, Mary thought of applying for a teaching position at an EF branch in Bandung. EF was her first option because she heard a lot of positive reports about it, and she knew that it also had NESTs. She was attracted by EF's international 'vibe' and imagined that in a way, working at EF would be quite similar to working at an international organisation because of the presence of NESTs. Moreover, she also thought that working at a PELI was ideal for her situation because it offered flexibility in terms of choosing the work hours so that she could still look after her children. By deciding to work at EF, Mary was monetizing her linguistic capital. She realised that English was a valuable commodity (Heller, 2010) in Indonesia and that she could easily convert her linguistic capital to economic capital by teaching it. Although she did not have any formal training in teaching English, she said that her experience during the exchange programme to Canada gave her enough confidence that she could teach. She really enjoyed her role as a teacher at EF and she stayed there for ten years.

Although she realised that teaching at EF really worked well with her routine as a wife and a mother, her imagined identity of working at a non-government organisation never left her mind completely from her mind. Therefore, when her first two children were old enough, she applied to work at an international organisation again, and, to her delight, she got a job at an international non-government organisation in Jakarta, and with it, she got to travel around Indonesia working with different

communities. She really enjoyed her time there and she really felt that she was living her dream. However, in her second year of service, she had to resign from her job because of her pregnancy. She said that it was not possible to keep her job because it would be too risky for her to travel to some rural and remote areas of Indonesia, especially because she often travelled on motorcycle and went on bumpy roads. Her pregnancy forced her to rethink her future trajectory. She realised that she would need to be a housewife again, at least until her child could go to school. The significance of pregnancy as a career changer event was also observed in Troman's (2008) ethnographic study when he investigated the various factors which influence teachers' identity and commitment to teaching career in 6 schools in England. In his study, Troman investigated how 37 primary school teachers from six schools in England view increased responsibility and salary. The participants stated that the increased salary from being a head teacher was not worth it compared to the job responsibilities which were attached to the position. Moreover, Troman also highlighted family matter as a significant determiner in a teacher's decisions regarding their career. In the study, Troman emphasized that for female teachers, their decision to stay in the profession or not is influenced mostly by their family situation which include giving birth or changes in their husband's career.

Learning from her experience teaching at EF, Mary decided to go back to a PELI again. She then applied to be a teacher at Riau. She was 38 years old when she started teaching at Riau in 2012. It was at this PELI that she made up her mind to permanently become a teacher. She did not think that she would apply to an international organisation again. She thought that she was too old to start all over again in working at an international organisation. Here, her identity as a mother and wife was the dominant identity that other identities should align with. Therefore, being a part-time English teacher at a PELI was an ideal identity for her. Moreover, her conviction was made stronger by the training that she received at Riau and the encouragement that she received from her mentor following a training session that she attended. Her mentor said that she had the potential to become a good

teacher trainer. It sparked a hope or expectation in her that she could be more than just a teacher and that she had a 'real' career in the field. In fact, she now thought that teaching might be her calling. Her career trajectory seemed quite clear when she told me that "I think this is my place." (Mary, Interview). She explained that for her future, she would like to become an IELTS examiner at a British Council, a UK based PELI, so that she could travel around Indonesia to give IELTS tests and continue to work with NESTs. Her habitus as the result of growing up in a family which experienced living abroad made her feel comfortable and fit in working in an international environment. When I talked to her in October 2019, she told me that she had been an IELTS examiner for three months. She told me that she really enjoyed her role as an examiner because she got to travel to some cities in Indonesia plus the salary was much higher than what she received as a teacher at Riau. She mentioned that she would still be teaching at Riau because her examiner job was only on weekends.

Mary's habitus

Mary learned English from her time in New Zealand and Australia. To her, English was the main language to use in her communication. Consequently, as a teacher, she believed that the aim of teaching English was to enable the students to use English in their communication. Moreover, her experience growing up as an English speaker in Indonesia made her realise that English was a highly valued linguistic capital in Indonesia which she could take advantage of. Therefore, she wanted her students to learn something meaningful from her, something that they could use in their future.

Secondly, Mary's traumatic experience of going to an Indonesian school stays in her memory until now. It is therefore very understandable that when she became a teacher, she did not want to teach English at schools. She stated that "I prefer teaching at PELI than schools because it gives children more freedom to express themselves." (Mary, Interview). She did not have any training as a teacher prior her work at EF, so how she taught was influenced by her habitus as an English learner. The way

she taught was shaped by the way she learnt English, which was through using it as communication. Moreover, because of her childhood experience at Australian schools, Mary believed that learning must be enjoyable, students must not feel scared to come to class, and teachers must be creative to make the lessons interesting. Therefore, she felt that a PELI was a suitable environment for her since it does not restrict its teachers to teach or relate to students following a certain teaching method. Moreover, PELIs tend to encourage their teachers to teach English communicatively. She really enjoyed her role as a teacher at PELIs because she could teach her students in a fun way and they enjoyed learning with her. Her position as a PELI teacher enabled her to create the types of lessons she knew would be fun and beneficial for her students.

Case 6. Willy: Learning by doing

Willy came from a family with low socioeconomic status. His parents barely finished their high school education: his father only completed primary school and subsequently worked as a truck driver, which is a low-skilled profession in Indonesia. His mother was a housewife. Willy developed his ability to speak English from listening to English songs and reading novels. He loved the English subject at school and found it easy to understand. However, although he had a desire to study English at university, his family's financial condition prevented him from taking on a degree programme. Instead, he continued to a vocational school with the hope that he could work as a technician once he completed the course. Willy's career trajectory was very practical: he wanted to work in a company so that he could earn enough money for a living. He did not want to be a burden to his family because his sister also could not finish her studies due to their financial challenges.

After getting his diploma in computer and communication, he worked as a technician in an electronic company for two years. He stopped working there when the company did not renew his contract. Consequently, Willy had to find another job because being unemployed was not an option for him

and his family. Therefore, when he applied to a range of companies, he did not have any particular job that he would *enjoy* doing; he just needed a job to make a living. One of the companies that he applied to was a PELI called Harvey. Willy said that his experience working at a radio station helped him to be confident to apply for a teaching position even though he did not have a degree in teaching or in the English language. He said that when he was working at the radio station, he often compiled materials by translating some English news into Indonesian. He was praised by his colleagues and manager because none of his colleagues were able to do that work. The praise that he received could be seen as a confirmation of his English skills. This experience made him realise that his English was better than most people that he knew. In other words, Willy's investment paid off because now he had gained English as a part of his linguistic capital. This is in line with Norton's (1997) claim that a language learner invests in learning because they want something in return, be it in the form of increased linguistic capital or higher social status. Furthermore, Willy started to create an "imagined identity" (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, p. 598) as an English teacher because in his mind, he thought that if he could read and speak in English, he would also be able to teach English.

His confidence was validated when he passed the English test for new teachers at Harvey. He recalled that there were two parts to the test: the first part required the candidate to answer questions related to English grammar, and the second required them to give an explanation to support their answers. Willy could only do the first part; as for the second part, he just left it blank. After the test, he was interviewed, and the interviewer asked him why he left the second section blank. Willy was honest about it and admitted that he did not know the theoretical or grammatical reasons behind his answers, but he 'just knew it.' Fortunately, he was still accepted at the PELI because Harvey's emphasis was on the ability to communicate in English rather than knowledge of English grammar. This aligned with how Willy developed his English—through using it in communication.

After he was recruited as a teacher, Willy was required to attend a one-month initial teacher training programme. In the training, new recruits learnt some teaching techniques and English grammar. The training programme also included class observations where the new recruits observed senior teachers teaching their classes so that they could understand how to plan and manage classroom activities.

At the beginning of the training programme, he was so nervous knowing that he was the only one who did not have a university degree compared to the other new teachers who had a degree either in English language or linguistics or English education. He was so shy that he sat in the last row in the corner of the room. He tried to keep his spirit up by thinking that "I have something to give to my students which is the way I learnt English. I did not know the grammar terms such as the tenses but I know how to understand the language." (Willy, Interview). Willy believed that he could help his students to learn English the way he had learnt it. It could be said that Willy realised that he had developed a habitus which was different when compared to the other new recruits and that he could be confident with his ability to teach using his own approach.

Learning to teach in a CoP

At the beginning of his tenure, Willy was mentored by a senior teacher. The mentor allowed him to observe closely how he planned his lessons, prepared teaching materials, and showed him the resource materials which were available for teachers to use. During his mentoring session, Willy also talked to other teachers and they were all friendly to him and shared their knowledge about the place and the system. As a peripheral member of this CoP, Willy felt welcome and found that his

colleagues were supportive. He even said that sometimes he thought that he learned more from talking to other teachers than from having one-on one-sessions with his mentor. Harvey's CoP of teachers seemed very open to new teachers, so much so that they allowed new teachers to access the repertoire such as lesson plans, teaching materials, teaching aids like pictures, posters etc. which were developed or compiled by the more experienced teachers.

In addition, as a new teacher without any teaching qualifications, Willy realised that he had to develop his teaching skills even after his mentoring period was over. The mentoring programme was just the beginning of his investment to develop the habitus of an English teacher. He explained that at Harvey, all of the teachers were encouraged to observe other teachers and learn from them, although they did not need to imitate any of their techniques or methods. Thus, he took advantage of the policy by observing as many teachers as he could. He said that he did not try to imitate the way others taught although he got some practical ideas from observing their classes. Moreover, through his membership in the CoP there, he gained access to the shared teaching materials which was very useful; especially as a new teacher he would not have accumulated any sort of teaching materials.

Another procedure that helped Willy developed his teaching skills was by being observed by more senior teachers and receiving feedback from them. In fact, as a quality control procedure, Harvey runs two types of observations: formal (or scheduled) observations and informal (unscheduled) observations. After the observations, the teacher would receive some feedback from the observer (senior teacher or the owner of the school) about how they performed in the class. The observer also made a report which would be used for the teacher's performance appraisal once a year.

Willy mentioned that one time, the owner observed his class, and he was pleased with his performance and therefore promoted him to be a trainer. The owner said that his class was fun and that the students seemed to enjoy learning with him. This acknowledgement—especially coming from the owner of the school—validated Willy's teaching approach. It boosted Willy's confidence and convinced him that he was as legitimate as other teachers. Moreover, he was promoted to a role as the head of the research and development department, which meant that Willy was also responsible for the development of teaching materials which would be used in all six Harvey branches. But Willy's promotion was not accepted by all teachers in the institution: some teachers questioned his credentials as a teacher trainer because they knew that he did not have a degree in English language or in English education. Since identity involves how others see us (Woodward, 2000), Willy's lack in arguably this most valuable symbolic capital was seen as a handicap and reason that he should not have been promoted to a teacher trainer role. Willy remembered that some teachers were reluctant to join teacher training sessions that he organized. He realised that he needed to prove that he knew more than them, so before the training session, he administered a FCE (First Certificate in English) test to show the level of their English. He demonstrated to them that their levels of English were still low and even lower than his. In doing this, he thought that he showed them that although he did not have a degree, he had better English. And since English was the commodity (Heller, 2010) that they were 'selling 'to the students, having a high level of English was arguably more important than having a degree in English or education. In this incident, we can see how Willy negotiated his identity as a teacher trainer by demonstrating his value to others. Although institutionally he was already given an institutional identity as a teacher trainer (Gee, 2001), Willy had to negotiate his identity within the other members of the CoP. This shows that any social structure is a site of struggle where agents share space with one another and practice their agency within the frameworks that enable and constrain the practices of its members (Howarth, Wagner, Magnusson, & Sammut, 2014).

Willy enjoyed his work at Harvey so much that he did not think about resigning or moving to a different PELI. He was ready to help out other departments such as assisting with marketing events. When I talked to him, it was past 9:00pm and had he just finished teaching his last class for the day. He told me that he started working that day from 7:00am. He said that he visited some schools and gave out brochures to potential students and parents. It meant that he worked for more than 12 hours on that day. He said that "It is tiring but I really enjoy doing it." (Willy, Interview). Moreover, he felt that Harvey had helped him develop himself and the other teachers. In his position as the manager of teacher training, research and development department, he was given the opportunity to shape or repackage the programmes at Harvey using CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). "CEFR is an international standard for describing language ability" (Cambridge assessment English, 2020). The framework describes English ability into six levels which can be used to map out students' levels of proficiency, construct curriculum and test for each level. He felt appreciated by the management team and students. He also mentioned that teaching at Harvey meant that he was helping students with low socioeconomic backgrounds to learn English. Coming from a similar family background, he could relate to them. Moreover, Willy realised the power of English as linguistic capital: by possessing a high English proficiency level, he could turn his life around and become the head of the research and development department and a teacher trainer. Finally, Willy acknowledged that his position gave him a distinct status as a high-quality English teacher which had given him some opportunities to be an interpreter and high-paid private tutor, both of which gave him more income and recognition.

Willy's habitus

Willy's learning habitus was developed through his experiences in learning English via reading English storybooks and listening to English songs. Moreover, this habitus was put into practice when he worked as an announcer at a radio station. There he could use his habitus to translate articles from English into Indonesian. Moreover, as part of his job as an announcer, he listened to a lot of English songs which further developed his English skills thus improving the value of his linguistic capital. When he became a teacher, Willy emphasized developing his students 'English skills by encouraging them to use the language in their daily conversations with their friends and teachers. He often used songs and other authentic materials such as movie clips or YouTube videos to teach some English expressions. He tried to build good relationships with his students so that he never felt under pressure when he was teaching. Furthermore, he said that "I don't feel that I am working here I just feel like playing with my students." (Willy, Interview). He wanted to emphasize the 'fun 'element in learning English, which probably stems from his learning habitus in that he learned English through engaging in fun activities.

Reflecting on his own journey as an English language learner, English teacher, and teacher trainer, he concluded that to be a good English teacher, a person needs to develop at least these three skills: English, communication, and interpersonal skills. Having developed a good command of English, he believed that a teacher must master the language. What he meant by 'master 'was that not only did a teacher need to know English grammar, but he also should be able to use it effectively in communication. Secondly, a good teacher must be able to explain things clearly so that their students could understand them. Finally, a good teacher needs to develop their interpersonal skills when relating to other people. With good interpersonal skills, a teacher would be able to position themselves in their relationships with their students, colleagues and parents. All of these

characteristics of a good English teacher propose action: that to be a good English teacher, someone must put in the work to construct their identity. Identity is not about what we have but what we do (Jenkins, 2008) and about how we create and develop ourselves through our relationships with others and our life experiences (Elliot, Gunaratnam, Hollway, & Phoenix, 2009).

Case 7. Nada: Paradigm shift due to changes in the types of students

Nada was adopted when she was still a baby; her adoptive family had high socioeconomic status. Her father had his own construction company. Her mother could speak Dutch and English and she sometimes spoke in English with her children. Since she was little, Nada liked listening to English songs and watching English movies. She also went to EF for six months when she was at secondary school and was taught by a NEST. She said that she did not really enjoy going to EF after school because she preferred to hang out with her friends. She rather developed her ability to speak English through doing her hobbies, although at a later stage, she also acknowledged the significance of her experience working with NESTs which further polished her English.

Nada acknowledged the importance of English in her life even before she became a teacher. As mentioned earlier, Nada was adopted when she was a baby and her adopted parents and family never told her about it. When she finally found out about it, it was a very traumatic experience for her. She was extremely shocked when she was told that she was adopted, and she decided that she needed some space to really ponder what was happening. Nada decided to go to Bali, and because she was fluent in English, it was not difficult for her to get a job as a tour guide at an art gallery and a travel agency. One day, she was assigned to accompany a tourist to visit some destinations in Bali. While she was with them, she shared about her life story and they felt sorry for what had happened in her life. When she dropped them back at their hotel, they gave her $100 and told her to go home and start

her life all over again. With the money, she returned to her hometown, but she did not go back to her family because she wanted to start her life anew. Reflecting on her life experience in Bali, although it was only for some months, she told me that "English was the only thing that I knew that I could use to get a job you know to survive" (Nada, Interview). Nada's experience in Bali shows the value of English as a linguistic capital in the tourism industry (Heller, 2003).

Journey as a teacher

Nada's entrance to the ELT world as a teacher was mediated by an event at the train station in her hometown when she just got back from Bali. She remembered seeing a group of tourists who were talking to a local person at the station. They were asking him for some directions to go to different places in the city. Having heard their conversation, she jumped in to help the tourists. The person who was initially talking to the tourists was impressed with her English and he invited her to meet one of his friends who was running a small PELI. At the meeting, the owner of the PELI offered her a job as an English teacher. Because she did not want to return to her parents 'house, she was given a room at the school where she could stay. She accepted the offer and started helping him run an English club which met once a week. At this place, she observed how the teachers prepared their lessons, how they explained some grammar rules and gave instructions, and other aspects of teaching. Although the PELI did not give her any training, she learnt about teaching from her interactions with other teachers, and especially from the owner of PELI because he was the main teacher at the place. It could be said that Nada's identity as an English speaker opened the door for her to enter the ELT field. Her involvement in the conversation with the tourists at the station was a normal or ordinary communication event for her; however, to the other local who was with her and the tourists, it was a display of English language competence and the reason he offered her the opportunity to meet an owner of a PELI.

After working for the small PELI for six months, Nada decided that she should try to work at a bigger PELI, so she applied to some PELIs and got accepted at a medium-sized PELI in Bandung; she worked there from 2004 until 2008. She considered this second PELI as her first 'proper 'job as an English teacher, probably because at the previous PELI she was only responsible for managing the English club and was not given any classes to teach. Nada mentioned that in the second, medium-sized PELI, she was exposed to a more professional environment and she learned more teaching strategies and became acquainted with the various English programmes that a PELI could offer to students. At this PELI, she taught all levels of students from elementary to advanced, including teaching children and teaching business English. Here, she gained her first experience as a teacher and developed teaching skills. After teaching there for four years, she had confidence to apply to a bigger school: one of the most respected PELIs in town, Dago. Dago was well known for its NESTs and using imported coursebooks which were not easy to purchase. To her knowledge, Dago had the most professional teacher development scheme and paid the highest salary.

In the beginning of her employment at Dago, she was given a three-month mentoring programme where she was closely mentored and monitored by a senior teacher. In this period, she met her mentor twice a week and during these meetings, her mentor would help her with her lesson planning and the other tasks that she needed to do. This hands-on training shaped her teaching habitus as she developed the ability to plan and teach her lessons systematically following CLT approach. Moreover, she also gained more knowledge about English language grammar because she often talked to the director of studies who helped her whenever she had any difficulties related to understanding English grammar. She really appreciated these experiences and thanked her mentor who supported her in very constructive ways. Having a supportive mentor is very crucial for the success of new teachers 'adaptation to their new role as a teacher or as a teacher enters a new school (Catherine et al., 2017).

Nada really enjoyed her early times at Dago. She described it as a place where the teachers shared their teaching materials with each other and the staff room was filled with productive discussions about teaching methods, new teaching materials, ideas for class activities, and so on. Nada and her colleagues established a "community of practice" (Wenger, 1998, p. 5) where they shared their teaching repertoire and goals, which were to deliver useful lessons in communicative and fun ways. They seemed to have a system by which they operated as a team. However, things changed a lot after they moved to a new building. She blamed the new person in charge for not being able to continue the positive habits such as having a mentoring system for new teachers, conducting teaching workshops once a month, and regular peer observations that the PELI had developed over the years. A CoP as an organic institution is constantly changing as newcomers arrive in an organisation and become new members of the CoP (Wenger, 1998). However, Nada saw the changes in CoP at Dago diminish a good tradition of teacher training programme. She did not feel that she fit in in the CoP anymore and so she made an "outbound trajectory" (p.155) and became a peripheral member of the CoP: although she was physically present, she did not want to be involved with other teachers anymore.

Nada is a motivated teacher who has the initiative to develop her English and her teaching skills. Realising that she did not have a degree in English language or in teaching, she attended a lot of teacher training and workshop sessions. She even paid for her CELTA and DELTA by herself, even though most of her colleagues asked for a sponsorship from the PELI. Because of this she felt that she developed her teaching skills and credentials all by herself. By not asking for a loan from Dago, Nada showed that she was an independent teacher who was able to develop her professional skills without her PELI's help. Moreover, by getting CELTA and DELTA, she acquired an "institution-

identity" (Gee, 2001, p. 102) which were embedded in CELTA and DELTA certificates legitimizing her as a professional English teacher. When I interviewed her in 2018, she said that she continued investing in developing her English and teaching skills through learning from online resources.

During her time at Dago, she started as a part-time teacher and then got promoted to a role as a full-time teacher; after that, she was promoted to become a senior teacher for two years. When she was a senior teacher, she did not have a good relationship with the academic team leader, Cindy, in that they seemed to compete for influence. Their negative relationship was affecting the dynamic of the community of practice. The CoP became divided into two groups and new teachers were not sure what to do since they were getting different messages from Nada as the senior teacher and Cindy as the academic team leader. Realising that they could not work well together, she resigned from her position and became a part-time teacher, a role she held at the time of our interview. At the time of the interview, she was only teaching one class at Dago. She was a lot more involved in her other part-time position as an IELTS examiner, a role she took on starting in 2017.

Like Mary, as an IELTS examiner, Nada was able to travel to some cities in Indonesia to conduct the IELTS speaking and writing tests. In Indonesia, she was one of the few examiners who was not a native speaker of English because the majority of IELTS examiners are NESTs. This position has given her a distinct status (institution and affinity-identity (Gee, 2001)) as a highly-qualified and very respected English teacher. Moreover, because she was not dependent on Dago anymore in terms of earning her living, she became more critical about how the school is run. She said that her salary as an IELTS examiner was more than enough for her and it was more than three times what she got as a full-time teacher at Dago.

Nada's habitus

Nada developed her habitus as an English speaker through her exposure to English language in her family. The fact that her mother could speak Dutch and English shows that speaking a foreign language in addition to Indonesian was a norm in her family as well as evidence of her family high social status (Basalama & Machmud, 2018). In addition, she enjoyed listening to English songs and watching English movies, which contributed to the development of her English. In fact, English was not only a part of her linguist capital, being an English speaker was one of her identities. In one of the seasons of her life, English enabled her to get a job as a tourist guide in Bali which led (although unintentionally) to her becoming an English teacher.

Nada developed her teaching habitus when she started to teach at PELI: she attended teacher training sessions, took CELTA and DELTA courses, and learned from other teachers in the community of practice at the PELI. Through these investments, she developed the ability to teach English using communicative language learning strategies. At the beginning of her career as a teacher, she believed that a lesson must be fun, so she always incorporated games in her lesson. However, after becoming an IELTS examiner, she noticed that she was becoming less fun, but claimed that she was becoming a more effective teacher. She now believed that the instructional time that she had must be used to provide more focus and direct practice for her students. Her changes in the way she sees English teaching, from advocating CLT to more English for specific purposes (Exam preparation), might be caused by her involvement as an IELTS examiner and trainer. She admitted that after being an IELTS examiner for five years, she now preferred teaching exam preparation programmes than teaching general English or conversation classes. In teaching English exam preparation courses, she thought she could help her students to achieve their goals in getting a high TOEFL or IELTS score, when in the past, she used to think that the aim of teaching English was to help students to develop their English communication skills. In other words, her identity as a teacher changed according to the

way she viewed teaching practice and as the result of her new role because "identities are closely tied to what we do and our interpretations of those actions in the context of our relationships with others" (Christiansen, 1999, p. 549). Nada's experience shows that habitus is not static instead it is malleable because it changed as the product of her internalization of new experiences. Dispositions are constantly reviewed and revised, although changes in someone's habitus is never foundational due to the fact that it operates on the basis of ideas or values in the previous state (Wacquant, 2014). Moreover, "the changes in habitus are characterized by a combination of constancy and variation that fluctuates according to the individual and her degree of rigidity or flexibility." (p. 7).

In terms of her relationship with students, she considered them as friends and she always gave out her phone number so that they could contact her and ask any questions outside of class hours. She argued that "If you are close to your students it will be easier to influence your students… I want to know about my students, so I can help them best." (Nada, Interview). When I observed her lesson on July 18, 2018 this was evident when I noticed that she memorized all of her students names and background. Moreover, she spoke to her students as a motivator, encouraging them to be better at English by being aware of the errors they make and trying to correct them independently. To maintain her communication with her students she often had a WhatsApp group with her students like the one that she had with her IELTS students. There, she often posted relevant tips on how to prepare for the test. She thought that it was her personal responsibility to make sure that her students were successful in their learning. She seemed to give more than what was expected from her by her institution.

Case 8. Darren: Inter-national marriage: aspiring to be a transnational teacher

Similar to Willy, Darren came from a low socioeconomic background. His father studied only through primary school and his mother could not finish her high school education. His father worked as a bus driver and also as a pedicab driver in his spare time, but he worked very hard to ensure that his children could study at university since he strongly believed that having a high education was the key to success. Young Darren really wanted to work in the tourism industry, such as at a hotel or joining a cruise ship; however, his father did not approve his plan to study tourism "because he thought that working in a hotel would be like just being a waiter or room boy or something, so he was not really happy about the prospect of me if I study tourism." (Darren, Interview). However, his father's rejection of his proposal to study tourism did not necessary eradicate his desire to work in the tourism industry, and Darren saw another route that he could take which would still open the opportunity to work in tourism business. He chose English language as his major, thinking that it would still enable him to enter the tourism business without being too 'obvious 'to his father.

Darren first learned English language at junior high school although he said that his teacher mainly taught them by translating English words into Indonesian and asked the students to memorize them. He did not think that he liked English then. It was when he was at senior high school that he started to enjoy English lessons. He said that he really liked his English teacher because he used English in the class so Darren could practice his English with him. However, not everybody in his class appreciated his eagerness to practice English, and so they harassed him for that. This was probably because at that time, English language in Indonesia was a marker for someone's socioeconomic status (Smith, 1991a). Therefore, Darren's attempts to use English in his daily conversations was not approved by his community of people with low economic background. However, despite all of these challenges, he continued to make efforts to improve his English by talking to a mirror to practice and learning at a small PELI in his town. Darren said that his grandmother paid for him to study at the

PELI and it was not expensive at all. His determination to develop his English showed his agency in constructing his identity as an English speaker. Darren did not give way to the social structure which assigned an identity for him to take. Instead, he worked on his own identity according to the way he imagined it. Darren seemed to understand that "carving out a personal identity for which we are responsible is one of the inescapable tasks of human life" (Koorsgaard, 2009, p. 24).

Identity is a site of struggle where an agent negotiates his or her uniqueness against how his or her social environment see her or him (Woodward, 2000). Because of his investment in developing his English, his ability to communicate in English stood out compared to his classmates so much that he was given the opportunity to be an English teacher at a very young age. The opportunity to teach came because one of the teachers at the PELI where Darren was studying resigned from his job. Desperate to find a replacement as soon as possible, the principal of the PELI asked three of its high achievers to apply for the position. Two students were not confident to apply, but Darren took the opportunity to apply and subsequently became a teacher while he was still studying at a senior high school. Darren said that he would take up any opportunity that he encountered.

Darren continued teaching at this institution during his time at university, although he had to commute from his rented room near his university in Medan (Medan is a city in north Sumatera, Indonesia) to the PELI, which was in a different city. It took two hours to travel from his room to the PELI. He had to do this because he needed to earn some money to help his parents pay the university fees. Although Darren's motivation to teach English was to generate some income, it could also be seen as an investment in developing teaching skills to become a professional teacher. Through this experience, he continued to develop a habitus of an English teacher which later on would influence his decision with regards to his future career.

Marrying a NEST, improving English

As a learner of English, his English was significantly improved through his relationships with NESTs. Darren met a NEST from Canada while he was auditioning to join an exchange programme to Canada. He did not get chosen, but through this audition, Darren got to know this NEST and started to build a personal relationship with her; they eventually got married in 2010. Their marriage was not seen as a 'normal 'marriage by most Indonesians because at that time, inter-national marriage was still very uncommon. Moreover, there is a 20 year gap between Darren and his wife: she was much older than him and had a daughter from her previous marriage. As a result, people often questioned his intention to marry her, and he felt that they doubted his genuine love for her and accused him of marrying her because of her money. He became very uncomfortable with the way people treated them or talked about them, so much so that they decided to move to another city where they could start a new life. This move could be seen as a way in which Darren rejected the identity he felt people placed on him as a poor man wanting to get rich by marrying a much older white person; by moving away from his community and trying to find a new community, he felt that he could build a new identity as a respected man who married a western woman for love not her money. He negotiated his new identity by getting himself a job at Riau, one of the most prestigious PELI in Indonesia. Later on, Darren continued to develop his professional habitus through attending teacher training sessions and getting a CELTA certificate.

Darren and his wife decided to move to Bandung, a much bigger city, where his wife got accepted to work at Dago. Darren then applied to a Riau and got the job there. Working with one of the best PELIs in the city means that Darren got more opportunities to develop his teaching skills through attending workshops or seminars: "so when I moved to Riau, I got everything. I was trained on how

to teach children, young adults, and now I have CELTA, so I think my learning how to teach is still going and I am still progressing." (Darren, Interview)

Darren's habitus

Darren developed his ability to communicate in English through learning at a small PELI and investing in informal learning activities such as practicing his speaking skills by talking to a mirror. Furthermore, he became more fluent after he married a native speaker, a relationship which provided constant, daily English conversational practice. Their decision to use English was understandable because Darren could speak English much better than his wife could speak Indonesian. This is similar to one of the findings in Piller's (2001) study where a German-English couple decided to use English even though they lived in Germany. In addition, the couple in Piller's study chose English as a negotiation strategy because the wife who came from the US already made the sacrifice to live in a non-familiar country (Germany) therefore it was 'fair 'if the language they use in their marriage was English instead of German. In Darren's case, an additional consideration of choosing English as the language in his marriage was the fact that English as a cultural capital in ELT field is more valuable than Indonesian language, and in his job as an English teacher he was required to improve his English continuously through using it in most of his conversations. Therefore, it was understandable why Darren decided to invest further in developing his English skills instead of asking his wife to invest in learning Indonesian.

As a teacher, he believed that his role was to help his students develop the ability to speak English. Darren's experience being bullied by his classmates influenced his beliefs in teaching and so he tried to make his students feel comfortable learning from him. He encouraged his students to try speaking in class and not to be embarrassed when making mistakes because no one would laugh at them. In

terms of teaching methods, he seemed to view that the 'CELTA-way' was the best teaching strategy. His internalization of the certain teaching methods promoted in the CELTA course became a large part of his teaching habitus; he reported that "now I am really with CELTA motto: do not reinvent the wheels." (Darren, Interview)

Career trajectory

For his future, Darren aspired to work abroad. Again, marrying a NEST gave him an opportunity to live in other countries, alongside with what his wife was doing. He wanted to move to another Asian country such as Japan, Sri Lanka, or Malaysia. He hoped to work for a large organisation such as the British Council because he thought that they would pay him fairly regardless of his identity as a non-native English speaker. By working for an institution such as the British Council, he would be treated the same as NESTs. Darren constructed his identity as a professional English teacher by developing his teaching credentials through the CELTA course, which stamped him as a 'Cambridge-trained' teacher. The power of CELTA to legitimize and give a sense of belonging to a community of professional, internationally recognised, English teachers gave Darren an institution and affinity-identity (Gee, 2001) which inspired an imagined identity as a transnational teacher.

Case 9. Shofia: A traumatic experience teaching at a school

Shofia came from a low socioeconomic background. Her father was a school custodian, and her mother was a housewife. In addition to his main responsibility to look after the school building, her father also taught Religious study (Islam). Somehow, seeing her father's routine planted in her heart a desire to work in the education field.

Shofia said that she always enjoyed learning English from watching English movies and listening to English songs. In addition, she loved learning English as a subject at school. She said that it was her favourite subject, so, after graduating from high school, she continued her education by starting a degree in English education at a local university. She mentioned that it was the only degree that she felt was right for her and that she wanted to become an English teacher. This decision arguably was influenced by her habitus growing up in a family which was so connected with the education field.

As part of her degree programme, Shofia was required to practice teaching at a school for six months. The idea of the teaching practicum programme was to equip the student teacher with some practical knowledge and experience through hands-on work. During her teaching practicum, the host school would provide a mentor who would give guidance and direction for the student teacher who was assigned to his or her school. The mentor would monitor and assess the performance of the trainee and at the end of the programme assign the final score. It is obvious that a mentor teacher has great power over the student teacher; therefore, a student teacher should try their best to please their mentor. Unfortunately for Shofia, her experience during the teaching internship was far from useful. It was so traumatic that she did not want to become a schoolteacher after she graduated from her university.

Shofia mentioned that during her teaching practicum she was supposed to only be assigned to teach and be responsible for one class; however, she was often asked to become a substitute teacher whenever a class or subject teacher was absent. She felt uncomfortable with the situation because she did not know what to teach; she did not like the way the principal just asked her to go into a class and teach. Teaching practicum which was supposed to nurture a teaching habitus became a destructive experience for Shofia. Her imagined identity was very different to the reality that she lived in for six

months. It was so traumatic that her imagined identity as a schoolteacher changed dramatically to the extent that she did not want to be a schoolteacher anymore. Therefore, after she graduated, she applied for jobs outside of teaching, like those at banks and offices. With this, Shofia could be seen as someone who was trying to construct a new identity by working in a non-teaching industry; unfortunately she did not get a job in those areas. After reluctantly applying to be a teacher at Len, she started teaching at Len in 2013.

When she was recruited at Len, she had to join an initial teacher training programme for one month in Jakarta. She said that her experience was very different than the one she had during her teaching practice. She said that after the training, she felt equipped for the job. She said that that Len's training emphasized practical aspects of teaching, whereas her degree programme focussed on the theory of teaching and education in general: when taken together, the two programmes complemented each other.

In addition, Shofia mentioned that the aim of the Len training programme was to 'standardise 'the teaching practice across all Len branches, which were spread out across the country. Shofia felt appreciated by her institution because Len paid for all of the costs which were incurred during the training programme; she could see that Len invested in their teachers through providing high-quality training for the new teachers.

At Len, Shofia worked with some of her former classmates from the university. She felt at home to be with her friends. She said that she knew everybody and felt like part of a family whenever she came to Len. Because of this, they quickly built a community of practice where they shared similar teaching beliefs and practice as the result of their experience studying at a teacher college. Shofia

mentioned that it was very easy to work together with other teachers and that she could be honest and open with them regarding the challenges that she was facing in class. She said that in the staff room, they often talked about their students and what happened in their classes. They also exchanged ideas and suggestions. The atmosphere in the staff room was so informal that they also joked around and often talked about topics which were unrelated to their job.

Shofia's habitus

Shofia's habitus was shaped largely from her experience during her study as a student teacher and her experience working at Len. As mentioned earlier, she acknowledged the fact that she gained understanding about the theories in teaching from university, but the initial training programme at Len equipped her with practical skills that she needed as she started her career as an English teacher. In her teaching, Shofia's main goal is to help her students to develop their communicative skills. She said that students should not worry so much about making mistakes as long as what they are saying makes sense. She employs communicative activities such as role play and group work activities in all of her lessons. She also always tries to do some fun activities in class such as guessing games or race to the whiteboard game.

Shofia always greets the students at Len whenever she meets them. She said that she just wanted them to practice using English as much as possible through their interactions either with the teacher or classmates. She said that although the students often reply in Indonesian, she would continue the conversations in English. She believes that having maximum exposure to the target language (English) is very important in learning English, so she also encouraged her students to read English books and watch English TV series.

As an institution, Len also encouraged a peer learning culture in each of their branches. Each teacher was encouraged to lead a session to share some of the things that they thought were useful in the classroom. In a way, the institution has initiated (if not *created*) a learning community amongst its teachers. By sharing their ideas, teachers are accumulating their shared repertoire which functions as a form of glue within the community of practice. Moreover, by continuous meeting and learning from each other, they developed their common values and goals in their day-to-day practice as teachers at Len. Like the other PELIs in this study, Len focused on developing students 'ability to communicate in English. In line with those institutional values, Shofia encouraged more student-to-students interactions rather than teacher-to-students interactions; this practice was to encourage the students to practice their English outside of the classroom. Moreover, she believed that students should feel safe to make mistakes when they are trying to use the language as long as the message that they want to deliver can be understood. Thus, she opposed both test-oriented teaching as it was practiced at primary and secondary schools and the trend that students were afraid of making mistakes because they would be bullied by other students.

Career trajectory

She claimed that although she really enjoyed working at Len, she would like to develop her career as an academic. Because of this aspiration, she decided to study for a Masters degree in Linguistics in 2015 which she completed in 2017. She said that during her master's study, she really enjoyed doing research projects and she wanted to continue doing that as a lecturer at a university. She admitted that although her institution appreciated their teachers' desire to continuously develop their teaching skills and nurture their initiative to conduct a research project, the type of research was limited to classroom action research (CAR). She could understand that trend because the products of a CAR were usually more practical than theoretical, which is very relevant for the institution:

> So I do not really think that my institution is suitable for me in the long term. Although this PELI
>
> acknowledges the importance of conducting classroom action research type of thing, it is very
>
> limited in terms of the type of research projects which will be appreciated here. But my interest is
>
> more in linguistics and also in teaching techniques but not just CAR. It's not that I do not like CAR,
>
> but maybe because I have never really did a CAR.

Her professional trajectory to be a lecturer does not eradicate her identity as a PELI teacher. She said that she would continue teaching at Len as a part-time teacher. She acknowledged the role of Len as a learning community where she could continue to develop her English and teaching skills. She said that she was afraid that her English would deteriorate if she did not teach at Len because she would not use it anymore. She claimed that teaching at a PELI requires her to use English in the class, whereas if she worked as a lecturer she would not be required to speak English.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has presented the life stories of nine non-NESTs which illustrate some of the events and decisions that they made which contributed to the formation of their teacher identities. These stories cover the journeys of the participants in becoming English learners, speakers, and teachers. At each stage, the participants developed a new set of habitus and negotiated their position in relation to other people within their social space or field. The ways the participants negotiated their identity were influenced by their socioeconomic status and the role of English as an international language in Indonesia. For those who came from high socioeconomic status, learning English at expensive PELIs (those which employed NESTs) and became a speaker of English was normal and expected because English was used within their household, either as a medium of communication or entertainment. Therefore, for Claire, Tracy, Arbo, and Nada having conversations in English with their friends and relatives were a normality. In contrast, for those who came from a low socioeconomic family such as

Darren, Shofia, Willy, and Yanni, English was not used in conversations with their family, relatives or friends. Therefore, their 'unpublic' use of English in communications with their friends were merely to practice their speaking skills. As mentioned in Chapter Two, English was mainly used by people from a high social status (Smith, 1991b), therefore, any attempts to use English outside of the classroom could be seen as claiming a higher social status which they did not possess.

However, each participant successfully gained English language as one of their forms of linguistic capital which enabled them to enter the ELT field as English teachers. Once they were in the ELT field, they developed their teaching habitus through learning in the CoP, taking teacher training course, attending seminars and conferences and taking part in the formal training development programmes organized by their PELI. The most influential teacher training programme mentioned by the participants was CELTA; its international reputation gave its graduates a sense of being a part of an international English teacher community. CELTA was particularly popular in Dago, Jana, and Riau although the meanings given by the participants with regard to their CELTA qualification varied. For some participants, such as Michael, Claire, Maya, and Darren, acquiring CELTA certificate created an imagined identity of becoming a transnational teacher with the possibilities of teaching outside Indonesia. For Yanni, CELTA legitimized him as a qualified teacher, and for Arbo, CELTA enabled him to move from peripheral membership in the CoP at his institution to become a full member of the CoP.

In summary, the participant's narratives provide evidence of the various events and processes in the construction of their professional identity as non-NESTs. Their professional identity was shaped by their investment in developing a certain set of capital and habitus and the way they imagined themselves in the future: their professional trajectories. The next chapter will discuss the results of

the thematic analysis of the data collected from narrative interviews of 25 participants, observation notes, and analysis of samples of participants 'lesson plans. The results signposted the roles of investment and professional trajectories in shaping non-NESTs 'professional habitus. Moreover, the data analysis also brought forward the importance of CoP as a learning environment where the novice teachers learn how to be professional English teachers in a PELI setting.

Chapter 6

Discussion: Framing professional identities in habitus

Introduction

This study was prompted by the gap in the literature about English teachers' identities in Indonesia especially in the context of teaching English at a PELI. The existing studies seem to overlook the significance of PELIs as legitimate ELT providers in facilitating the construction of a teacher's identity as discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, this chapter will first explore the roles of PELIs in the construction of teachers' identities as they are experienced by the participants before moving on to the analysis of the participants' investment, trajectories, and habitus which together shape their professional identities.

6.1 PELI as a community of practice

As evident in the participants' narratives in Chapter 5, the role of a PELI as an institution to shape its teachers' identities is related to its capacity to create and nurture the development of a community of practice (CoP). It is within a CoP that teachers learn to be professional English teachers through their interactions with their students, fellow teachers, and other co-workers at their institution. The ways each member of the CoP gives meaning or makes sense of their experiences in CoP, however, are unique. Consequently, teachers develop their unique sense of identity because although they engage in doing the same things, they all experience them differently. In other words, our identity is "shaped by belonging to a community, but with a unique identity. Our identity depends on engaging in practice, but with unique experience" (Wenger, 1998, p. 146). The analysis of the roles of the

community of practice in this study will be analysed in two contexts: CoP as community of English speakers and CoP as a community of English teachers.

6.1.1 CoP as a community of English speakers

Once a non-NEST started their career as an English teacher, their identity as an English language learner did not die out. On the contrary, non-NESTs never stopped being learners because when they prepared their lessons, they reviewed some aspects of the target language that they had learned as a learner before and thus re-learned it again and again. Therefore, the first role of PELIs in constructing teachers' identities is by providing a learning space for non-NESTs to develop their English skills. Although not all PELIs in this study had formal English training programmes for their teachers, they encouraged their teachers to develop their English through having daily English conversations with other teachers. The characteristic of CoP to provide space for learning was also emphasize in McDonald and Star's study (2008) when they initiated a CoP for first year teachers at the Faculty of Business in a university in Australia. In their study, CoP, as a means of social learning in a formal institution, nurtured group learning by making a set of goals that the CoP would achieve through learning from each others' practices and also from experts who were invited to give talks or workshops for the members of the CoP.

The push to only use English in daily conversation within the PELI inspired Dago, Riau, and Len's teachers to make an agreement that they would levy a financial fine on teachers who spoke Indonesian in the teachers' room. This practice created peer pressure among the PELI's teachers to produce flawless utterances in English. They also corrected each others' mistakes so that they would make less and less mistakes in the future. Although they acknowledged the positive motives behind these corrections, Triana and Yanni were often discouraged whenever their colleagues corrected their

English. They said that some of them were acting as grammar police who would pick up on their mistakes. Triana said that "I appreciate their input but sometimes it hurts when they keep correcting my English." (Triana, Interview). Anji, at EF also felt the pressure to speak English accurately and fluently just like his NEST colleagues which motivated him to improve his English by practicing his speaking skills and paying attention to his pronunciation. Anji, Triana, and Yanni felt that they were constantly being evaluated on their English ability which is similar to the participants in Fotovatian's (2015) study of non-native PhD students in Australia who felt that they had to prove to other people that they deserved to be English teachers. As a result, Triana and Yanni did not to speak very much with other teachers in their CoP.

In the same vein, Murugaiah et.al (2012) investigated the dynamic of an online CoP consisting of five English teachers in Malaysia. The study used a blog as the medium of communication and collaboration between the participants. The research participants were asked to discuss issues related to their teaching practices by posting their comments or opinions on the group's blog. The study found that the level of engagement of the members of the CoP varied. Two participants dominated the blog conversation over the five months research programme whereas the rest of the participants became peripheral members of the CoP. Based on the interviews, one of the reasons behind the minimal posts produced by the peripheral members was that one of the participants posted a very long post on the blog which intimidated the less active participants. They considered that by posting lengthy comments the person was showing off his knowledge. The study emphasized the importance of having trust between the members of a CoP and having a commitment to the development of the CoP.

Another aspect of learning English as a foreign language is developing an understanding of the relevant culture, such as American, English or Australian. Working at a PELI which employs NESTs provides opportunities for non-NESTs to have discussions about the cultures of English speaking countries with NESTs which helps them to have better understanding of those cultures. Knowledge of English cultures helps non-NESTs to offer better explanations about some of the cultural contents in the course books by comparing them with the local culture, thus enhancing their students' understanding of the cultural aspect of English language (Choudhury, 2013). Moreover, with their knowledge about English or American cultures, non-NESTs can judge which teaching materials would be appropriate for the Indonesian context.

6.1.2 CoP as a community of English teachers

All participating PELIs in this study promoted communicative language teaching (CLT) as their teaching approach although each PELI had unique ways of implementing CLT in their classes. Their approach to CLT is based mainly on the sharing of knowledge between members of the CoP as part of their repertoires. Therefore, every time a new teacher joined the team, she or he needs to get access to these repertoires to help them teach 'up to the standard' of the PELI. Furthermore, PELI assists the integration of a new teacher to the CoP by arranging some formal training sessions such as through orientation and mentoring programmes. In line with this, Gerrevall (2018) emphasized the importance of an effective induction programme for newly-educated teachers before they are accepted to teach at a school. In her survey study of 100 school principals in Sweden, Gerrevall pointed out that teacher induction programmes need to provide a safe and supportive environment for the newly-educated teachers to become familiar with real teaching practice without being overly anxious about how their mentor teachers assess their performance.

Induction and mentoring as ways to get into a CoP

Some PELIs offer initial teacher training programmes before assigning classes to their new teachers. This initial training is highly valued by those who do not come from a teaching background or possess any teaching certification. Erica, for instance, learnt a lot when she attended the initial training at Harvey; she explained that in the three-month initial teacher training programme, newly recruited teachers learnt about lesson planning, preparing teaching materials, and the courses which were available at the institution. Erica said that "It was an intensive training, [and] we learnt everyday" (Erica, Interview) because, after sitting in on the training sessions in the morning, Erica had to observe one lesson in the afternoon and write a brief report about how the teacher taught. Another participant, Maya, said that she was interested in applying to a particular PELI called ILP because it offered an initial teacher training programme. She realised that she needed to attend a teacher training programme before teaching a class because she had not had any formal training in teaching. Shofia, on the other hand, having graduated from an education university, found that the teacher training provided by Len did not give her noticeable new ideas in teaching, but confirmed what she had learnt at university. Nonetheless, she enjoyed the one-month teacher training programme because she felt that it equipped her for the job.

Another type of teacher development programme was the mentoring programme for new teachers. After a teacher is accepted at a PELI, some PELIs assign a more senior teacher to be his/her mentor. The mentor would train the new teacher to write his/her lesson plans, assess students' work, give instructions, or how to discipline students. Moreover, the newly recruited teachers are usually given the opportunity to observe more senior teachers. The idea is that they will learn how the PELI teachers run their classes. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Nada and Claire really appreciated their mentors when they first started their job at Dago because they felt that they could always ask for help from their mentor. After the three months mentoring period, Nada and Claire felt that they were

ready for the job. Moreover, through induction and mentoring programmes, a new teacher can be brought into collaboration with the more experienced teachers in the institution which eases the process of becoming a new member of a CoP (Blair, 2008).

6.1.3 Continuous learning through a community of practice

In addition to orientation and mentoring programmes, the PELIs in this study organized teacher training and development programmes throughout the year. These programmes were organized as knowledge sharing sessions where they shared their success stories such as how to plan a lesson with minimum resources, lead effective warm-up activities or teach writing skills (Figure 6.1). Yanni, Nada, Claire, Mary, Anji, Triana, Yulia, and Tracy all had the opportunity to share some of their teaching strategies in a workshop. Another way PELIs develop their teachers is by sending some teachers to attend seminars or workshops outside their institution so that they can then share the knowledge they have learnt in the workshop or seminar with other teachers. Moreover, PELI teachers also learnt from each other through their interactions, especially in the teachers' room. The participants told each other that they often talked about how their classes went, the teaching materials they used, games they played or students they had in class. Through these informal conversations, teachers learnt from each other and developed a shared repertoire which included teaching materials, lesson plans, fun activities, knowledge about various English grammar points, pronunciation, and teaching beliefs.

Figure 6. 1 Teacher training sessions at Riau

No	ITW Title	Aims and content	Date	Trainer
1	Warmers, Fillers, and Ice Breakers for Busy Teachers	To demonstrate different effective warmers/fillers/ice breakers to use in class	February	
2	Study Stream: Revisited			
3	ITW034 Teaching IELTS Writing Task 1	To raise awareness of students' needs in doing IELTS writing task 1 to develop suitable teaching approaches	April	
4	Video Observation 1	To help increase the awareness and knowledge of approaches to developing learners' linguistic competence, and encourage teachers to consider the principles underlying different approaches	May	
		To encourage teachers to experiment with alternative approaches		

Darren reflected on the changes that he noticed in the way he teaches. He said that "before joining Riau, the way I taught English was just like the way my *kampong* [*kampong* is village in Indonesian] teachers taught me at Lubuk Pakam [a small town in Sumatera where he comes from]… but here [at Riau] I got everything [teacher training and better English]" (Darren, Interview). Darren reconstructed his identity as a result of moving to different PELIs and gaining more capital (English language and teaching skills credentials). He further said: "When I moved to Riau I got everything. I was trained on how to teach children, young adults, and now I have CELTA so I think my learning how to teach is still going and I am still progressing" (Darren, Interview). This is a similar experience shared by India, Arbo, Nada, Andara, Putih, Maya, Mary, Yanni, and Mirna who also testified as to how their teaching styles changed over the years as the result of learning from other teachers and attending teacher training sessions.

From a different angle, however, when in a room with other teachers, comparison is often unavoidable. Teachers might be encouraged to develop their skills by attending many workshops or learning from the internet, but on the other hand, some are under so much pressure that they became discouraged and feel that they are not as good as the other teachers. Whether seen as pressure or

encouragement, PELIs create environments for the teachers to reflect on their practice, which is key to ensuring continuous professional development (Collin, Van der Heijden, & Lewis, 2012).

When teachers compare their teaching strategies or practice to those of other teachers, they are reflecting on their practice. English teachers who regularly reflect on their teaching practice tend to be self-regulated, which means that they are in charge of their own personal and professional development and are responsible for their growth as professional English teachers (Pazhoman & Sarkhosh, 2019). The participants in this study did not necessarily follow systematic ways to reflect on their teaching practice, as recommended by ELT experts such as Farrell (2011, 2013) or Cirocki (2017; 2019); instead reflection is often done informally as conversation in the staff room with fellow teachers. However, the fact that they reflect on their teaching practice or critical incidents in the class means that they are continuously finding ways to improve the quality of their teaching.

In this study, Claire mentioned that she was *"surrounded by people who want to learn."* (Claire, Interview). Coming from a non-teaching background, Claire realised that collaborative learning between the teachers in her institution was key to developing her teaching skills. This shows her willingness to receive feedback and support from other teachers which is in line with Tosey's (1999) statement that each member of a CoP is engaging in "experiential learning as they participate in being exposed to the group's dynamics, so that each person shows their vulnerability and opens themselves to receive the groups' support." (p. 405). Moreover, having other teachers who also do not have a teaching degree such as Arbo, Nada, Valerie and a few other in Dago, made her feel as though she was part of a learning team which supported participants in learning how to teach. They looked at each other's progress and encouraged one another, often by saying things like, "okay you can do it. because I can do it." (Claire, Interview). Claire believed that this positive atmosphere at the institution made her want to learn more and develop her teaching skills.

6.1.4 Shared repertoire

Another key element of a CoP is the evidence of a shared repertoire which is developed by the members of the CoP over time (Wenger, 1998). Wenger explained that a shared repertoire can be in the form of procedures, beliefs, documents, tools or concepts that the CoP has adopted and developed to help them perform their tasks as individuals or as a group. Nada, Andara, Tracy, Shofa, and Willy mentioned the collection of teaching materials that the teachers at their institutions accumulated over the years (Figure 6.2). They really valued the shared teaching materials and resources at their staff rooms because "all that we need to teach was there ready to be used by teachers, so it was so easy to teach. Everything was very organized" (Nada, Interview). These shared repertoires not only helped the teachers in terms of preparing the materials but also helped them to develop their teaching skills because "there was even a lesson plan attached to the activity and we can ask who made it and ask the person if we are not clear about the steps or whatever although all the lesson plans were clear so there was actually no need to ask." (Nada, Interview). A lesson plan is very central to having an effective lesson because it contains the objectives of the lesson, the steps or procedures required to achieve the objectives, the teaching materials needed and the time frame for all of the activities in a lesson to ensure the smooth running of the class (Pramoolsook & William D. Magday, 2019). In this study, more than half of the participants did not have any training in teaching, so being able to study how the more senior teachers wrote their lesson plans was very beneficial. Furthermore, the fact that they could ask other teachers about the content of the lesson plan helped them gain more knowledge about teaching.

Figure 6. 2 Some shared teaching resources at Dago

Section conclusion

In conclusion, the participants of this study came from six PELIs which each has unique approaches to community of practice. Dago and Riau's CoPs are heavily influenced by their commitment and belief in the supremacy of the CELTA-way as the valued 'way of teaching'. Teachers' repertoire is dominated by ideas and materials from Cambridge English. Len is unique because most of its teachers graduated from the same faculty at the same university, so each member of the CoP can find easy access to a group of colleagues and this creates more personal and intimate relationships amongst the teachers. Harvey is proud of its tradition which includes making its own course books and programmes to offer to its students. Moreover, although it does not have any CELTA-trained teachers, it has embraced an international standard of teaching English through adopting CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) in its programme. Pascal is unique because its teachers are all women in their thirties. This uniformity helps the participants to interact

since they share a lot of common interests, such as shopping and socialising after school. Personal and deep discussions about family are common in the staff room and, as a result, the teachers are very close to one another and function more as friends than co-workers. Jana has experienced a lot of changes in the last ten years, unsettling its CoP with a high teacher turnover rate. At the time of this research, there were only two full-time teachers at Jana and since the other casual teachers are not required to be at the PELI when they are not teaching, there were only one or two teachers in the staff room. This situation is not conducive to the existence of a CoP; thus, apart from initial training and class observation, there is minimal interaction amongst the teachers.

Teachers' interactions in CoPs influence the way teachers see their job and their institution. Riau and Dago's teachers tended to be very competitive in terms of gaining more professional qualifications when compared to teachers at other PELIs, which encouraged their teachers to further invest in developing their own teaching credentials such as through CELTA and DELTA. Len's teachers saw their institution as an extension of their university and, because they all know each other before they started working at Len, they built strong friendships and tended to see their workplace as their social space. Pascal's teachers viewed their institution as a place to socialise. Moreover, because all of the teachers were women, they 'realised' that once they got married, their priority would be to be good housewives. This perspective makes them very present-oriented and not focused on their future so as to improve themselves professionally in the ELT field to at least the same level as the teachers from Dago or Riau.

This section has elaborated on the role of the PELI in creating a community of practice of teachers which consequently influences the shape of its teachers' identities. In fact, the role of the PELI in influencing the 'learning to be a teacher' process cannot be overstated. This is because of its constructive impact on the formation of its teachers' professional identities through various

initiatives such as mentoring, organizing teacher training sessions as a part of continuous professional development, periodic teacher assessment and giving soft loans to its teachers to take CELTA or DELTA qualifications. The next section will look closely at the various investments made by the participants which shape their habitus.

6.2 Investment: a mechanism to acquire capital

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the concept of investment (Norton, 2013; Norton & Toohey, 2011) is suitable to be used in this study because it views learners' participation in the target language community as an act of identity. The concept of investment helps us to understand the desire and commitment the participants had in developing their English speaking and teaching skills as part of their cultural capital. How the participants invested their resources (time, energy and money) to gain the specific cultural capital, was also influenced by how they saw or imagined themselves across time. Therefore, when Triana initiated conversations with tourists who came to her village or when Yanni started to write letters in English to his pen pal, they were acting out their (imagined) identity as English speakers or of becoming English speakers. Moreover, the participants' decisions to use English in their communication shaped their "taste" (Bourdieu, P., & Nice, 1986, p. 1) or mode of teaching and learning English. In other words, they developed a habitus in teaching and learning English. This is also true for the other participants, that even though English was not widely used in daily conversations in Indonesia, they created a space in which they were able to communicate in it. The limited exposure and usage of English in Indonesia required English learners to be highly committed and persistent in practicing their English whenever possible so that they could develop the ability to communicate in English effectively. All participants in this study had clearly put much effort into learning English now that they are able to use English very confidently and fluently. These efforts are their investments in learning the English language, done with the intention that they would gain something in return once they have mastered the language (Darvin & Norton, 2015). English

learners' return of investment could be in the realization of their *imagined identity* as English speakers.

6.2.1 Imagined identity

Imagined identity could be understood as the possible self that L2 learners aspire to become in the future (Norton & Toohey, 2011). Moreover, it has been argued to be a significant factor directing learners to make the necessary investment that they believe would reward them with the social or cultural capital which they desire (Kanno & Norton, 2003). In this study the concept of imagined identity is also used to understand the participants' commitment to learning EFL through using the English language in their everyday lives.

Imagined identity and imagined community could also be ignited by the need to solve present problems or to succeed in the future. Within the English language learners' circle (those who learn English as a foreign or second language), having the ability to communicate in English has long been believed to be one of the keys to professional success in their future. A study involving 422 second year university students investigated learners' motivation in learning English in higher education in Vietnam (Ngo, Spooner-Lane, & Mergler, 2017). It showed that regardless of their major, whether in English or not, students believed that English would help them in their future professions. However, in spite of future employment being the most common reason for learning English, only one participant, in this study, mentioned that the reason for him to learn English was to support his future. He said that "I think that by taking English as my major would still enable me to work in the tourism industry" (Darren, Interview). This makes sense because English is the main language in the tourism business, making it the most valuable capital he would need in order to enter the tourism industry. In this case, Darren imagined himself as someone who would need English in the future, either as an English teacher or as someone who works in the tourism industry.

Yanni's and Darren's stories (see Chapter 5) provide a strong case for how their imagined identities and imagined communities influence the way a person relates to or invests in second or foreign language learning. Yanni's dream of being a part of the Huxtable family drove him to use English in his conversations with other English learners. He actively sought out conversation partners and maintained contact with his pen pal. This fantasy stayed with him until he brought an iteration of it to life by teaching alongside NESTs. Yanni's imagined identity has been challenged, which to some extent, discouraged him from enacting his identity. However, overall, Yanni's imagined identity had a positive impact on his English language learning experience.

Similar to Yanni, when she was young Valerie also imagined herself as part of an English-speaking community when she used English as she played with her Barbie dolls. Imagining that she could be part of an English-speaking community made her greatly interested in the language and gave her a strong commitment to learn English. Throughout her journey as an English learner, she studied at Dago from the age of 7 or 8 until she studied at university. Her strong commitment to develop her English has gained her near native fluency and band 8.5 in her last IELTS test.

In Darren's case, the concept of an imagined community (B. Anderson, 1983; Pavlenko & Norton, 2007) is also useful to understand his decision to complete an English major despite his real desire to work in the tourism industry. Darren thought that taking an English major would allow him to develop the linguistic capital which would enable him to be part of an English-speaking community whenever the opportunity arose in the future. Darren thought of two possibilities which involved English in his future: to be an English teacher and someone who worked in the tourism business. He therefore did not reject his parents' idea for him to take English teaching as his major at university. His parents might have imagined that it would be a great idea for Darren to become a teacher,

probably because they saw him already teaching at a small PELI near their house. For his parents, it was easy to imagine that Darren would be an English teacher at school. For Darren, however, he could see that studying in the English teaching department would still help him develop his English skills so that he could get a job in tourism. Additionally, having a degree in teaching meant that he could always be an English teacher should he fail to work in the tourism industry. However, now that one of his imagined identities has become reality (to be an English teacher), his future imagined community does not involve him being in the tourism industry. He is now aspiring to be with other international English teachers teaching English abroad. Accordingly, he has invested more in gaining teaching capital such as obtaining an internationally-recognised teaching qualification (as told in his narrative in Chapter 5). He said that "There's no way I want to change my job and start a career in tourism now because it means that I start from zero, right" (Darren, Interview). This is in line with McAlpine, Amundsen and Turner's (2014) concept of "horizon for action" (p. 960) which states that our decisions for the future emerge from past experiences, personal intentions, or significant others' desires.

6.2.2 Three modes of investment in learning English as a foreign language

In this study, the participants learnt English through three modes of learning, namely learning at school (formal learning), at PELIs (nonformal learning), and through their daily use of English (informal learning). Until now, for the majority of students in Indonesia, ELT at school is the only chance they have to learn English. Moreover, as was mentioned in Chapter 1, the quality of ELT at school has not been satisfactory, which has opened doors for the growing number of PELIs in Indonesia. Unfortunately, the increased number of PELIs in Indonesia was not accompanied by appropriate regulations and guidance, especially regarding the quality of teaching. Conversely, PELIs have a lot of freedom in how to run their businesses, which gives space for teachers to be as creative as they can be without worrying about being measured by certain standards. The final way

of learning English is through informal learning. All participants of the study claimed that they engaged in some sort of informal learning activities through using English in their social interactions or hobbies, such as talking to other English language learners, reading English storybooks, listening to songs or watching movies in English. These modes of learning will be elaborated on in much more detail below.

Formal learning: learning English at school

For many students in Indonesia, their first experience of learning English is when they start junior high school around the age of 12 where English is taught as a mandatory subject (Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Lauder, 2008; Smith, 1991), although it is also common for private primary schools in Indonesia to offer English as a subject in grades 4, 5 and 6. However, despite the schools' readiness to offer English lessons there has not necessarily been the provision of qualified teachers.

In this study, Shofia and Darren described their experience of being taught by unqualified teachers; Shofia said that "all that we learnt was really just some English vocabulary" (Shofia, Interview). She said that she did not really learn anything at primary school. Darren mentioned that one of his lecturers who taught *Teaching English to Young Learners* did not have a degree in English or English education. He said that all she did was ask the students to plan a lesson to teach children and present that in front of the class without giving any guidance on how to do it, then she gave feedback after they demonstrated their lessons. The problem with the shortage of English teachers teaching at primary schools was highlighted by Zein (2011). Zein mentioned that there are four categories of English teachers at primary schools in Indonesia: those with a degree in early education, teachers with non-teaching degrees, teachers with a degree in education but without any background in teaching children and those with the degree in English education with a speciality in teaching

children. He criticized the universal policy by the government, in developing the English teachers at primary school, because he argued that each category of teacher required a unique development programme to effectively address their needs.

As mentioned earlier, most of the students in Indonesia only encounter English teachers at their school. Arguably, how the school teachers teach has a great impact on student motivation or their perception of the English language and English language learning. Moreover, teachers are role models for their students (Basalama & Machmud, 2018). Their mastery of English and teaching styles could be an inspiration for students. On the other hand, their inability to speak English fluently could influence student motivation in learning English from that teacher. The participants remembered how their teachers used to teach them via "the old ways, just using coursebook, grammar, and translation" (Darren, Interview); sometimes, "I just copied what the teacher wrote on the blackboard, memorized the vocabulary, and worked on a handout" (Andrew, Interview). However, these negative experiences could serve as examples of ineffective and boring teaching strategies which the participants tried to avoid once they became teachers. In a way, their negative experience of learning English at school shaped their professional trajectory in that they did not want to become school teachers whilst sparking their imagined identity to become someone different.

In summary, most of the participants stated that their experience of learning English at school was quite negative. Only one participant, Yanni, stated that he enjoyed learning English at school. The word cloud below (Figure 6.3), represents the common experiences and general perception shared by the participants in regard to learning English at primary and secondary school. It was dominated by teaching grammar as pointed out in some research (Dardjowidjojo, 2000; Marcellino, 2008; Musthafa, 2001).

Figure 6. 3 The most frequent words to describe the participants' experiences learning English at school

The participants explained that their teachers taught the grammar through rote learning and memorization. There was little effort paid to making lessons communicative or enjoyable. It was not uncommon for students to compare the difficulty of learning English to learning Maths because both subjects required them to memorize formulas. Some of the common problems shared among the participants reflecting on their experiences of learning English as a subject at school are given below.

First, the participants felt that they did not get sufficient feedback on their progress in learning. As mentioned in Chapter 2, it is widely known that school teachers are under pressure to prepare their students for the test (Lie, 2007), and thus they often neglect their students' affective needs. Students' enjoyment was rarely considered when teachers planned their lessons. The most common feedback the students receive from their teachers is via test scores with no explanation of where the students did well or where they needed more practice. India clearly remembered that she never received any feedback from her teachers regarding how she did in her writing assignments, which left her to wonder whether she did well or not. The role of feedback in language learning has been investigated

in various studies and is believed to have the potential to help students learning a new language, although how to give feedback and how to measure the effectiveness of the feedback are topics still open to debate (Loewen, 2013). As it was mentioned earlier, Indonesian schools' ELT is dominated by grammar teaching, and thus the most frequent feedback students would get was in the form of their test scores. Furthermore, teachers often find themselves unable to give effective feedback due to having large class sizes or mixed levels within one group. Consequently, students do not get any guidance or direction around how to improve their writing skills, for example. This experience shaped India's habitus as a teacher and she believes that she needs to provide her students with feedback, which could help them in analysing their errors and improving their speaking and writing skills.

Later on, when she became a teacher at a junior high school, she felt that she was at the 'wrong place': she said that "I could work at schools but things didn't work out because I would like the students to be able to use the language that they learnt while at school the focus is still about the scores" (India, Interview). This issue is related to the suitability of a teacher to institutional values. In the present study, India, being just graduated from a teacher college, found herself unfit for the job, and therefore she resigned from her position after just two years of teaching. She said that she preferred teaching at a PELI, where she could focus on developing her students' speaking and listening skills, which, in her opinion, required the teacher to give feedback to the students enabling them to evaluate their language as right or wrong. Another experience which further confirmed her beliefs about the importance of feedback was when she received positive feedback from one of the trainers at Dago; this happened when the trainer commented on India's progress in speaking English. She felt so encouraged by the comments that it motivated her to try to improve even more in her English and teaching skills. She felt that the trainer had confidence in her potential to be an effective English teacher.

Second, the participants claimed that there was a lack of opportunities for students to practice their English during and after class hours. All participants recognized the importance of using English in communication inside and outside the classroom. However, most of them claimed that they did not have enough opportunities to do so. The process of learning English at public schools in Indonesia was very much limited by the classroom walls. As observed by Ariatna (2016), ELT at Indonesian schools still has not implemented CLT effectively. She explained that some of the problems in the implementation of CLT in Indonesia are related to the English communicative ability of the teachers, the low level of student participation, the size of the classes, the limited instruction time, and the grammar-based curriculum and forms of examination. In line with Ariatna's study, the participants in the present study recalled their homework as mostly consisting of grammar exercises. Therefore, the students did not have the opportunity to practice their speaking and listening skills through meaningful communicative activities. Having a very strong desire to learn English, all of the participants in this study initiated their own English conversation 'class'; for most, this involved having a conversation buddy with whom they could practice English. Yanni for example, actively looked for speaking partners and made friends with some of his neighbour's classmates, who were student teachers at the time. Yanni, like Anji and Willy in this study, also recognized the importance of learning English through songs and movies. This interest is evident in his teaching since he often used songs and movie clips as media to teach English expressions. Furthermore, he always tried to update his knowledge about recent movies and music so that he could connect with his students. By doing this Yanni promoted movies and songs as effective media to learn English, which indirectly would shape the English learning habitus of his students.

Third, Yulia and Triana claimed that the way their teachers dealt with students' mistakes was detrimental. Yulia remembered that she often got very low scores in English and so she decided to start going to a PELI after school to help her improve. She said that she did not like her English

teacher at school because she was really strict and the tests that she gave were very difficult. Yulia recalled that the main focus of learning English at school was around learning English grammar, so English as a subject gained a reputation as a difficult subject just like Maths. She described her English teacher as 'the legend' because it was very difficult to get a good score in her subject and she often ridiculed students who gave wrong answers. Moreover, because the lessons were focused on English grammar, Yulia did not enjoy learning English at school and did not want to put in the effort which was needed for her to excel in the subject. However, because she was actually interested in learning English and wanted to be able to converse in English, she decided to study at a PELI to help develop competence. In choosing to study at a PELI, Yulia showed that her imagined identity was as an English speaker however, the school ELT did not equip her to be one. In the end, Yulia's investment in studying at the PELI was a success because she gained more confidence in using English in her daily life, as she could read English storybooks, listen to English songs and have conversations in English.

Sharing a similar experience as Yulia, Triana was embarrassed when she felt that she knew a lot less English vocabulary than her classmates. Moreover, she was embarrassed whenever she could not answer her teacher's questions which were mostly about translating English vocabulary into Indonesian and vice versa. This made her worried every time her teacher asked her questions in front of other students because it would expose her weaknesses. As a teacher, Triana was also nervous when her colleagues publicly pointed out the mistakes she made, either in grammar or pronunciation. She said that there were some 'grammar police' at Riau which made her reluctant to speak in English in the staff room because she was afraid of making mistakes and being humiliated by her colleagues. Outside her PELI, she was also reluctant to introduce herself as an English teacher at Riau, one of the most prestigious PELIs in the city, because she was worried that people expected her to have perfect or near native English.

A study at a university in Saudi Arabia, Hamouda (2012) explained that how teachers give feedback to their students impacts the students' willingness to participate in class activities especially in speaking and listening classes. He further mentioned that in his study involving 159 students the teacher factors were dominant in influencing students' participation. The teacher factors include teacher's harsh comments over student's mistakes, teacher's correction strategies which involve laughing at students' mistakes, teachers calling out students, and teachers evaluating students' comments. These factors discouraged students from participating in class activities thus hindering their learning progress.

Fourth, using English in daily conversation was not common and often was not welcomed within low socio-economic communities in Indonesia due to its elitist status although there has not been explicit resistance towards the teaching of English as a foreign language in Indonesia (Sugiharto, 2015). The acceptance of English as a language of communication within Indonesian society was very limited to business sectors and among people from high social economic status (Smith, 1991). Therefore, Darren, although a very confident learner of English who was very keen to practice his English with his teacher, faced opposition from his classmates. His enthusiasm was not welcomed by his classmates who instead mocked him whenever he tried to speak English with their teacher in the class. Because of this, people like him were discouraged from using English in conversation. This observation was also noted by Smith (Smith, 1991) who reported on the position of English in Indonesia as a language for upper-class people. Darren's attempt at using English in conversation was not approved by his community whose members were people from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Amidst the rejection from his community, Darren continued practicing his speaking skills by talking to a mirror. He said that he often read aloud articles or stories from his school textbook so he could practice speaking in English. He also invested his time in writing the lyrics of

popular English songs to help him understand more vocabulary. He said that listening to English songs also helped him with his pronunciation.

In summary, from the participants' reflections it can be concluded that in general the participants did not feel that their English lessons at school significantly helped them develop their English language ability. They found that the lessons were dominated by English grammar thus lacking in opportunities to practice using English in conversation. Moreover, the status of English as a foreign language and indicator of someone's socioeconomic background limited its use to the classroom alone. The disappointment in how English was taught at school gave birth to PELIs as specialized institutions for ELT in Indonesia. The next section will elaborate the participants' experiences in investing in learning English at PELIs.

Learning at PELIs

As discussed, most of the participants complained about the poor quality of ELT at their formal schools; however, it did not put off their interest in the language. On the contrary, the situation prompted those participants who struggled with English language learning at school to seek another place to learn English: namely, a PELI. Their initial motivation for going to a PELI might have been to help them catch up with their formal school English classes. However, beyond the immediate need of getting good scores at school, the participants in this study continued learning English at PELIs. The secondary motivational factor has been a genuine interest in mastering English as a part of their linguistic capital. For Claire, Arbo, and Grace, going to a PELI was part of their lifestyle as children from middle and upper-class families, as similarly observed by Smith (1991a) that "English has high status and many middle and upper class Indonesians will use English for peer interaction" (p.41)

Not all of the participants in this study experienced learning English at a PELI, however. For those who did study at PELIs, they had positive experiences. The main features of their experience were that the lessons were fun, they were useful in helping them to understand English grammar, and they allowed the development of speaking skills. Although the participants could not recall the contents of the lessons that they attended, most of them remember the feelings they had when they were taking classes at a PELI. They all felt relaxed and comfortable learning English with their teachers, and the way their teachers taught was fun and communicative with an emphasis on the development of speaking skills and pronunciation. The most frequent words the participants used to describe their learning experience at a PELI are summarized in the word cloud below (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6. 4 Most frequently used words to describe learning at PELI
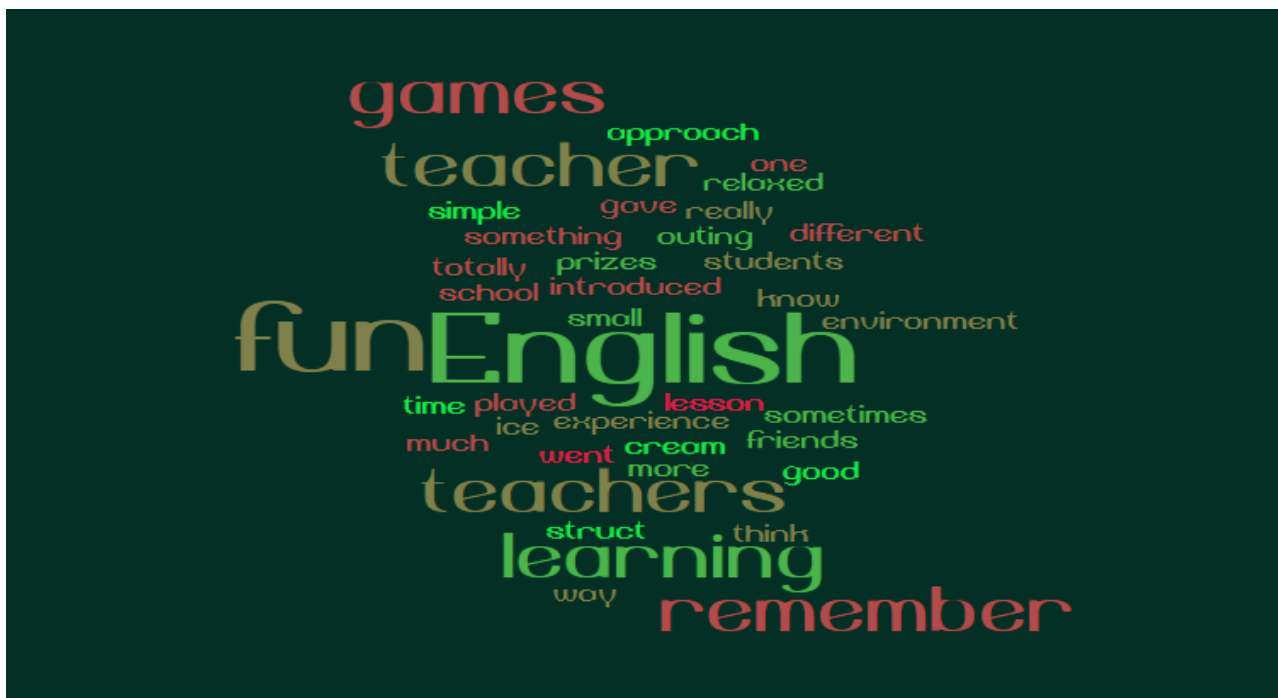
> I didn't remember much about the lesson but I remember about the environment, about
>
> the teachers about my friends and how the approach was totally different from the one I
>
> had at school. And it was more relaxed the way teacher or our teacher introduced English
>
> was you know like really fun with games and outing sometimes we went out for like ice
>
> cream with the teachers. And I think at that time I'm learning English as something fun…
>
> (Claire)

From the script it could be implied that Claire enjoyed her time studying English at the PELI (Dago).
She reflected on her learning experience as a social event where she could meet her friends and
teacher and have good times together. She noticed the contrast between her learning English at
school experience and at a PELI and then considered learning English as something fun. Claire did
not remember exactly how her teacher taught her materials, but she recalled the experience as
something positive and enjoyable. Claire also mentioned that her teachers at a PELI taught English
communicatively which is in line with the findings from Adi's (2011) study which claimed that PELI
teachers employed CLT in their classes.

For other participants such as Triana, Yulia, and Erica, PELI lessons complimented or compensated
for the school English lessons. The practice and feedback which were lacking from school ELT (as
mentioned above) were available in abundance at PELIs. Learning experiences at PELIs were almost
the opposite of learning at formal schools. At PELIs, the teachers used coursebooks which were
designed for a communicative learning approach, so the teachers focussed more on speaking
activities and employed a variety of communicative learning tasks (Adi, 2011) such as role plays,
pair work and group work activities, songs, movie clips, etc.; students' progress was assessed based
on their day-to-day performance at school and not only during a final exam. In many PELIs, teachers
are often encouraged to create fun lessons so that the students enjoy studying with them. The

emphasis on creating fun or enjoyable lessons has two objectives: first, to improve the students'
English, and secondly to sustain the business for PELIs, because if the students are happy in the class
they are more likely to come back and continue paying for enrolment.

The last mode of investment that the participants made in learning English was through engaging in
informal learning activities such as listening to songs in English, watching English movies, reading
novels, and practicing their English with other people. Although the participants did not have an
explicit intention to develop their English through their engagement with these activities, given their
status as forms of informal learning (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974), all participants claimed that it was
through these activities that they improved their English ability. Their investment in doing these
activities shaped their learning habitus and they acknowledged the importance of using English in
their daily lives.

Informal learning

Informal learning (as discussed in Chapter Two) refers to learning through our involvement in day to
day activities such as in our interactions in family, with neighbours and playmates, the workplace,
marketplace, books, and other media which do not follow any format and which do not have any sort
of structure like the ones found in formal learning (school) or nonformal learning (other education
institutions) (Coffield, 2000; Coombs & Ahmed, 1974). The types of informal learning which were
done by the participants in this study include writing their experiences in a diary, using English at
home when talking to the other members of their family, speaking with native speakers, practicing by
speaking to a mirror, living abroad, learning through doing hobbies, learning while teaching, learning
through social media, helping a friend to check his student's tests, having a pen pal to practice
writing, and having a friend to practice their speaking. Their engagement in these English activities

was not always with the intention to improve their English but more often it was ignited by fact that they enjoyed using English when communicating or when doing their hobbies.

Some participants were raised in families where English was used in daily conversation; this group includes Arbo, Mary, and Tracy. Arbo had relatives who lived abroad whom he often had telephone conversations with. Mary and Tracy's families moved abroad making them immersed in an English-speaking community. Their process of learning English was an integrated part of growing up. Mary and Tracy were very young when they moved to Australia; they quickly acquired the language when they started socializing within their new communities, either in their school or with their neighbours. English became their main language to communicate in, even at the expense of their Indonesian language skills, as upon their return to Indonesia they had to relearn the Indonesian language.

Irama grew up entirely in Indonesia; however, her mother worked in Saudi Arabia, and every time she came back for holidays she always brought some English storybooks for Irama and her siblings. Two things can be observed here: first, the fact that her mother worked abroad provided an example for her of the possibility of being a part of a wider international community which spoke languages other than Indonesian. This realisation is important because Irama could imagine being part of such a community herself. This is potentially why she said that she loved learning foreign languages and even took French language as her major at university. Secondly, the gift of books encouraged Irama to read widely and for enjoyment instead of merely as a task from school. In the area of ELT, some studies argue for the benefit of reading in helping learners with their writing skills (Bazerman, 1980; De Piero, 2019; J. Y. V. Lee & Wong, 2017) or helping students to learn new vocabulary (Krashen, 2013). But more importantly, by engaging in reading for pleasure, EFL/ESL students interact with the target language in a natural and enjoyable way (GOCTU, 2016). As a teacher, Irama actively

encouraged her students to read about social issues that happened in Indonesia and the world, although she did not limit herself to reading only English texts. She strongly believed that reading would help her students to have better awareness of their surroundings. In practice, she often brought in some recent 'hot button topics' from the news to discuss with her students. Furthermore, outside of her PELI, she was also very active in a writing club where she and her team organized a yearly writing event online. The topics in the writing event ranged from personal to political issues. In the writing club, Irama also reviewed some English novels and movies which shows that she continues engaging with English literature even though not explicitly to help her improve her English. When I chatted with her in December 2019, she told me that she had just started a literacy-based company with her friends from the reading club. She said that her company offered training related to reading and foreign language learning.

Another type of activity which helped them develop their English was talking with their classmates and teachers or at home with their family or foreigners. Triana and Anji practiced their English with their English-speaking partners, through face-to-face conversations and online chatting platforms. Coming from Lake Toba, a popular tourist destination in Indonesia, Triana seized opportunities to talk to Westerners who visited her village. Moreover, she also went to an English-speaking church to maximize her opportunities to practice her English. Based on my personal experience of going to the same church, it was quite common for students to go there with the main goal of practicing their English through singing hymns, reading the Bible, and listening to sermons, all in English. Thus, Triana was not the only person who attended the church with that intention and she quickly found other likeminded people and built relationships with them, again to further practice communicating in English. Anji developed his English through having conversations with his friend at school. He realised that their grammar was terrible, nonetheless, his confidence in speaking in English was so great that they kept on speaking in English. Triana and Anji's initiative to actively search for

speaking partners shows that they are autonomous learners. By taking the responsibility to ensure the success of their journey in becoming English speakers, they achieved it. To sum up the way he learned English, Anji said, "So I'm like kind of self-taught."

Yanni loved singing and reading poetry, and with his English Yanni could enjoy an enormous number of English songs, poems, and movies. He even competed in several singing and poetry reading competitions in English. He was confident to take part in such events because "English helped me a lot in singing English songs because it is easier for me to remember the lyrics and understand the meanings behind the lyrics" (Yanni, Interview). Thus, through enjoying the songs and poems, Yanni further improved his English. The more Yanni engaged in his hobbies, the more he was rewarded in developing his English language proficiency and the more he invested in learning the language through taking up an English major for his undergraduate studies.

Other participants also mentioned how they learned English while doing their hobbies. Anji and Irama mentioned that they loved watching cartoons and movies, which created 'the need' for them to study English because "these movies provide attraction to English language" (Anji, Interview). Mike and Darren mentioned that English helped them to become more confident when travelling to other countries. Additionally, William confessed that he loved listening to songs in English and would memorize the lyrics so he could increase his vocabulary and bank of expressions.

The contribution of extracurricular activities to English learning occurs as learners engage themselves in their hobbies whilst simultaneously practicing their English. For instance, when Yanni was trying to memorize English song lyrics, he would need to listen to the song repeatedly and the more he listened to the words in the lyrics, the more familiar he became with those words. Repetition

is an effective way to learn vocabulary and has been reported in various studies. Webb (2007) conducted research with 121 students from a university in Japan where he divided the participants into five groups and required each group to complete a comprehension task after reading a text. On each page, there were some target words that the participants were tested on at the end of the activity and each group had a different text according to the number of occurrences of the target language. The results showed that the number of times the students encountered a word was strongly correlated with their understanding of the word. A more recent study by Sa'D and Rajabi (2018) further confirmed the previous result by gathering the perspectives of 145 EFL students in Iran around the effective ways to learn English vocabulary; here, the majority of the participants indicated that repetition is needed when learning new words. Harmer (2007), however, warned against words repetition which were only be done as a rote learning. He argued that the most important type of repetition was related to the encounter the students get with the words from reading or listening: the better their understanding of the words, the better they would be able to use them in the end.

The participants in the current study see listening to English songs as a way to learn English. In fact, learning through songs has long been proven to have a positive impact on learning a language (Millington, 2011). Another benefit of learning through songs is that learners are exposed to English language in a real-life context, thus allowing them to learn about how English is used in real life. The students are exposed to authentic materials which they might encounter in real-life situations. Listening to songs could also help learners with their pronunciation as they can learn how to say the song lyrics accurately including where to add stress whilst noticing the weak and strong syllables (Ebong & Sabbadini, n.d.).

To conclude, the direct return on English learners' investment in learning English as a foreign language is the ability to communicate in English. However, in this study, the more indirect gain from the participants' learning experience can also be considered as the development of a sense of (teaching) practice. The development or growth of a sense of practice shaped by their learning experiences influenced their teaching practice and beliefs. The next section will elaborate how the participants develop their teaching habitus through engaging in formal and informal learning activities.

6.2.3 Investment in developing teaching habitus

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, there are two main investments that the participants in this study made which shape their habitus as English learners, speakers, and teachers. The previous subsection discussed how the participants in this study developed their habitus as language learners and speakers through various forms of investment (formally, non-formally, and informally) made throughout their lives. This sub-section will elaborate on the investments the participants made which shaped their teaching habitus. Using habitus as a frame to understand teacher's professional identity is suitable because teachers' perception of their professional identity is constructed through their knowledge of the subject they teach, their communication skills, and their professional credentials (Beijaard et al., 2000) which develop over time through attending training, seminar, professional courses, interacting with fellow teachers, and doing the job. Habitus is understood as the overall capacity that a teacher developed through his or her life experiences and includes understanding, perceptions, and beliefs, as well as the skills to put their beliefs into practice.

The participants' investments in developing their teaching habitus will be seen from their experiences in getting a degree in English education or English literature and linguistics, their

participation in teacher training and development programmes, and interactions with other teachers within their CoP (as mentioned in Section 6.1).

Table 6. 1 Investment in developing teaching skills and credentials

NO	Teachers	Investment in Teaching skills and qualifications	Position now	Future trajectory	Plan
1	Claire	GITE, CELTA, DELTA, MA in Applied Linguistics, and various TDWs	PT	Teacher trainer	MA
2	Valerie	GITE, CELTA, DELTA, M.Ed., TDWs	PT	Lecturer	PhD
3	Yanni	GITE, CELTA, B.Ed., M.Ed.	PT	Script Writer	
4	Triana	GITE, CELTA, B.Ed., M.Ed., TDWs	PT	School teacher – inclusive education	
5	India	GITE, CELTA, B.Ed, TDWs	ST	Teacher trainer	M.Ed
6	Irama	CELTA, TDWs	PT	Writer	
7	Arbo	GITE, CELTA, TDWs	PT	Teacher trainer	DELTA
8	Michael	GITE, CELTA, TDWs	FT	Teacher trainer	DELTA, MA
9	Yulia	GITE, CELTA, DELTA, B.Ling	Trainer	CELTA trainer	MA

10	Mirna	GITE, CELTA, B.Ed	FT	Teacher trainer	DELTA
11	Maya	CELTA, ILP-TTP	PT	Teacher abroad	DELTA
12	Diana	GITE, CELTA, CELTA-YL, B.Ed, TDWs	Teacher trainer	Teacher trainer	DELTA
13	Tantri	GITE, CELTA, CELTA-YL, B.Ed, TDWs	Teacher trainer	Teacher trainer	DELTA
14	Mary	CELTA, CELTA-YL, TDWs	FT	Teacher trainer	
15	Nada	CELTA, CELTA-YL, DELTA	PT, IELTS examiner	Own PELI	
16	Darren	CELTA, B.Ed, TDWs	FT	Work abroad	
17	Anji	B.Ed, TDWs	Academic coordinator	Teacher at a bigger company	MTESOL
18	Tracy	CELTA, TDWs	PT, PT at a university	FT at university	
19	Andrew	B.Ed, M.Ed, TDWs	PT	Lecturer at a University	
20	Shofia	B.Ed, M.Ling, TDWs	PT	Lecturer at a university	
21	Lia	B.Ed, TDWs	PT	A school teacher	
22	Putih	B.Ed	FT	Own PELI	

23	Erica	M. Ed	PT and a lecturer at a university	The same	
24	Andara	M.Ed	PT at two PELIs	A lecturer	
25	Willy		R&D Dept. head	The same	

Notes:

GITE (General introduction to teaching English): a one-week teacher training programmes run by Dago and Riau

TDW (Teacher development workshop): workshop sessions run by Dago and Riau

ILP-TTP (International language programme- teacher training programme): an initial teacher training run by ILP (a PELI in Indonesia) for their newly recruited teachers

CELTA-YL: an extension programme to CELTA focusing on teaching English to young learners

PT: part timer

FT: full timer

From Table 6.1 it could be seen that almost all the participants (24 out of 25) have undergone some form of formal teacher training. The types of formal teacher training completed were a degree in English education (B.Ed), a degree in English linguistics and literature (B.Ling), Master's in Linguistics (M.Ling), Master's in Education (M.Ed), CELTA, and DELTA. This is different to the participants in Floris' (2013) study where all of her participants (30 non-NESTs from six PELIs) had a degree in English education or English literature and linguistics, and only 16 participants had a degree in English literature or linguistics and in English education.

6.2.3.1 Getting a degree in English language, linguistics and education

In Indonesia, high school graduates compete every year to gain a seat at a public university through a national entrance test which is organized by the Ministry of Education. Getting a place at a public university is sought after by the majority of high school graduates because they are generally far more affordable than private institutions and they offer significantly more majors than private universities do. For the national entrance to university tests, each high school graduate is only allowed to apply for three majors. Therefore, to help the students choose the right major and university, there are many institutions offering preparation test courses. These, additionally, help the students measure their chance of being accepted for their major of choice, through evaluation of their try out score and the required pass grade for the major. The students are usually advised to choose majors with differing pass grades, such as one requiring a high pass grade, and two requiring lower ones thus maximizing the possibility of them being accepted at a public university.

In this study, there are two main factors which guided the participants' decisions to take a degree in English education or English literature and linguistics: failure to be accepted at their desired faculty or major and direction from parents or other family members. Yulia, Mirna, India, and Andrew, for instance, stated that a significant factor which influenced their decision to take a degree in English education or literature was their family situation. Yulia said that she studied English literature at a public university near her house because she "could not go a private university to take international relations because I do not want to give extra burden to my parents because I am the oldest child and I have 3 brothers" (Yulia, Interview). Amongst the participants in this study, for instance, almost all of them studied at a public university. Only Valerie and Arbo studied at private universities. In addition, in line with Suryani's (2013) study, most of these participants ended up taking a degree in English or education because they failed the entrance test for the degree they wished to take (such as in pharmacy, accounting, international relation, or fine arts).

The role of family in influencing the decision to pursue higher education has been investigated in some studies in Indonesia, such as by Girianto (2017) and Purpandari and Rohayati (2017). In Girianto's (2017) study, family played a significant role in deciding where to study due to lack of clarity from the students about what they wanted to become after graduating from university. Along the same lines, Fakri, Gilang, and Ratnayu (2017) analysed factors which influenced 100 students' decisions to study at university in Indonesia; the researchers observed that family input, from parents and older members of the family in particular, was highly valued by the participants. In another study, Purpandari and Rohayati (2017) investigated how student perception about the cost of studying at a university and their family's financial situation influenced their decision in choosing a study programme or university. The finding shows that the participants were aware of the limitations of their family finance and that their decision to pursue a major was based on their perception of how feasible it was for their family to fund it.

For Shofia and Lia, their decision to pursue an English education major was inspired by dreams of becoming teachers, although they all complained about the quality of the teacher education programme they attended. They indicated that their programme was mostly about learning the theories of teaching with very limited input around the practical aspects of teaching; they also commented on how they lacked guidance from their lecturers and there were insufficient teaching demonstrations in class. Unfortunately, this is not an uncommon theme within the area of teacher education programmes (Darling-Hammond, Hammerness, Grossman, Rust, & Shulman, 2005), and Darling-Hammond et al. recommended that a 'coherent' teacher education programme functions as an integrated course which incorporates practical elements, so that student teachers will be equipped not only with pedagogical and philosophical knowledge about teaching but also how to teach; however, many educational institutions run disconnected courses which fail to educate student teachers in both theory and pedagogical practice.

In this study, Andrew, Shofia, Lia, and Putih highlighted their experience during the teaching practicum programme which they were required to complete during their final stage of studies. During the teaching internship, they spent six months at an assigned school to provide them with real-life teaching practice. Although they studied at the same university, their experiences during this aspect of the degree programme were unique and very personal; like other student teachers, their experience of teaching practicum was influenced by factors such as whether or not they had effective cooperating teachers or if they were able to apply relevant content coursework studied prior to the practicum (Catherine et al., 2017). Catherine et al. further elaborated that an experienced and cooperative mentor would help a student teacher to gain the skills needed to perform their tasks and be able to adapt their instructions according to their teaching context.

Wijaya and Mbato (2020) also investigated the perceptions of 15 student teachers at a teacher college in Indonesia and emphasized the significance of teaching practice to help student teachers develop their professional identities. They emphasized the importance of providing support to new teachers to help them adjust with the real teaching world. Moreover, through their teaching practicum the participants of the study recognized their strength and weaknesses as teachers. Finally, through teaching practicum they reflected on their teaching practice and beliefs and shaped their imagined identity as professional English teachers in the future.

Similarly, Shofia also emphasized the importance of getting support during the teaching practicum programme. She mentioned that during her teaching practicum, her mentor assigned some practical tasks and then assessed her performance at the end of the programme. She said that the teacher mentor had authority over their interns and decided whether they passed the internship or not. The

superiority of a mentor over the mentee could lead to exploitation by the mentor teachers as they could ask the student teachers to do more than what was mandated. Shofia experienced this exploitation by the senior teachers at the school when she was asked to cover classes and to do other tasks which were not part of her teaching practicum. She could not say no to her mentor because *"as an intern teacher, my grade was in their hand. I thought that if I did not cooperate then my grade will be low"* (Shofia, Interview). Her experience of teaching practicum was so negative that she reconstructed her future trajectory and she turned away from a future as a schoolteacher. She said that

> I had such a bad experience teaching at school, so my perception at that time was that teaching at a formal school is not pleasant. I don't know whether I did not learn effectively during my internship or because of the work environment at the school that made my experience negative. (Shofia, Interview)

However, she later realised that her experience of teaching practicum did not represent the whole picture of teaching at a school. Moreover, she thought that it was probably her own fault for choosing the wrong kind of school as the place to have her internship. As mentioned in Chapter 5, after she graduated, Shofia decided to teach at Len and she has enjoyed her teaching experiences since then. However, because of her teaching practicum, she still did not want to become a schoolteacher. Her latest trajectory is to become a lecturer at a university. She has already made some investment towards this trajectory: she completed a Master's in Linguistics in 2018 and she has done some research projects to help pave her way to becoming a lecturer.

6.2.3.2 Getting a CELTA certificate

The second route to teacher investment is through engaging in teacher training programmes. As mentioned above, some of the participants in this study did not have a degree in teaching or English

literature and linguistics therefore they needed to develop their teaching credentials through non-degree programmes such as through CELTA or DELTA.

CELTA is arguably the widest known English teacher qualification in the ELT world (Barnawi, 2016; Ganji et al., 2018). However, its popularity in Indonesia seems to be limited to the PELI context. Issued by Cambridge English Language Assessment, also known as University of Cambridge Local Exam Syndicate or UCLES, CELTA serves as a 'licence' to teach English internationally. On the other hand, DELTA is the programme which follows CELTA and it is very popular amongst those who are in senior teacher positions or working as academic coordinators. Whilst most of the content in CELTA emphasizes practical aspects of teaching English (Thornbury & Watkins, 2008) such as teaching methods, material development and simple linguistic analysis, DELTA's modules are much more academic and theoretical; a large portion of the programme is still dedicated to practical teaching elements. These qualifications are specifically discussed here because of their significant role in the life of most of the participants in this study. The most common comment made by those who have taken a CELTA course was how the course has changed them as a teacher, which is similar to the findings of Thornbury and Watkins (2008).

These certifications do not require a university degree prior to enrolment (International House Bangkok, 2020) which make them attractive to both novice and more experienced teachers. Moreover, the popularity of the course and the prestige it gives its graduates also attracts those with an existing university teaching degree. The main requirement for attending CELTA is related to English language proficiency, with a required IELTS score band of 7 to be eligible to attend the course. CELTA is an intensive and expensive course (more than £1,500): it lasts for just one month and the possibility of failing the course makes it daunting for some teachers. CELTA is particularly

highly valued in three of the PELIs under study, Dago, Jana and Riau. These PELIs share some

similarities: they target students from high socioeconomic backgrounds and they offer native speaker

teachers. In these PELIs, the 'CELTA way of teaching' has become the norm and must be followed

by the teachers if they want to be seen as effective teachers. Moreover, at Dago and Riau, having a

CELTA certificate is required if one wants to develop their career at either institution (Figure 6.5).

The superiority of CELTA over local qualifications, such as a degree in English teaching, is a form

of 'domestication' of native speaker centred teaching values, approaches and methods (Morgan,

2016).

Figure 6. 5 Dago academic career paths
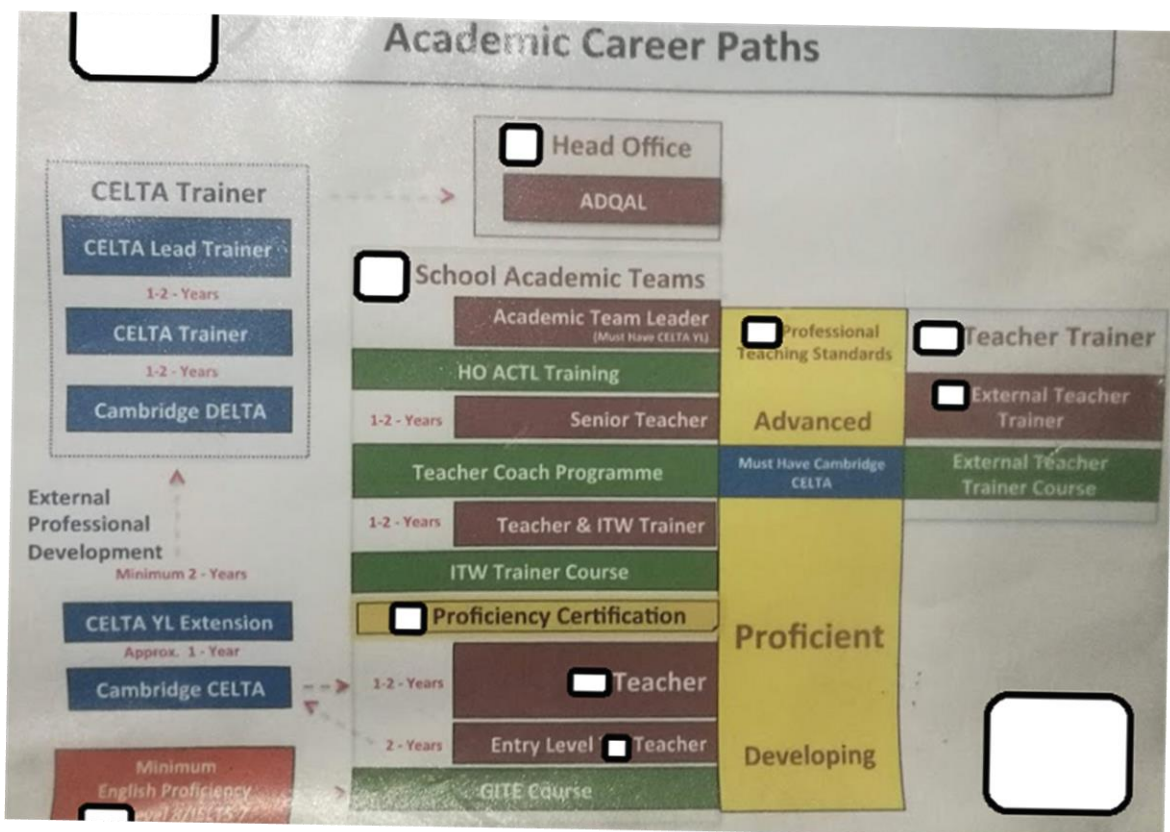
CELTA can be seen as a type of continuous professional development (CPD) programme in the field

of ELT, as it equips novice teachers with the initial teaching procedures and strategies that they need

to start their career whilst also acting as a refresher for more experienced English teachers. As

problematized by Mackenzie (2018), CELTA can be seen as both an initial teacher training programme and a teacher development programme. In this study, CELTA is the most recommended training programme at institutions, though the teachers were not forced to take it. Teacher's participation in a CELTA or DELTA course is voluntary, but once they complete the course, the PELI rewards them with a pay rise or promotion.

In this study, CELTA has become part of the shared repertoires in Dago, Riau, and Jana. As mentioned above, it has become an unwritten requirement of these organisations, which is why Yanni, despite having a master's degree in education and more than eight years teaching experience, felt that he had to take CELTA to be fully positioned as a teacher (not as a junior teacher) at Riau. It was evident from the way the supervisor and senior teachers put pressure on him during feedback sessions after formal teaching observation; they told him that he needed to take CELTA to make him a better teacher. It seemed that the only way for Yanni to be acknowledged as a legitimate teacher was by taking the CELTA course. Moreover, Yanni, being surrounded by CELTA-trained teachers, rather than disputing this suggestion, submitted and came under the authority of his senior teachers and took CELTA in 2018. As mentioned in Chapter 5, Yanni invested in taking CELTA because he wanted to progress in his career. He knew that the only way to be promoted to become a full-time teacher was through getting CELTA. Unfortunately, up until 2020, he still had not been promoted. As a result, he now has a different professional trajectory in that he wants to become a freelance teacher trainer and his CELTA training will be useful in helping him design training programmes or modules. He hoped that he can start a teacher training consultancy with other English teachers from another PELI. He seems to have lost confidence in his dream of becoming a teacher trainer at Riau, possibly because he felt less qualified than the other CELTA- and DELTA- trained teachers at the institution who were also waiting to be promoted to teacher trainer roles.

On the other hand, although Arbo did not receive the same harsh criticism as Yanni did, he felt alienated from the other teachers because he felt that he could not understand the jargon they used in their conversations: he felt like an outsider because he had not taken the CELTA course. He believed that one way that he could understand and participate in the teachers' conversations was by taking it. In other words, Arbo noticed the knowledge gap that he had with the other teachers and thus aspired to closing the gap by taking the CELTA course and through becoming a CELTA-qualified teacher, he would become a full member of the CoP.

Another factor influencing the participant's decision to take CELTA was related to the potential benefits of the completion of the course. As I mentioned earlier (Figure 6.5), Dago and Riau view CELTA as a requirement if a teacher wants to progress in their career. Furthermore, CELTA is also used to determine teacher salaries, meaning that teachers with CELTA get higher salaries and can be promoted to become full-timers. The special treatment that CELTA teachers get could be seen as a mark of legitimation from the institution. In being promoted with an internationally-recognized qualification, CELTA holders feel that they are now part of an international community of English teachers who have the opportunity to teach English anywhere in the world. Darren was so confident with his CELTA qualification that he said that "CELTA it is like the key to the world." (Darren, Interview).

As could be implied from the above explanation, understanding how the participants view the CELTA course before attending it gives insight into what motivated them to take the course, how they view their identities as an English teacher, and what situations led them to think that they needed to have the qualification. Understanding how the participants actually experienced the course

is significant because they were then confronted with their teaching beliefs and were exposed to the 'best teaching practices'.

CELTA course promotes CLT as the most effective approach to teach English as a foreign or second language. The argument behind communicative language teaching is that the learning process is mediated by communicative events (Harmer, 2007). CLT emphasizes developing students' communicative competence covering the four skills of English: speaking, listening, reading and writing, through activities such as role plays, pair work, and group work activities (Alamri, 2018). During CELTA training, the participants learn various strategies to teach English using CLT strategies. In the afternoon sessions, CELTA trainees are assigned team teaching tasks. The class tutors divide a lesson into three main stages and ask each member of a teaching team to be responsible for one stage (Block & Gray, 2016). Before the trainees teach their lesson, the mentor guides them in their planning to make sure that it is done thoroughly following the principles of CLT and so that the flow of the lesson should be smooth. However, in Block and Gray's (2016) study, what happened during the lesson plan meeting is that the tutor directed the trainees about what should and should not be included in their lesson. The trainees were expected to follow their tutor's guidance and had very little chance to give their opinion. This is also what I experienced when I did my CELTA in 2005 as the tutors seemed to be quite adamant about what activities would or would not be effective in a class.

In this study, Yanni testified about how he felt that the knowledge he got from his formal education and experiences were treated as unworthy. He said,

When I was doing CELTA I imagined that I emptied my glass so I could accept something

from them. Somehow I thought it was not right too because it could bring me low confidence

level. And in the third week I was so low and got below the standard. (Yanni, Interview)

The script above describes how CELTA dictates what is right or wrong for its trainees. Yanni, who

had already been teaching for more than ten years, had to 'empty his glass' to allow the new ideas to

enter his brain and thus change him as a teacher. CELTA promotes the 'Cambridge way' of teaching

as the most effective way to teach English. Yanni took on the identity of a 'child' who eagerly learnt

from the master teacher—in this case, the Cambridge way and the CELTA trainer. Furthermore, he

denounced his existing 'teaching capital' and he treated it as potentially (and negatively) interfering

with his learning of the new teaching strategies. Yanni talked about having to reduce his 'getting to

know you' time with his students. He was told that the students came to his class to learn English

language and not to make friends. This is not in line with how Yanni sees teaching: from his

experience teaching at school, it could be inferred that he has a genuine interest in his students and

wants to do more than solely teach them English. He wants to connect with his students at a personal

level which is probably influenced by the way he learnt English: through building friendships with

those who were more able in English than he was (see Chapter 5 for more details about Yanni's

narrative). Similar to Yanni's experience, when I was doing my CELTA, one of the mentors

commented on my accent. She said that students came to the centre to learn British English not to

listen to some kind of *Asian English.* As mentioned earlier, the types of comments that Yanni and I

received during CELTA training is a form of 'domestication' (Morgan, 2016) of CELTA beliefs,

values and principles which does not acknowledge other (local) ideas as valid or legitimate.

Another participant, Arbo, claimed that during the CELTA course, his initial doubt about the quality

of the course was erased by the quality of the sessions. He said that after the first week, he really

enjoyed the course and learnt a lot. Yanni on the other hand, coming to CELTA after getting a lot of negative feedback from his senior teacher at Riau, 'emptied his head' so that he could absorb all the materials given by the CELTA tutors and be transformed by it; for him the course led to a period of struggle and self-doubt. His confidence was crushed for much of the duration of the course, and he had to motivate himself to be able to pass it. Conversely, Mike, being an experienced teacher prior to taking his CELTA in London, really enjoyed the course and did not find it difficult. He stayed with one of his former colleagues who was also studying in London at that time. Mike really valued his CELTA experience as it gave him an idea of what it was like to study (and to teach) abroad whilst his previous experience, teaching at an institution, helped him a lot because "half of the components is teaching practice where the candidates have to teach real classes." (Mike)

After CELTA

"I am changed"

"I am changed" is what most of participants said when asked about what happened after CELTA. All of them claimed that they had gained such valuable knowledge from attending the course. This finding is similar to Mackenzie's (2018), who claims that CELTA participants acknowledged the new knowledge that they gained in the course, such as how to minimize teacher talking time, how to give clear instructions, the importance of grading their language, and the importance of being reflective as a teacher.

In summary, CELTA impacted their life as English teachers in three aspects: in their teaching, their English, and their relationship with other teachers.

Transformation in their teaching

CELTA, with its communicative-based curriculum, equips the participants with new knowledge about teaching English. The course is seen to be very practical in nature, so all of the participants felt confident in being able to implement the lessons they learned during CELTA. They become more critical about their own practice, more aware about the rationale that underpins their lesson plans, and more able to relate to students effectively. Further practical implication also included that they used less teacher talk-time, paid attention to giving feedback to learners, integrated grammar and skills foci, and had improved their skills in effective monitoring and classroom management. As can be seen from the script below, Maya really valued her CELTA training as she learned some key principles in teaching English, such as being attentive to her students' needs and being aware of the importance of feedback in the learning process.

> I think CELTA is actually changed me drastically to become better. I know how to teach students, giving feedback. I know how to teach my students based on what they need instead of just being fun. So basically CELTA changed me a lot. (Maya, Interview)

Being able to 'level' with other teachers' knowledge

One participant stated that his CELTA training helped him with his relationship with other teachers by equipping him with the teaching repertoire commonly shared amongst the teachers in his institution.

> It's becoming clearer when you have the CELTA you have the experience you interacting with teachers who already have the CELTA as well you know what you are talking about. before that I used to have this big question mark in my head you know what you guys talking about you know I just go to class teach them done that's it. (Arbo, Interview)

As mentioned above, Arbo felt alienated in his PELI. He felt that he was not as knowledgeable as a teacher compared to his colleagues because he did not understand some of the terms they used when talking about their lessons or students. After attaining CELTA Arbo felt that he was a part of the team. He felt that he was as knowledgeable as other teachers at his institution and he became more confident to engage in the discussions with them. In other words, he became a more active member of the community of practice at Dago.

Improved English

CELTA is an international teacher programme and CELTA students come from different countries, which means that English is the language of instruction and communication. Being immersed in a fully English environment for one month could improve the language learning process and therefore may have a significant impact on the participant's English abilities (Savage & Hughes, 2014). Yanni felt that he picked up a British accent after CELTA and he is very happy to sound like his CELTA tutors. He considers it an upgrade to his English to be able to speak English with a British accent. This is in line with a finding from a recent study investigating student teachers' attitude towards English accents (Wong, 2018) which shows how the native-speakerism is still a dominant belief amongst the non-native English teachers. In Wong's (2018) study, the participants (21 third year student teachers) perceived that British English is the most preferred accent to use in the English classroom. With his British accent, Yanni felt that he became a more competent English speaker than before he did his CELTA. However, he admitted that he only spoke with a British accent for a short period as he found it tiring to do so and not long after that he regained his Indonesian accent.

Summary of the participant's investment

In summary, as non-NESTs, the participants have committed to two types of investment: as English learners and as English teachers. The participants developed their ability to communicate in English through formal, nonformal, and informal learning activities. Moreover, the participants claimed that they learned the most from engaging in informal learning activities such as through their hobbies in reading, singing, and watching TV. Secondly, the participants felt the need to develop habitus as English teachers therefore they invested in developing teaching skills and credentials through obtaining formal degrees in teaching and English literature and linguistics, taking the CELTA course, attending teacher training sessions and workshops, and observing other teachers. Having gained sufficient English skills and teaching credentials, the participants entered the teaching profession, though this does not mean that they stopped developing their English language and teaching skills. On the contrary, the participants developed both skills further. The participants especially viewed their CELTA course as life-changing training which supports arguments about the role of explicit teaching in developing new habitus (Yang, 2014) or secondary habitus (Wacquant, 2014) (See detail in Chapter Three). The next section will elaborate the journey of these teachers and how their experiences so far have shaped their professional identities.

6.3 Teacher trajectories: Understanding the professional journey of non-NESTs

This section discusses teachers' professional trajectories which may include "strategic upwards, downwards and/or sideways moves" (Haworths & Craig, 2016, p. 11) as they negotiate their positions within the field. In other words, teacher trajectory is about looking at different positions that the participants occupied in the past, their present positions, and the possibilities in the future; teacher trajectory thus illustrates various stages in their career. Moreover, teacher trajectory is influenced by the way they see the compatibility between their habitus with their institution's values and practices, changes within their field at the moment and in the near future, and possibilities of moving to another field as the result of being members of multiple social groups. Thus, how they see themselves in relation to other people within one field or multiple fields is changing throughout their lives (Hsiao, 2018).

6.3.1 The beginning

This section marks the beginning of the participants' teaching career. Like other professionals, entering the teaching field can be daunting even when new teachers have a degree in education. This is because what they have learnt at school may be different to reality. Therefore, teaching requires teachers being in the field and doing the job to be able to make sense of it from the inside out. Writing about the beginning of the participant's journey is necessary to understand some of the initial challenges that they faced and how they solved those problems. When the participants entered the ELT field, they started to make sense of their positions and the compatibility of their dispositions (habitus) either as an English speaker or teacher with their institution or the field. If the participants saw that there were gaps between their dispositions and the required dispositions of the field, they would develop new dispositions or alter their existing dispositions (Yang, 2014) and thus initiated the development of a secondary habitus. Moreover, because this study views identity as a dynamic construct, it is necessary to see the shape of the teacher at the start of their career to see the changes that have happened throughout their career thus far.

Prior to entering the field, some teachers such as Shofia, Andara, Putih, Erica, and Yulia had negative perspectives of teaching and thus were not inclined to become teachers. These perspectives were formed by their day-to-day observations of the life of a teacher. Arguably, teaching was the most common profession that they had encountered in their lives because, in total, a student might interact with teachers 12 or so years during their formal education. In their interactions with their teachers, students observe how their teachers deliver materials, monitor class activities, discipline students, relate to their colleagues, etc. Therefore, the participants' reluctance to become teachers could be a result of these observations.

Moreover, three participants (Andara, Valerie, and Shofia) had parents who were teachers. They developed their perceptions partly based on their upbringing. In their perspectives being a teacher meant working long hours for a low salary. However, in spite of these perspectives, the participants still entered the teaching field (intentionally or unintentionally), either through teaching privately, a formal school, or at a PELI. These subfields of ELT presented them with different challenges and problems they had to deal with. Some of the challenges include encountering problems with students, dealing with a lack of training and guidance by the institution, feeling that they were unqualified for the job, and facing a mismatch with the values upheld by their institution. The following section will elaborate the various routes the participants took to enter the ELT field, along with their experiences as novice teachers, their professional journeys as teachers (which includes some of the challenges they faced and rewards they received), and their future trajectories.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Mora et al. (2016) indicated that the participants within their study did not intend to be English teachers, although they took a BA in applied linguistics programmes. Rather, participants indicated that they chose a BA programme because there were few other routes available that would allow them to continue studying the English language. This is similar to the experience of participants such as Darren, Andara, and Erica, who expressed their love of learning languages especially English, but also indicated that they did not want to be teachers. They decided to pursue a major in English language because they realised that a degree in English language was the best option to continue learning English after high school.

The significance of the first years of teaching experience

The importance of understanding how novice teachers cope in their first year teaching was investigated by Widiati, Suryati, and Hayati (2018). They investigated the experience of eleven

novice teachers from various secondary schools in Malang, Indonesia. Their study shows that the participants were confident about their English skills but were struggling pedagogically. The participants stated that the type of Indonesian curriculum for secondary schools in Indonesia that they learned at university was different to the 2013 curriculum. Novice teachers also felt under pressure from parents to help their students get high scores in school or national exams. School teachers must 'help' their students to achieve or pass the minimum score (the passing grade was 60%|) as required by the national curriculum (Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 2015) in order to graduate from junior or senior high school. Widiati, Suryati and Hayati pointed out the importance of induction programmes because although novice teachers studied at a teacher college and conducted teaching practicum prior to their employment, the reality of teaching at schools still shocked novice teachers.

In line with the above study, Catherine et al. (2017) in Chapter 5, also explained that novice teachers needed support from an encouraging principal and access to informal and assigned mentors. However, in reality not all novice teachers get the support they need to survive in the new field. Shofia, for example (in Chapter 5), had a "traumatic experience" during her teaching practicum at a formal school where she was 'bullied' by the school teachers, who were supposed to be her mentors, as they asked her to do so many things which were irrelevant to her assignment.

Related to the pedagogical aspect of teaching, Putih mentioned her frustration with having to cover the teaching materials required or assigned by the national curriculum whilst realising that her student's levels of English was not high enough to understand the materials. She was frustrated because she "couldn't focus on individual students because there were so many of them." (Putih, Interview). Putih felt that she did not have the authority (even as the teacher of her students) to plan

and teach her lessons in the ways which she thought appropriate and effective. She felt that all she did was work to please the principal. She lost her sense of agency and felt her role was as a tool to make sure that the materials in the syllabus was covered. Addressing this dilemma Sukyadi (2015) wrote that under the new national curriculum, Curriculum 2013, school teachers were given the authority to design their curriculum and syllabus based on a genre-based approach. However, now that Putih has been teaching at Pascal for more than 7 years she no longer wants to apply to teach at schools anymore. Furthermore, she was not familiar with genre-based approaches to teaching English making her feel inadequate to teach at secondary schools.

The pressure to help students get high scores in English exams was also experienced by India. When she had just started to teach at a junior high school, India was forced to 'mark-up' her students' scores so that the school's average score would improve. She recalled her experience of having a tough conversation with a homeroom teacher.

> I thought I was secure because I have two certificate and I could work at schools but things
> didn't work as planned because people thought that I was to idealistic because I would like the
> students to be able to use the language that they learnt, while at school, the focus is still about
> the scores and one time I gave a student a very low score because he never came to my class
> and he never took any tests, so basically I had no data whatsoever that I can assess for his
> progress. So, one of the homeroom teacher came to me and said that you can't give that score to
> the student but I think that I was generous to give the score but again the name of the school
> was at stake so okay that would be the thing that I didn't know probably I was so naïve, ya.
> (India, Interview)

From the script, we see that India found that her values were different to what the school had. As a novice teacher, India constructed her identity as an honest teacher who would assess her students

fairly. However, her identity was denied by her environment which preferred to have false, high scores rather than authentic but low scores. This situation shows the significant relationship between identity, occupation, and place (Huot & Rudman, 2010). India failed to integrate with the school's culture, and because of that she decided that teaching at school was not suitable for her. She felt that in PELI she did not need to worry about marking up her students' scores because the objective of learning English at PELI was to develop students' ability to communicate in English.

Yanni also felt unprepared to teach at school when he graduated from his teacher college. Therefore, he considered his first teaching job at a school as a learning process. It is understandable, then, that he decided to teach at the same school where he did his teaching practicum. He said that he became a teacher there to gain some experience before moving to other schools or institutions.

On contrary to the participants in Widiati, Suryati, and Hayati's (2018) study, Anji felt inadequate to teach at EF. As mentioned in Chapter 5, his first teaching experience as a full-time teacher at EF shaped his professional identity. During those first years of his career, he learnt that his degree in teaching meant very little in the context of PELI. He also noticed that other teachers who did not have a degree in English education could teach better than him and were more fluent in English. This experience made him believe that having high level of proficiency is more important that having a degree in teaching English from a local university and that to be an effective teacher he needed to attend to the students' needs.

6.3.2 Career progress

The second focus of the discussion about teacher trajectory is related to the different moves that the participants have made throughout their teaching career. The career cycle of teachers is an important

aspect which needs to be managed by any education institution including PELI. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Fressler (1992) cited in Lynn (2002) elaborated eight non-linear stages in a teacher's career: pre-service, induction, competency building, enthusiasm and growth, career frustration, career stability, career wind-down, and career exit. Eros (2011) specifically looked into the needs of second stage teachers, those who had passed the survival stage (Fressler's (1992) model), to maintain their commitment in teaching such as by providing them with continuous career development and appropriate challenges and opportunities.

In this study, the participants also experienced various stages in their career. At the time of the first data collection stage (May 2018), all of the participants had taught for at least four years which indicate that they had passed the survival period (C. Kirkpatrick, 2007). The fact that all of the participants were 'second stage'(p.2) teachers, however, did not mean that they all shared similar career progress. Table 6.2 enlists the different moves that the participants have experienced so far in their professional lives.

Table 6. 2 Teacher's journeys

Teacher	Journey
Anji	EF → Move to another PELI → Move out of PELI (English trainer at a hotel) → Move to another PELI (Dago) → Move to another PELI (Jana) + formal school
Shofia	FT at Len → Move within a PELI (PT at Len)
Lia	Len
Andrew	Len
Arbo	EF → moved out of PELI (Canada) → Move back to PELI (EF PT) → move within a PELI (EF – FT)

	magician + musician → Dago PT
Claire	Out of PELI (Interior design) → Move to PELI (Dago PT) → Move within PELI (Dago FT)
Tracy	PT at Jana → FT → Senior teacher → PT → resigned Teaching at University → Resigned
Andara	Formal school → Pascal PT
Darren	A small PELI at Pakam → PELI in Medan → Riau PT
Erica	Harvey FT → Pascal PT + University
Nada	Small Conversation class → BCL PT → FT → Dago PT → FT → Senior teacher → PT + IELTS examiner
India	Secondary school → Dago PT → FT → Senior teacher → PT
Tantri	Other PELI → Riau PT → FT → Senior teacher → Teacher trainer
Irama	Secondary school → Dago PT → resigned
Mirna	University → primary school → Dago PT → FT
Michael	Riau PT → FT → Senior teacher → PT
Maya	University → Jana PT → Dago PT → FT → Senior teacher
Mary	JANA → NGO → Riau PT + IELTS examiner
Valerie	BCL → Dago PT
Putih	Vocational school → Pascal PT
Diana	Riau PT → FT → Senior teacher → Teacher trainer
Triana	Primary school → Riau PT → FT
Willy	Harvey FT → Teacher trainer
Yanni	Primary school → Dago PT + University → Riau PT
Yulia	Jana PT → Dago PT → FT → Senior teacher → Teacher trainer

Olsen and Anderson (2007) conducted a study involving 15 teachers at four elementary schools in an urban area of the USA and explained that there were three categories of teachers: the stayers, uncertains, and leavers. The stayers were those who planned to stay as teachers although it might be at a different school to where they were teaching. They also had unique career trajectories such as earning a PhD or becoming certified teachers. The uncertains were those who did not have a clear direction for what they wanted to do with their career in the next five years. Some of them anticipated leaving the profession as soon as they started a family because they thought that teaching was very time consuming. Others were thinking of pursuing careers in administration. Finally, the leavers were those who thought that they needed new challenges in their career, so some of them wanted to start a doctoral programme and others were considering applying to be a school administrator. Olsen and Anderson's (2007) study concludes that the underlying reasons for the teachers' decisions to stay or leave their school or teaching profession are influenced by their personal goals and work environment. Those who were satisfied with their school environment had such benefits as having like-minded colleagues, supportive administrators and peers, and opportunities to take multiple roles.

In the present study, the participants' career progression can be categorised based on their movement within an institution, movement to another PELI and leaving the profession.

1. Career progression within an institution: promotion and demotion

Some participants got promoted after serving for several years at their institution. However, there were no fixed or agreed-upon dates for when it would occur. Yanni, for instance, has been working as a part-time teacher at Riau for more than eight years and he has never been promoted to be a full-time teacher; conversely, Michael was promoted to be a full-time teacher after only two years of working at Riau. At Dago, India was promoted to a role as a senior teacher after working as a full-

time teacher for more than five years at her institution. However, Yulia was promoted to be a senior teacher after only working there for two years. Being promoted to be a full-time teacher or a senior teacher can be seen as acknowledgement of someone's value to the institution.

Conversely, PELI teachers can also be demoted to lower positions, such as being moved from a role as a full-time teacher to a part-time teacher or from being a senior teacher to becoming a regular teacher. India, for instance, was a senior teacher for two years (2017-2019) but recently was demoted to become a regular teacher. She said that once she had been a senior teacher for two years, the institution asked her to also handle another branch. She did not think that the compensation that Dago offered was worth the effort. Therefore, she rejected the assignment and because of that, she lost her position as a senior teacher. India said that she was disappointed with the decision because she felt that the PELI forced her to do a lot more work than she had agreed on promotion to the senior teacher position. She also said that working at two branches would double her responsibilities and logically would require her to work long hours. She could not do that because she had other responsibilities as a wife, and she said that her husband would not approve of her working such long hours. India's identity as a wife was as important to her as her identity as an English teacher. In this situation, she exercised her agency by declining the assignment from Dago and deciding that she wanted to work only as a full time or regular teacher. Dago, on the other hand, showed that it had greater power in its relationship with its teachers. Dago had the authority to 'remove' an aspect of professional or institutional identity (Gee, 2001) from its teacher. In this case, India preferred to have identities as a wife and an English teacher and let go of her identity as a senior teacher.

India's story is in line with Troman's (2008) study as explained in Chapter 5 which highlights the entanglement between domestic responsibilities of female teachers with their career trajectories.

2. Move to other PELIs

Although PELIs compete against each other, they are linked one to another via the connections between their teachers and students across institutions. These networks allow PELI teachers to share information with other teachers from different PELIs, including information about job opportunities, facilities at different PELIs, salaries, etc. Moreover, these networks of teachers and students facilitate movement of teachers and students between PELIs.

In this study, most of the participants (20 out of 25) have worked in more than one PELI. The main reasons for moving institutions were the work situation at the original PELI, such as their relationships with other teachers or their manager, and the salary. This is in line with the results of a survey studying 997 teachers in Belgium (Vekeman, Devos, Valcke, & Rosseel, 2017) which shows that the dominant factor influencing a teacher's decision to move to another school is related to whether or not he or she feels they fit in with his or her school culture, values, and practice. In addition, Geiger and Pivovarova (2018) conducted a mixed method study of 1479 teachers from 37 Arizona schools, and also found out that the main reasons for teachers to leave schools were insufficient salary, poor working conditions, and lack of support from school leadership.

Yulia mentioned that she felt unappreciated at her previous PELI when they forbid her from teaching higher English level classes, and they did not acknowledge her CELTA qualification as proof of her professional credentials. In addition, India, Putih, Andara, and Irama also talked about their experience of feeling like misfits within the formal school context and decided to resign and start careers at PELIs.

3. Moving to a different field completely

Teachers leave their profession for many reasons. Buchanan (2010) who investigated 21 former teachers in Australia explained five common reasons for why teachers leave their teaching career which include lack of support from the school leaders, poor working conditions, low salary, lack of appreciation from parents and society, classroom management problems, and excessive workload. In the present study, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Arbo and Mary moved to different fields in the middle of their teaching careers. Arbo was not satisfied with the salary that he got from teaching so he decided to move to Canada and tried to settle there doing various non-teaching jobs. Unfortunately, he did not find what he envisioned in Canada and returned to Indonesia. Upon returning, he re-entered the ELT field and worked at EF, the same institution he had worked for before going to Canada. However, after just one year of teaching at EF, he resigned (again) because of problems he had with the management. He decided to start his own PELI, which unfortunately never really took off. After this failure, he tried other jobs such as being a magician and musician. He did do some performances, but they were not enough to justify performance work as a full-time job. He then decided to go back to teaching again in 2014 and he has been teaching ever since. Evidently, Arbo invested in various fields but it seemed that teaching gave him the best return. Arbo seemed to view his career as a teacher primarily from an economic perspective. Teaching for him is primarily a means to generate income, so it was not difficult for him to leave his profession as a teacher if he found a different job that paid him higher salary.

Mary, upon graduating with a degree in international relations, voiced that her professional goal had always been to work for an international non-government organisation (INGO); in particular, she was interested in working for the United Nations (UN). She did manage to work for an NGO for two years, though her responsibilities as a mother and a wife 'forced' her to resign from her job and return to teaching. Like India, Mary felt that being a teacher seemed to be compatible with her other

identities (a wife and a mother), because with the flexibility attached to being a PELI teacher, she could still look after her family.

In summary, the participants' movements within a PELI, to another PELI, or to a different field helped them to find the most suitable working conditions and communities of practice which were in line with their habitus and familial responsibilities. Therefore, in order for the move to have been successful, the values and practices at the new place should not have been too different to the teacher's prior habitus (Wacquant, 2014) which has developed throughout their life as a language learner, speaker, and teacher. Finally, moving to a new PELI reshaped the participants' future trajectories because they developed a new set of capital and a new vision for their career. The next section will explore the participants' future trajectories and how they were influenced by their teaching experiences and how their trajectories influenced their current and future investment.

6.3.3 Future trajectories

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the field of private ELT in Indonesia is undergoing some significant changes. With higher teacher's salaries at formal schools (including universities), teaching at schools and universities has become much more appealing than teaching at PELIs. As a result, PELIs find it harder to recruit potential teachers. Another policy which has affected PELIs' business in Indonesia is related to the extension of school hours and the elimination of English as a subject at public primary schools (as mentioned in Chapter 2). The new policy regarding school hours requires students to stay at school until 3:00pm, which makes it difficult for them to attend 4:00pm lessons at PELI, thus PELI have lost students for that slot. Moreover, as English as a subject is no longer required to be taught at primary schools, some parents might not see the necessity of sending their children to study at a PELI. Because of this situation, Shofia, Anji, and India mentioned that PELIs are losing at least 30% of their students forcing them to reduce teaching hours and ultimately

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teachers' salaries. This situation had affected the participants' motivation and shattered their future trajectories as voiced by most of participants (23 out of 25) who did not think that their PELI or working at a PELI would be good enough for their future.

In addition, the advancement of information technology through the internet has provided students with opportunities to learn English online or independently, such as through YouTube or learning applications such as Duolingo or British Council Apps. This development challenges the monopoly status that PELIs hold as the 'only' institution for English language learning outside of school. Moreover, new players in the business, both individuals and corporations, are selling their products online, a move that the conventional PELIs in this study are not making. The growing number of online ELT businesses increases the competition even further.

As mentioned earlier, due to the current challenges that PELIs are facing, some participants are thinking about leaving their jobs because they are afraid that if the situation in this industry worsens, they will not be able to make ends meet. In fact, two participants, Irama and Tracy, resigned from their jobs in 2019. They became private tutors because they said that they only had two classes per week at their PELIs which were too few to make their trip to work worthwhile. They decided that it was better for them just to be at home and look after their children. Other trajectories that the participants had were:

1. move to formal education setting, school, or university

2. stay at the PELI

3. move abroad

4. start their own PELI

5. start their own school

As mentioned above, becoming a schoolteacher has become a very lucrative profession with recent education policy reform (Chang et al., 2014; Jalal et al., 2009; Kemenpan, 2009). Suryani (2013) investigated the motivational factors, for becoming teachers, of 802 student teachers from four universities in Indonesia. The findings show that the participants thought that teaching at public schools offered job security and the possibility to earn extra by doing additional teaching after school hours. Furthermore, the participants explained that they wanted to contribute to their society, were encouraged by their significant others such as parents, or were influenced by their religious beliefs.

In the present study, almost half of the participants (12 out of 25) thought that they were going to leave the PELI setting and enter the formal school setting; nine out of 25 wanted to enter work in higher education either as a teacher or to start their own school. Three out of the 25 wanted to move abroad. Two participants were not sure about possible future institutions for employment, but they were certain that they wanted to work as teacher trainers. The main reason for wanting to move to a formal school setting was related to job security; seven participants wanted to teach in higher education. Andrew argued that "We have to be more realistic because once we become a lecturer we will get more money." (Andrew, Interview). Shofia, on the other hand, was interested in doing more research but she thought that "Len does not really support the teachers to conduct research projects" (Shofia, Interview). She added that although she was once sent to attend a conference and was given the opportunity to share her research with her peers and suggested some ideas regarding how to improve the quality of the teaching at Len; the management did not show any interest in implementing her suggestions. *"So I do not really think that my institution is suitable for me in the long term"* (Shofia, Interview). Because of their professional trajectories to become lecturers, Andrew, Shofia, Andara, and Erica invested in getting master's degrees in English Education or Linguistics.

For those who imagined staying at a PELI they saw themselves as teacher trainers. This trajectory is also shared by those who are not really sure about the future of their institution and those who desire to become a lecturer. Twelve participants imagined that they would be teacher trainers either for their existing PELI or at different institutions or in different contexts. Margolis and Deuel (2009) investigated the motivation of five teachers in southwest Washington to take up the role as teacher leaders. They concluded that the teacher leaders were driven by moral responsibility, professional growth, and higher salary. The participants in their research stated that they wanted to create a better learning environment for the students and teachers. Secondly, they desired to develop their professional credentials and ability through taking up greater responsibility. Finally, they admitted that being a teacher leader gave them a higher salary and better incentives compared to when they were just teachers. Irama mentioned that she learned a lot from CELTA and she wanted to share her knowledge with other teachers because "I felt sorry for the quality of the teachers like they were hopeless" (Irama, Interview). Moreover, she also enjoyed working in collaboration with other teachers so that she could learn from other teachers. At the time of the interview (April 2018) Irama said that although she would still be teaching at Dago, she wanted to start giving training to school teachers. Nada invested in attending many online training sessions to equip her to be a teacher trainer. She really wanted to be a CELTA trainer and so she did DELTA in 2018; although she has not become a CELTA trainer, she has delivered some training sessions at Dago. Yulia mentioned that she was earning more when she became the Academic team leader at Dago. Moreover, she did not need to worry about teaching the maximum hours every week because as the academic team leader she received a fixed salary. At the time of the interview (July, 2018) she had just completed DELTA module 1. She said that she needed to have a higher qualification than the teachers to be the academic team leader so that the teachers would respect her more.

Mike, Darren, Maya, and Claire are four participants who stated that one of their imagined identities would be teaching and living abroad; they had started connecting with their friends or relatives who live abroad. Darren might be the one who will actually live abroad because of the likelihood of his wife getting a job abroad as a NEST. Darren specifically mentioned British Council as his dream work institution since he thought that they treated both native and non-native teachers equally (see Chapter 5). Darren was confident that he had made the right investment in CELTA even though he had to take it twice. He was convinced that with his CELTA he could teach anywhere in the world as is advertised on the Cambridge English Assessment website. Mike did his CELTA in London and was keeping in touch with his former colleagues back there. He hoped that someday he could do his master's degree in London and then stay on to work. Sadly, he passed away on 27 January 2020 due to a stroke.

In conclusion, how the participants view their positions (past, present, and future) or their trajectories in the field of ELT changes in response to their lived-out experiences. Their trajectories shaped the types of investment (Section 6.2) that they chose, in order to acquire and develop the appropriate capital which would enable them to claim or retain their positions in the field. In the meantime, their investment has 'produced' results in terms of English language and teaching skills which has in turn shaped their teaching practices as non-NESTs in Indonesia. The next section will look at *habitus* as the accumulation of knowledge, skills, and beliefs that the participants acquired throughout their journey as English language learners, speakers, and teachers, acting as a lens to understand their identities as non-NESTs in Indonesia.

6.4 Habitus: structuring teaching practice and beliefs

Habitus, as mentioned in Chapter 3, is a set of dispositions, beliefs, skills, habits, or tastes which enable a person to act appropriately in various interactions she or he finds him or herself in. Habitus is more than just a set of 'ingrained' conduct codes which limit the possibilities for a person to think and act out of the box; rather, it is a creative capacity which helps the person to improvise his or her actions to suit their situations or solve problems. As Bourdieu (1977a) stated,

> Even when they appear as the realisation of the explicit, and explicitly stated, purposes of a
> project or plan, the practices produced by the habitus, as the strategy-generating principle
> enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations, are only apparently
> determined by the future. (p. 72)

The development of someone's habitus is influenced by their social environment and the social interactions that they experience throughout their life. Habitus as an organic construct is dynamic and fluid; it is reconstructed throughout a person's life. With habitus, a person has the sense of practice or a "feel for the game" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 11) of a field.

In this study, I examine the participants' habitus by analysing their life stories particularly focusing on their experiences as English learners and teachers. As presented in Chapter 5, the participants' narratives were framed into three stages of their lives; as learners, speakers, and teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) in Indonesia. Throughout these stages, the participants made investments to develop dispositions or *habitus* related to how they used English language in their communication and how they taught EFL in Indonesia, which consequently guided their practice, shaped their beliefs, and constructed their identity as non-NESTs in Indonesia. Therefore, in this section, the participants' habitus will be discussed in several aspects according to the key themes which were generated from the data analysis. These include their differences to school teachers, the importance of having a high level of English proficiency, teaching English in fun ways, being able to

be adaptive to students' needs, how to relate to students, maximizing the use of English in class and outside the class, creating a safe place for making errors, and encouraging students' engagement.

How a teacher perceives their role as a PELI teacher influences the way they see themselves as a professional English teacher and consequently could shape their practice (Miguel, 2019; Xu, 2012). PELI teachers although in general are given the exact same title, *guru* (teacher in the Indonesian language)*,* disassociated themselves from school teachers mainly in relation to their approach to and objectives in teaching English. The participants did not want to become like stereotypical English language school teachers whose main pedagogical goal is to help their students to pass tests. Instead, they associated themselves with professionals who have specific skills in teaching English and whose main goal is to assist their students to be able to communicate in English.

6.4.1 Communicative language teaching (CLT)

In terms of approaches and teaching methods, PELI teachers apply CLT approaches whereas school teachers tend to focus on teaching grammar. Consequently, PELI teachers employ pair work, group work and mingling activities to develop student's speaking and listening skills whereas school teachers mostly employ reading and writing exercises. In this study, the participants paid attention to students' pronunciation by giving examples and drilling them chorally and individually to ensure that they produce utterances with correct pronunciation. In their observed lessons, Darren and Yanni demonstrated the target sentences three times before drilling their students chorally and individually.

> T: She doesn't cook everyday. Doesn't. She doesn't cook everyday. She doesn't cook everyday.
> T: Now you say it all.
> Sts: She doesn't cook everyday. She doesn't cook everyday. She doesn't cook everyday.
> T: Now you (pointed to a student)
> St: She doesn't cook everyday.
> T: Now you (pointed to another student)
> St: She doesn't cook everyday.
> T: Now you (pointed to another student)

St: She doesn't cook everyday.
T: Good. She doesn't cook everyday.

<div align="right">(Observation notes, Darren, July 2018)</div>

Another teacher, Tracy was observed when she was teaching students at elementary level. In the lesson she did not ask the students to take notes. She mainly asked them to practice saying the target sentences correctly through pair work and group work activities. As mentioned earlier, pair work, group work, and role play are commonly used teaching methods in CLT. Oradee (2013) investigated the effectiveness of using group work through discussion, role play and problem solving activities in improving secondary school students' speaking skills in Thailand. The findings show that these activities increased the students' speaking test scores. Moreover, the findings also showed that the students enjoyed learning English through these activities.

6.4.2 English proficiency is everything

PELI teachers are required to be language role models for their students; thus, the ability to speak 'perfect' or native-like English is highly sought after by PELI teachers. Yulia mentioned that being proficient in English was very important, and that teachers should show it off to their students. She emphasized proficiency as the ultimate indicator for being a 'good' English teacher. Her perception could be linked to her negative experience with her NEST supervisor who labelled her as an incompetent teacher because of her 'broken' English. Yulia seemed to link her identity as an English teacher to her competence in speaking English; thus, any doubts about her English ability would be seen as a threat to her identity (Christiansen, 1999). She also mentioned that teachers must have good knowledge about the English language so that they are "able to analyse the language that they are teaching. They need to have the knowledge and they must know what the students need" (Yulia, Interview). All participants showed the ability to analyse the grammar points or expressions they were teaching as evident in their lesson plans. Figure 6.3 shows India's analysis of the language point she was teaching.

Figure 6. 6 Language analysis in a lesson plan (India's lesson plan, 2018)

Lexis Analysis Form

Complete this for **vocabulary (lexis)-based** lessons or vocabulary teaching as part of a **skills lesson**.

Vocabulary item + Pronunciation & Form	Pre-Teach	Main focus	Meaning:(Meaning for your context, how will meaning be conveyed & checked)	Anticipated problems (Meaning, pronunciation, spelling, anything else?)	Solution(s)
		Tick whichever is appropriate			
Terrified /ˈter.ə.faɪd/		✓	**Meaning:** (adj) very frightened **Conveyed & checked:** show a picture Are you frightened? (yes) How much frightened? (a lot) What can happen when people are terrified? (some people faint or wet themselves)	Pronunciation: sound /ˈter.ɪ.faɪd/	Give example and drill
Terrifying /ˈter.ə.faɪ.ɪn/		✓	**Meaning:** (adj) very frightening, a situation that makes you frightened **Conveyed & checked:** show a picture What is terrifying, situation or you? (situation) Is paddling alone in the middle of the sea with a shark behind you frightening? (yes, very)	Pronunciation: word stress /ter.ˈə.faɪ.ɪn/	Give example and drill
Astonished /əˈstɒn.ɪʃt/		✓	**Meaning:** (adj) very surprised **Conveyed & checked:** show a picture Are you a little surprised? (no)	Pronunciation: sound /əˈstɒn.ɪʃd/	Give example and drill

6.4.3 Teaching English is fun

Having an outgoing personality and trying to make their lessons fun was important to the participants. Of all the teachers, 14 talked about the lesson being fun or the teachers being 'fun' themselves. The participants refered to fun activities such as games and jokes in their lessons, interactive activities such as role plays, using songs and movie clips, and creating a relaxed environment in their class. Claire, for instance, acknowledged the impact her former teachers had on the way she sees what English lessons should be like.

I didn't remember much about the lesson but I remember about the environment, about the teachers, about my friends and how the approach was totally different from the one I had at school. And it was more relaxed the way teacher or our teacher introduced English was you know like really fun with games and outing sometimes we went out for like ice cream with the teachers. And I think at that time I'm learning English as something fun. It was nothing about books and grammar and exercise. We had something like that but it was like more in the fun stuff that I remember...So my old teachers influence the way I teach because what I

remembered most about my experience as a student here is how I enjoyed it and how much

fun it was. (Claire, Interview)

Inserting a 'fun' element in a lesson such as through games is widely agreed to have a positive

impact on the learning process because students will learn easily through engaging in a relaxed and

joyful atmosphere (Bakhsh, 2016). Yanni, Nada, Willy, Tracy, Darren, Valerie, India, and Mirna

used games in their lesson (Observation notes, 2018). However, a fun learning experience, does not

always have to do with the use of games because a fun lesson also includes creating a sense of safety

where the participants feel okay to make mistakes while they are engaging in a fun learning activity

(Whitton & Langan, 2019). One of the fun activities that Yanni did was acting. He loves acting out

stories in the class like can be seen on Figure 6.3. Here Yanni was acting as a wild animal in a story

and the students were asked to answer some questions related to the story.

Figure 6. 7 Yanni (wearing a grey polo shirt) is acting out a story (Observation, 2018)

On the other hand, while acknowledging the importance of including a fun element in a lesson, Nada,

Arbo, Yulia, and Shofia warned of the danger of focusing so much on creating a fun lesson that the

teacher misses the aim of teaching students. In line with this, Francis (2012) warned of the risk of using games in the learning process in general since too much focus on games can distract from the learning process and consequently hinder the achievement of the learning objective. Yulia noted that,

> One time I observed this candidate from EF and he taught it typical EF teachers which is all about having fun. at that time he taught modal but he covered all modals instead of focusing on a particular modal and he used games which has all modals so students did not really get it all you know. (Yulia, Interview)

From the script, it could be seen that Yulia criticized the candidate for not being careful in choosing suitable activities for the class. She implied that that the candidate focused on having fun in the class instead of planning his lesson according to the curriculum which focused on a specific type of modal, such as *may, should, can, or could.* Moreover, it could be observed that Yulia had a prejudice against teachers from a particular PELI, 'EF', for being 'fun' oriented. It could be interpreted that Yulia positioned her PELI differently to EF, that her PELI does not just teach fun lessons for the sake of having fun but to use games critically to help students learn effectively.

6.4.4 A teacher must be adaptive

Being adaptive is very important for teachers since the dynamic of a classroom can change throughout or during their teaching hours. They make judgements about situations and subsequently take appropriate action. Moreover, when making a decision, teachers take into account the pace of the lesson, students' behaviour and motivation, the linguistic content of the lessons, and quality of their instructions (Borg & Al-Busaidi, 2012). Nada explained that she preferred to let her students complete one activity properly before moving to the next activity even though it may mean that she

could not cover all of the materials that she had prepared in her lesson plan (Post-observation Interview, 2018).

PELI teachers are required to teach a wide range of students, including such diverse groups as children, adults, housewives, business people, students, and professionals, to name a few, which differs from the work of school teachers who have homogeneous age groups of traditional students. The wide range of PELI students requires teachers to be sensitive and to demonstrate a deep understanding of the numerous learning styles and needs which must be considered in lesson planning.

In this study, Nada, Claire, Yanni, Arbo, Valerie, Tracy, Andara, Putih, Erica, and Diana emphasized the importance of knowing their students' backgrounds. They mentioned that they could connect with their students more easily when they knew about their professional or educational background and their motivation to learn English: by knowing these details, they claimed that they could prepare more suitable materials and cover topics which were relevant to the students' lives. Andara, Nada, Claire, Yulia, and India also paid attention to their students' learning styles and the classroom dynamics. When sharing a class with another teacher, Nada for instance would add to her teaching notes what had happened in her lesson so her colleague would be informed about the class, such as student A did not work nicely with Student B, Student C, D, E, were competing to get Student G's attention or Student H needs to be encouraged to speak more in pair work activities, etc.

Figure 6. 8 A sample of teaching notes from Dago
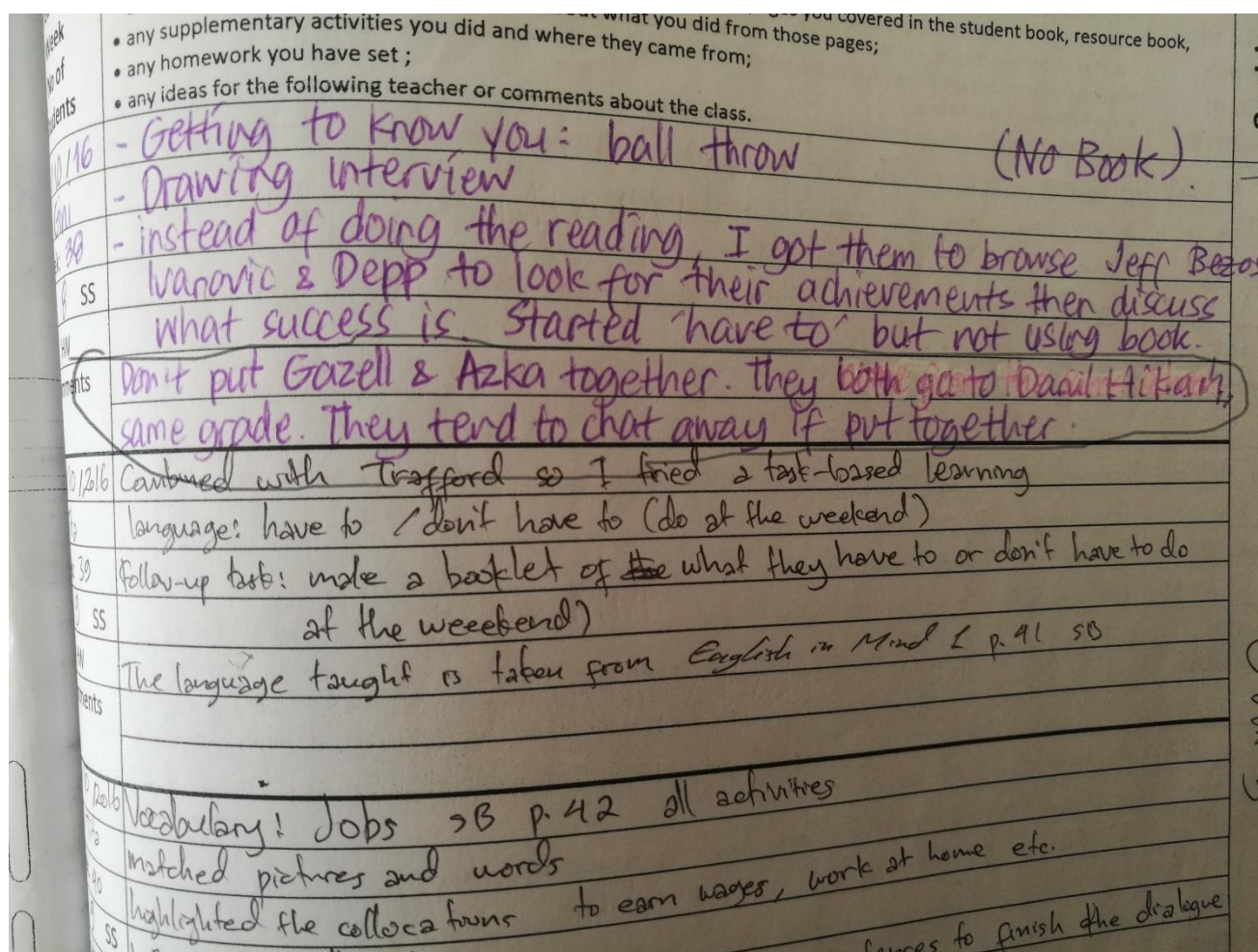
Nada's attention to her students' needs was possibly shaped by her experience as an IELTS examiner

and tutor and as a senior teacher who was often assigned to teach company classes, the in-house

training where Dago sent its teachers to teach at a corporation. As an IELTS examiner and tutor,

Nada was familiar with her students' specific goal to gain a high IELTS score. Moreover, as this

PELI often sends their teachers to teach at corporations, the teachers are required to conduct needs

analysis prior to setting up curriculum and teaching their students. During needs analysis, the

teachers would ask what the specific goals were that the company wanted to achieve through the

training programme. Anji and Nada confessed that their experience of teaching company classes

shaped them as teachers, so that they always took time and made an effort to get to know their

students and ensure that they could help them achieve their goals in learning English, even when

teaching general English courses. Knowing our students may include knowing about their preferred activities when learning, their goals in learning, difficulties in learning, or what excites them in learning (Fisette, 2010). In my own experience of teaching English to adult learners, the importance of knowing our students cannot be overstated because although teachers can never make one lesson that fits everyone, being aware that different students come with their unique needs and goals requires teachers to vary their activities to ensure that they serve their students thoroughly.

6.4.5 Teaching English to adults and children

Moreover, PELI teachers also need to be adaptive with the way they interact with or relate to their students. As mentioned in Chapter 3, PELI teachers are required to teach students who are coming from a range of backgrounds such as varying ages, education, English skills, and purposes for studying. Therefore, the ways teachers relate to their students should be adapted according to the students' background, to build good rapport with them so that they will engage in the learning process. Some teachers treat their students as equal partners (especially when teaching adult students) but perform more like a parent when teaching children. Anji mentioned that when he was teaching children, he would take a position as their parent; however, when teaching teenagers, he would position himself as their big brother in the class. Yanni, for instance, intentionally set his tone of voice at a 'friendly tone' when giving instructions to his students rather than using what is known as a 'teacher tone'. He used phrases such as "Okay guys" (Observation notes, 2018) to address his teenage students instead of addressing them as students. By speaking casually with his students, Yanni hoped that the students would be relaxed and like him. He believed that if the students liked him, they would want to learn from him. Mary, on the other hand, relied on establishing rules in the class and set clear boundaries with the students. She said that having boundaries was necessary to ensure that the students respected each other; she wanted a classroom which encouraged students to be brave and to give their opinions without being afraid of losing face if their answers were incorrect.

Hird, Thwaite, Breen, Milton, & Oliver (2000) compared the practice of teachers of English to adult learners and children in Australia and explained that both teachers shared some similar practices but also differed in some areas. Their findings show that both groups of teachers believed that the most effective way to learn a language was by using it in conversation between the students instead of listening to the teacher's talk. Moreover both teachers emphasized accuracy and correctness in using English. Teachers of children however, gave more explicit explanations to their students compared to their counterparts. Moreover, teachers of children gave more opportunity to their students to use the language through meaningful activities whereas adult teachers spent less time trying out the language but more time doing written assignments. Finally, teachers of young learners gave individual feedback but teachers of adults gave whole class feedback. This research shows that English teachers were aware that different age groups of students require different approaches and strategies.

Remarkably, some teachers such as Arbo, Nada, Andara, Erica, and Putih viewed their position very much like a service provider or an assistant whose main duty is to serve their students by providing high-quality teaching. When students are positioned as clients, they occupy a higher position than the teacher. Consequently, students or parents will have more power than the teacher in the teacher-student relationship. Because of this dynamic, PELIs encourage their teachers to emphasise 'pleasing' their students and student parents. Arbo mentioned that he was told that, as long as the students were happy in his class, his supervisor was happy with his performance. He said that his previous institution never observed his class but the receptionists always gave reports to the school principal about how the students felt about learning from the teachers there. Thus, his main goal became how to make his lessons fun and 'entertaining' but not necessarily to challenge his students to improve their accuracy. Nada, on the other hand, treats her students as her "future clients" (Nada, Interview). She further mentioned that although her students were still young at the time when she

taught them, in the future they may end up in high positions and they would remember her and perhaps offer her contracts to train their employees. Therefore, she always tried to give her best 'service' to her students so that "they will remember their experience with me" (Nada, Interview).

Andara also emphasized the importance of providing a good service to her clients (read: students) to keep them paying for her service. This phenomena provides clear evidence of commodification of the English language (Heller, 2003, 2010) and English language teaching. English is seen as a commodity and the ability to communicate in English is a valuable skill that students are willing to pay a lot of money for. A teacher's role is reduced to a service provider and as mentioned above, in that during the class time there should not be any kind of explicit teaching of moral or religious values expected in English classes at PELI. This is very different to the expectations required of school teachers, although both are called *'guru'* (read: teacher), who are expected to teach social norms and values as a part of their instructional hours, as can be seen in their lesson plans (Figure 6.8). As part of the core competence, school teachers (primary and secondary) have to include religious and moral values. This is different to the lesson plans of PELI teachers which normally only contain English skills as the core competence. Darren stated that "We were here just to make them speak English, we are not here to educate them" (Darren, Interview).

Figure 6. 9 A sample of a lesson plan for senior high school

Rencana Pelaksanaan Pembelajaran *(Lesson Plan)*

Nama Sekolah *(Name of school)* : X
Mata Pelajaran *(Subject)* : Bahasa Inggris
Kelas / Semester *(Grade/Semester)* : XI / 1
Materi Pokok *(Main topic)* : Offering and Suggesting
Alokasi Waktu *(Duration)* : 4 x 45 menit (2 pertemuan)

A. Kompetensi Inti

1. Menghayati dan mengamalkan ajaran agama yang dianutnya.
2. Menghayati dan mengamalkan perilaku a. jujur, b. disiplin, c. santun, d. peduli (gotong royong, kerjasama, toleran, damai), e. bertanggung jawab, f. responsif, dan g. pro-aktif, dalam berinteraksi secara efektif sesuai dengan perkembangan anak di lingkungan, keluarga, sekolah, masyarakat dan lingkungan alam sekitar, bangsa, negara, kawasan regional, dan kawasan internasional.
(1. Living and practicing the teachings of his religion.
2. Living and practicing behavior a. honest, b. discipline, c. polite, d. care (mutual cooperation, cooperation, tolerance, peace), e. responsible, f. responsive, and g. pro-active, in interacting effectively in accordance with the development of children in the environment, family, school, community and natural environment, nation, state, regional area, and the international area.)

6.4.6 Maximizing the use of English in and outside the classroom

An English only policy is quite common within the field of ELT as it is widely believed that this policy will immerse students in an English environment to help them develop their language skills more quickly (Shvidko, 2017). In her study, Shvidko (2017) claimed that students and teachers have a positive attitude towards practicing their English inside and outside of the classroom because they felt that it helped students' proficiency and readiness to use English in their real-life communication. Similar to the findings in the present study, all participants believed that having a rule which reinforces the use of English between teacher and students both inside and outside of the classroom as well as amongst the students was crucial to the students' development in English. By having the opportunity to use English in their communication, the participants believed that their students could build their confidence in English and develop a habit of using English. Anji further argued that the

PELI was probably the only place that the students felt free to practice the language; he said that he wanted "to maximize their use of English in my class" (Anji, Interview). Valerie also stated that

> I think it is beneficial for the students if I use English most of the time if not at all time
> because it is good for the students to be surrounded by English speaking environment as
> much as possible. because I think they do not use English outside of class, so it would be
> good if they can get at least one and a half hour of being in an English environment.
> (Valerie, Interview)

In fact, in all of the class observations that I did in this study, the use of Indonesian was kept to the minimum. Darren said that *"it's not a sin to use Indonesian, but I will only use it as the last resort."* (Darren, Post-observation interview). The belief that 'practice makes perfect' is very common within English learning pedagogy. In other words, the more students rehearse their target language the better they become. The PELI as an English-speaking environment has the potential to provide an opportunity for their students to practice using their English as much as they want. PELI facilitates English speaking activities not only in the lessons but also through establishing English clubs where students practice their English through social activities such as going to the cinema, cooking competitions, singing contests, karaoke, sightseeing, etc. Through these events, the students were expected to develop their English skills by engaging in meaningful interactions. This is in line with the concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1991), that English as a foreign language is seen as a cultural capital which needs to be developed by the students through learning and practicing so much that it becomes embodied and a part of a learner's habitus. However, Willy warned the teachers at his institution to be aware of their student's limitations or readiness to use English. He reminded the teachers, that students at the beginner levels may be discouraged if they are required to use only English when they are not ready, so for lower level students the use of Indonesian is more appropriate. This is in line with Floris' (2013) study about PELI teachers' beliefs in Surabaya. In her

research, Floris (2013) found out that teachers at PELIs use Indonesian when explaining difficult concepts, translating vocabulary, and giving feedback.

6.4.7 Safe environment to make errors

Making mistakes is unavoidable when learning a new language. However, since learning is a social activity, how a language speaker's community deals with mistakes could influence the learning process. Logically, if a community of learners tolerates mistakes made by its members during the learning process, the members will not be afraid of making mistakes, which could reduce learners' anxiety levels (Hashemi, 2011). As the result, students will be more willing to practice their speaking skills thus enhancing the learning process. In class observations, all of the participants dealt with their students' mistakes in friendly, non-embarrassing and constructive manners. Nada and Anji even utilized their students' mistakes as a source of learning by asking them to identify their own mistakes and tried to correct them (Figure 6.9). Moreover, the participants used a range of error correction strategies such as recast, elicitation, or explicit explanation.

Figure 6. 10 Screenshot from Nada's lesson plan re-error correction (Observation, 2018)
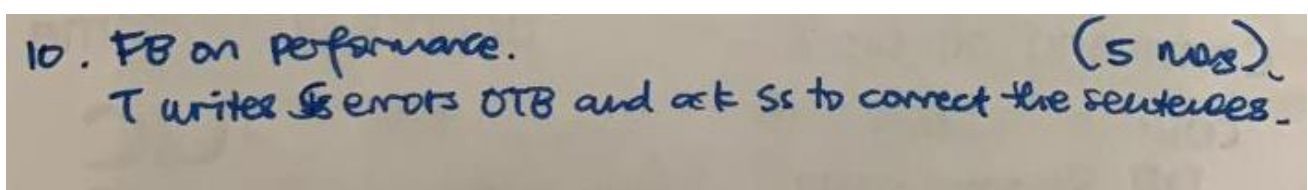
On the other hand, if a community of speakers punish those who make mistakes in their learning processes, then the members might be discouraged to try out using the target language, thus hindering effective learning processes. Therefore, teachers should make sure that their students feel safe to make mistakes in the classroom. On the teacher's side, Anji warned teachers to be courteous when giving feedback; although feedback is needed in second language learning (A. H. Lee &

Lyster, 2016; Loewen, 2013), teachers must be careful that the ways they give feedback do not create a fear of making mistakes in their students. Anji further mentioned that at Jana, "we do not give too many feedback because if we give too many feedback, it would discourage the students to use the language" (Anji, Interview). He explained that at the final stage of a lesson, teachers were not advised to give too much feedback because it could hinder students' fluency. This did not mean that all the mistakes the students made during activities were neglected, on the contrary, the teachers were recommended to take notes of the mistakes and go through them in the next session. Mirna recalled her experience of having a supportive lecturer who did not emphasize mistakes that she made but showed sympathy and understanding. She felt encouraged by the way her lecturer dealt with her mistakes.

6.4.8 Encourage student engagement

Student engagement is multidimensional. Fredrics (2011) categorized three kinds of engagement, namely behavioural engagement, emotional engagement, and cognitive engagement. Behavioural engagement relates to how the students take part in the learning process, such as are they actively involved in group discussion, or do they respect each other in their interactions. In my observations, all participants monitored if their students were doing their tasks following the instructions, by moving to each desk and observing how their students were doing or by joining the group discussions (Figure 6.10).

Figure 6. 11 India (red hijab) is joining one of the group discussions

Emotional engagement relates to how the students feel about the learning process: are they happy to

participate in class activities, are they anxious when nominated to answer, or are they bored learning

in the classroom. Finally, cognitive engagement includes being thoughtful and purposeful in their

effort to understand the materials being given in the class. Shofia believed that student engagement

was one of the keys to successful learning; however, she also realized that PELI students come to the

PELI after their school hours which may mean that they are already tired and find it difficult to be

engaged in the learning process at a PELI. Therefore, an effective teacher must think of ways to

maintain their student's attention and interest level; this is often accomplished by building good

rapport with the students, creating interactive activities such as role plays or mingling activities, and

having a surprise element in teaching like doing different and unpredictable things in a lesson rather

than following a set of routines as prescribed by the institution. Maya mentioned that she used to

only use Presentation, Practice, Production (PPP) approach when teaching which made her lessons

became boring and mundane. She argued that if a teacher only followed such rigid and prescribed

teaching strategies, she would not retain the attention of her students because the students would be emotionally disengaged, getting bored of doing the same activities in each meeting.

In conclusion, the types of habitus which have been developed by the participants consist of two main habitus: habitus related to their use of English and habitus in teaching. These habitus shaped their teaching beliefs and practices. There were times when they could not teach in line with their beliefs such as India when she worked at a formal school and Yanni when he was taking the CELTA course, due to the restrictions which were enforced on them by the school and CELTA trainers. In these situations, they had two options: to remove themselves from the environment as India did or change their habitus as Yanni did. Both of these actions prove that we develop our taste, in this case teaching, through our learning experiences (Indah) and that habitus is malleable (Yanni). Moreover, the participants' habitus as English language learners influences the way they view their practice as an English language teacher. Since all of the participants claimed to have developed their English language skills through using English in their extracurricular activities and daily communications, they believed that the best way to learn English as a foreign language, in Indonesia, is through using it in communication. Therefore, as teachers they designed their lessons to create an environment where the students were encouraged to use English via role plays and group work activities. Finally, their habitus directed them to choose PELIs as the most suitable place for them to teach because it allows them to teach English communicatively.

6.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter discussed the major findings of the research. It argued for the use of *habitus* as a construct to understand non-NESTs' professional identity. The chapter began by looking at the PELI as an institution to nurture the development of the community of practice where the participants can

develop their habitus and shape their identity as professional English teachers. Secondly, the chapter discussed investment as the mechanism of developing habitus. The next section talked about the role of teacher trajectory in creating aspirations for the teachers which could trigger their investment. Finally, the chapter argued for the use of habitus as a lens to understand teacher identities by exploring their teaching beliefs and practices.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Introduction

In this chapter, the main findings of the study are summarized, which are followed by the contributions that this study makes theoretically, methodologically, and practically for English language teacher (ELT) education in Indonesia. The final section presents the limitations of the study; some suggestions for future research; implications for practitioners, PELI, and policy; and closing remarks reflecting on the overall journey of the study.

7.1 Summary of the research

This study explored the construction of non-native English speaker teachers' (non-NESTs) identity at six private English language institutions (PELIs) in Indonesia. As discussed in Chapter 3, teacher identity in this study refers to habitus, which shaped the participants' teaching beliefs and practices that they have developed throughout their lives and experiences as English language learners, speakers, and teachers. Understanding non-NESTs' identities through their habitus enable me to take into account the social-politic and economic background surrounding the learning and teaching of English in Indonesia. Furthermore, by investigating the participants' habitus, I was able to trace the historical events in their lives which contributed to the construction of their identities. These events included their various forms of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015), social learning experiences in a CoP (Wenger, 1998), and professional trajectories (Barnatt et al., 2017). Therefore, the summary of the study will be presented in the form of answers to the research questions that guided the study.

RQ1: What habitus were developed by the participants throughout their journeys as English language learners until they became teachers?

Habitus, as a set of dispositions which is developed throughout teachers' lives, has the capacity to produce actions and influence the production of actions which are acceptable within that teacher's social environment or community. Habitus formation is a gradual process that follows the acquisition of certain forms of capital in a given field (Compton-Lilly, 2009). This habitus formation occurs as an agent socializes and as they learn from other people, receiving both explicit and implicit instruction Wacquant, 2014).

In this study, the participants' habitus can be divided into two categories based on the order of development (2014): habitus as a *language learner* and habitus as an *English teacher*. Habitus as a language learner or 'learning habitus' is their primary habitus and teaching habitus is their secondary habitus, one which they developed later in their lives when they studied at university or when they started on the path to become English teachers.

For the participants who come from a high social economic class, such as Claire, Tracy, Arbo, and Mary, the formation of their habitus was done through daily use of English in their communications with family members and friends (Smith, 1991). Speaking in English was one of the markers of their social class. However, for those who come from a lower social economic status, the formation of their habitus as English speakers was done through their communication with like-minded learners. Predictably, all of the participants in this study stated that their success in learning English had very little to do with their experiences learning English at primary and secondary school. They claimed that they developed their English from actively practicing it outside of class hours throughout such

informal means as listening to music, watching movies, writing to pen pals, talking to English native speakers, and studying at PELIs. Consequently, they believe that language is best learned by using it in daily conversations, thus they employ communicative language learning strategies in their lessons.

RQ2: What types of investment were made by the participants to develop those habitus?

Investment (Norton, 2017) in this study is understood as the means to acquire capital and develop habitus through engagement or taking part in activities which enable that acquisition. The types of investment that the participants engaged with or laboured in were tied to the types of capital and dispositions that they aspired to have (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2017), with two primary forms. The first form was investment to acquire English language; language functions as the most valuable cultural capital in the ELT field. As mentioned above, all participants invested in their effort to learn English inside and outside of the classroom, and they became involved in various activities where they could develop their English.

The second form of investment revolved around investing time or money to develop teaching skills and credentials. Towards this, participants took part in various teacher training programmes and workshops; there, they observed one another and learned from other teachers. Some participants' investment in teaching began when they entered a degree programme in English or teaching at a university. Others started to invest when they received teaching positions and started to become English teachers such as through CELTA or DELTA. Regardless of how long they invested for, or the types of the investment they engaged with, all of the participants evaluated the value of their increased capital as the result of their investment toward their future goals or trajectory. They made decisions about their future as a result of their personal evaluation regarding the value of their

capital, their position, and their trajectories. They chose to stay at their current PELIs, move to a different PELI, or resign from their job and stop teaching altogether.

To some extent, the participants see themselves as professionals who are responsible to develop their professional credentials to maintain their job at PELI such as through CELTA or DELTA although they requires significant financial investment. CELTA as an initial English teacher qualification was very popular amongst teachers from Dago, Riau, and Jana. The participants who attended CELTA all testified to how the course had changed the way they saw themselves as teachers and how they viewed their teaching career. CELTA was eye opening because it was during this course that the participants realized the things that they did 'right' or 'wrong'. This is similar to Block and Gray's (2016) observation of a CELTA training programme in the UK where the participants of the course did not have the opportunity or were not encouraged to develop their own ways of teaching. CELTA as a fully market driven teacher training programme could be seen as producing a certain kind of teachers, those who are able to deliver lessons using standardized textbooks such as *New Headways, InsideOut, or Cutting Edge* effectively. Following this training, the participants subscribed to the CELTA ways of teaching, with a strong communicative focus. CELTA training also made them aware of the global field of ELT: during the CELTA training, the participants studied with teachers from different countries, and they became international teachers, with some of them indeed imagining (and taking part in) experience teaching English abroad. The participants' investment on CELTA however, although beneficial for their day-to-day practice, it does not guarantee long-term return in terms of job security. The changes in the field of ELT in Indonesia as mentioned in Chapter 2 and 5, worsened by the Covid 19 pandemic, reveal a discouraging prospect for those at PELI. In fact, some of the participants lost more than half of their income due to Covid 19 restrictions on teaching face to face.

RQ3: How have their trajectories as learners and teachers influenced their investment which in turn shaped their habitus?

Teacher trajectory in this study focuses on how teachers see themselves in the past, present and future. Their imagination about the future combined with understanding about their position in the present, their evaluation of their forms of capital, as well as their beliefs and the opportunities that came to them—all of these components served to direct them in making decisions regarding their career choices for the future.

The participants reflected on how much they have changed as teachers over the course of their professional experiences. The participants started with an understanding with regard to the teaching world mostly from their experiences as learners. The participants mentioned the importance of their first years in teaching as a turning point in their career. India, Putih, Shofia, Yanni, and Irama started as school teachers. However, their negative experiences teaching at schools prompted them to try teaching at PELI. The decision they carried out up to the time of data collection for this study. By the time data was collected for this study all of them had been teaching at PELI for at least 5 years. Other common feelings about starting a job as English teachers were related to feeling unprepared or untrained for the job. This feeling created the drive to put out more effort in improving their English and teaching skills through attending various teacher training programmes and gaining international certifications such as CELTA and DELTA.

In addition, the participants also talked about their professional journeys as teachers which involved moving to different PELIs, getting promoted as senior teachers, and temporarily exiting their

teaching careers. Finally, the participants shared about their future professional trajectories which were influenced by their other roles and responsibilities as well as social and economic capital.

Teachers at Dago and Riau shared similarities in terms of their future aspirations, with most aspiring to become teacher trainers. This step appeared as a natural progression in their careers if they decided to stay at the PELI. Dago's and Riau's teachers were willing to develop themselves professionally to become teacher trainers through routes such as attending DELTA or an MA programme.

Another popular career trajectory was to teach English abroad; this aspiration was shared by some CELTA-trained teachers such as Mike, Darren, Maya, and Claire. They believed that their teaching abilities and CELTA certificate would enable them to pursue careers in another country as it is advertised in CELTA website regarding the possibilities of it graduates to teach and travel (Cambridge Assessment English, 2021). Their confidence was also strengthened by the fact that two former colleagues were already teaching abroad. However, other studies have proven that the ELT market prefers to have NESTs. (Collins, 2014; Hyunjun Shin, 2007). Moreover, Mike, Darren, Maya, and Mike come from high social and economic status, have some experiences of living abroad, and have some relatives who are living abroad. These means that they had the financial resources (economic capital) and social capital needed to realise their trajectories.

Those who have a Masters degree (such as Erica, Andara, Shofia, Andrew, and Valerie) imagined themselves teaching as lecturers at a university although they would also not stop teaching at PELI if time allowed. Having completed their master's degree (symbolic capital) they are eligible to apply to be lecturers, in fact, Erica had already started teaching at a private university as a part-time lecturer

while keeping her job at Pascal. However, teaching at PELI would allow them to continue practicing their teaching beliefs and to maintain their English skills.

RQ4: How have the participants developed their habitus from being members of the community of practice at their institution?

PELIs' roles in developing their teachers' professional identities were mediated through the establishment of a CoP (although it does not mean that all CoPs at PELIs are initiated by the management of the institution); conversely, some evolved organically from interactions between teachers. At a PELI, a CoP becomes a community of English speakers and English language teachers where the members develop their English and teaching skills through the social interactions within the CoP.

First, as a community of English speakers, a PELI provides an 'English zone' for its employees to practice and develop their English skills through using them in their daily communication without having to worry about what other people might say about them. Even though to the general public in Indonesia, English is seen as a marker of high social economic status of its users (Basalama, 2010; Smith, 1991), for becoming an English teacher, PELI teachers of any social economic background are 'approved' to use English in their daily communication. Moreover, in PELIs which have both native and non-native English speakers, the non-NESTs consider it a bonus to have the NESTs join the CoP because then they can practice English and learn about the NESTs cultures (usually American, British, or Australian). Furthermore, as members of a CoP shared the same desire to continuously improve their English ability they were inclined to give feedback to one another regarding their English language skills.

Second, as a community of English language teachers, the CoP at PELI accumulates a shared repertoire of teaching which includes teaching beliefs, approach, strategies, and teaching materials. All of the participants stated that communicative language teaching is the most suitable to teach English at their institutions. Consequently, their lessons are dominated by speaking exercises in activities such as pair work, group work and role play. The participants also, wherever possible, find ways to use authentic materials such as songs and movie clips in their lessons to maximize their students' exposure to English. Finally, PELI mediates the inclusion of new teachers into the existing CoP by organizing induction and mentoring programmes. PELI also supports the CoP by organizing some professional development programmes such as teacher workshops and training as well as by offering soft loans for teachers to take CELTA, DELTA, or study for their master's degree. PELI encourages sharing sessions where members of the CoP were given opportunities to share their success stories so that they can learn from each other's success.

7.2 Contribution, limitation, further study, and implications

7.2.1 Contribution

The first contribution of this study relates to the context of the study. Studies about English teacher identity in Indonesia have mainly been done in school or university settings, whilst this study explores teacher identity in PELIs, a previously under-researched context where it is common to have teachers who do not have a degree in teaching, English literature, and/or linguistics. PELI teachers follow a different path in becoming professional English teachers when compared with school teachers. Learning how these PELI-based 'student teachers' develop and thrive in order to become professional teachers can expand our understanding about the role of learning experiences and PELI in shaping teacher professional identities. The context of PELIs has not been well studied

thus the present research project provides a significant contribution to the academic discussion around non-NESTs' identities.

Another contribution is derived from the study's content: this study emphasizes the role of the community of practice in developing a teacher's professional identity. The Indonesia Ministry of Education initiated a MGMP (*musyawarah guru mata pelajaran),* which is a forum in which teachers of the same subject would meet on a regular basis and create a learning community (Dikdas, 2019). However, such initiatives and local groups do not exist in PELIs. Within the PELI business community, teachers from other institutions are often considered competitors; therefore, it is difficult to see the possibility of having an inter-PELI teacher group or association. Consequently, the type of CoP available to PELI teachers tends to be very local and isolated to the individual institution. These exclusive CoPs provide an intensive training institution allowing novice teachers without a degree in education to become professional teachers. How they learn at the PELI is interesting to observe because such mechanisms might be duplicated in other settings such as a school or university. The present study argues for the role of PELI as an institution which develops its teachers' professionalism through creating space for their teachers to interact and learn through their participation in a CoP.

In terms of theory, although habitus (Bourdieu, 1990a, 1998) has been used in other research studies focussed on identity, this study goes further to see investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015) as a conscious intention needed in order to develop professional habitus. Developing habitus means developing capacity, and that capacity enables an actor to function not only in line with social expectations but also to reflect on their own practices in order to ensure that their habitus is in alignment with the habitus of the field. Habitus is a creative capacity which regulates actions. Thus,

this study applies and extends Bourdieu's theories of habitus and social field to the study of professional identity and professional development of non-NESTs. In so doing, the study adopts a sociological perspective which views professional identities as a social construct formed through participating in a professional practice and investing in developing capital and habitus which are relevant to the field.

In addition, by using the concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1990b, 1998) as a lens to see professional identities, this study contributes to our understanding about the role of 'learning by doing' in constructing teachers' professional identity. With this understanding of the formation of participants' habitus, this study argues for the formative role of a PELI in shaping its teacher's professional identities through creating a community of practice (Wenger, 1998) where a new teacher could develop their teaching skills by observing other teachers and attending teacher training sessions and workshops. The community of practice shapes the habitus of the teachers at a PELI, who then continue to shape the habitus of future teachers.

Methodologically, this study offers an organic approach to doing qualitative research. Being an insider at a research context helped me to gather very deep and personal information from the participants. Moreover, through their participation in this research the participants had a chance to reflect on their journeys as teachers and to examine critical events which shaped their professional identities. Constructing the interviews as conversations did make the data collection process longer than if the interviewees were mainly asked the prescribed questions, however, conversational interviews have the potential to reveal unexpected data or information which might be important for the research process. Moreover, conversational interviews often allowed for the participants to lead the conversation, which could be seen as putting their need to talk about their lives in a position of

greater importance than my need to gather information for the research. My interview with Nada transformed into a 'best friend' session as she shared her very personal stories with me. She reported that this process was very useful for her as she dealt with her past. In summary, conversational interview offers reciprocal relationship between the researcher and the researched.

7.2.2 Limitations

Overall, this study offers an alternative means to view non-NESTs' identities through the use of habitus as a lens to understand the development of relevant dispositions with which the participants gave meaning to their multiple roles or selves. This study was designed and conducted as a narrative inquiry study, which means that the findings of this study do not represent the population of non-native English teachers in Indonesia and it cannot be used as a standard definition or construct of generic Indonesian non-NESTs' identities. Other limitations of this research will be briefly mentioned below.

First, there were an unequal number of teachers for each PELI. The participants of this study came from six PELIs, though the number of teachers from each PELI was not equal. Riau and Dago contributed the most participants because these two institutions are much bigger than the other PELIs. Dago has 23 (4 fulltime/FTs and 19 part-time/PTs) teachers and Riau has 25 teachers (6 FTs and 19 PTs). These populations are significantly greater than the number of teachers at Pascal (1 FT and 5 PTs), Len (2 FTs and 6 PTs teachers), Jana (2FTs and 12 PTs), and Harvey (3 FTs and 3 PTs). Although it was not necessary to have representation from each institution, since the focus of this study was to understand how individual teachers developed their identities, having more participants from each PELI might enrich the discussion about the role of a PELI in constructing teachers' identities. How Willy described Harvey might not be shared by other teachers at his institution,

therefore his account about Harvey should be viewed as Willy's personal account of his institution. Including more teachers from Harvey would improve my understanding about the institution and how it shapes its teachers' identities.

Secondly, this study employed class observations as a way to elicit questions for the interview. However, due to scheduling problems and time constraints, only 16 out of the full group of 25 teachers were observed. From these observations, I constructed interview questions which I asked to all of the participants, though I had to make some changes to suit each participant's situation. More thorough and complete observations of all participants might inspire more or deeper interview questions which, in the end, might provide a richer data set for analysis. As class observation is a suitable medium to see the participants' habitus in action, more class observation would provide a more complete picture of the participants' habitus. In regard to this limitation, the data I received from the interviews may not accurately present the participant's habitus. The participants' response may be their idealistic view of their habitus, which, in turn, might be different to their 'real' or 'in practice' habitus.

Finally, this study uses Bourdieu's concept of habitus as a lens to understand teachers' identities in spite of the fact that it was developed from a non-religious point of view might not be applicable for an Indonesian context since religion plays a fundamental role in guiding the practices of any aspects including professions in Indonesia. Thus, by using habitus as the lens to see teacher's identity this study might overlook a very important area. Moreover, in the area of knowledge making, using habitus, which is a Eurocentric concept to understand eastern society might further advocate "epistemic dependency" (Kumaravadivelu, 2012, p. 15) among Indonesian scholars which may further self-marginalization amongst non-NESTs in Indonesia.

7.2.3 Further study

The findings and limitations of this study give some directions for further research in the area of English teacher identity. Firstly, the focus of this study was PELI teachers. However, it would be interesting to compare the data about their identities with data about the identities of school teachers, especially because the participants often contrasted their teaching beliefs and practices with those credited to school teachers. By contrasting PELI teachers' identities with school teachers' identities, we might achieve more holistic understanding about the construct of non-NESTs identities in Indonesia.

Secondly, this study was conducted as a narrative inquiry which used the participants' stories as the main source of data . However, future research may be conducted as a mixed-method research to allow for a wider range of participants which may include teachers from other cities in Indonesia. A survey study may provide new insights to some aspects of non-NESTs identities in Indonesia, because it could cover more variety of socio-economic environment of the PELI, which may influence the values or practices of PELIs.

Thirdly, a longitudinal study of non-NESTs could give more comprehensive account to habitus formation of a new teacher by observing the changes in his or her approach, methods and strategies in teaching as he or she learn from other teachers through their membership of various CoPs and their interactions with other teachers.

Fourthly, this study acknowledges the importance of learning experiences in shaping someone's habitus. Therefore, a further study could focus on the influence of English teachers on their students' habitus of learning and using English.

Finally, this study was completed at the beginning of Covid 19 pandemic. The pandemic which affected all areas of civilization including education and education industry. Future research could investigate how the sudden changes caused by Covid 19 impact teachers' identities in terms of how their habitus was altered due to the pandemic. This type of study could further illuminate the permeability of habitus as it is argued by Yang (2014).

7.2.4 Implications

The findings of this study have direct implications for PELI teachers' understanding of their beliefs and practices as non-NESTs in Indonesia. By pointing out the role of explicit education and CoPs in shaping teachers' identities, this study encourages non-NESTs to continuously be reflective with regards to their teaching beliefs and practices to be aware of the discourses surrounding the teaching of English as an international language. More specific implications of this study are given below.

First, in terms of the policy of teaching English as a foreign language in Indonesia, this study suggests that the Indonesian ministry of education allow Indonesian English speakers who do not have a formal degree in teaching or in English language and linguistics to be accepted as school teachers. This study argues for two equally important habitus that an English teacher should have: habitus as English speaker and habitus as English teacher. In countries where English is a foreign language, competent users of English are successful learners who would inspire other English learners to follow their strategies in learning English. Their practical knowledge in learning English

has the potential to enrich the teaching of English at formal schools. On the other hand, in recruiting new teachers, schools must ensure that the candidates have a sufficient command of English.

Second, in relation to teacher development programmes, this study shows the effectiveness of a CoP at PELI in developing its teachers teaching quality through social learning, which is constantly happening within the PELI. Formal schools could learn from PELIs how to initiate and nurture an organic CoP through organizing workshops and meetings amongst the English teachers in a school or between teachers from different schools.

Third, in the area of English teacher education, this study argues for the importance of a discussion around English language teachers' identities to be included in the curriculum to help student teachers to construct their professional identities through reflecting on their journey as an English learner, speaker and teacher. Moreover, student teachers need to be exposed to the existence of PELI as a potential institution for them to have a career as an English teacher.

Finally, for PELIs, this study shows the role of a CoP within a PELI to nurture the development of teaching habitus through social interactions between its members. PELIs are encouraged to set a professional development scheme for their teachers to maintain the teachers' spirit while working at the PELI. The Covid 19 pandemic has impacted PELI business dramatically, with all of the PELI in this study reducing the teacher hours of their teachers up to 70%.

7.3 Final Remarks

My doctoral journey has been very challenging and I admit that at many times I questioned my decision to pursue a PhD, because right from the start of my journey I was made aware of my lack of knowledge in the area of teacher identity and the limitations of my knowledge and experience in conducting a research project. However, I am so grateful for the experience, because through my PhD journey I have learned some key concepts in conducting qualitative research in education, such as being transparent about my background as a researcher to the participants and the reader of this thesis, being trustworthy to my participants and the reader, and being rigorous in analysing the data to come up with findings and conclusions. I realize that this difficult journey is needed if I want to survive in the higher education field upon completion of the study. As a lecturer at a university, I need to develop the habitus of a researcher as well as a teacher, which involves showing the ability to conduct research projects effectively, having the passion to engage in theoretical discussions in seminars and conferences, and having the ability to write journal articles and books.

Conducting this research brought me back to the 'world' I left in 2013 when I traded my position as a PELI teacher for a position as an academic at a university. Therefore, when visited Dago, I had a déjà vu experience. The layout of the staff room was the same as when I left, and India even offered for me to work at my 'old' desk. In fact, during the data collection at Dago, I was asked to cover two classes because the class teacher was not able to teach on the day. It certainly brought back a lot of sweet memories, although I must admit that I was feeling a bit 'rusty' in my teaching skills. This experience granted me status as an insider within Dago, which had some advantages as well as disadvantages. It was an advantage when I was planning for my lessons because I was able to go through some of the shared teaching materials as part of the shared repertoire of the CoP there. Secondly, I could initiate more informal conversations with the teachers while I was planning for my lessons. Thirdly, I feel that I gained trust from the teachers there because I became 'one of them',

even though I just taught for one day. Gaining their trust meant that they were willing to cooperate in the study even after I returned to the UK; I could email or WhatsApp them anytime I needed some more information or clarification of some of the information that I got from the interviews.

On the other hand, being an insider had some disadvantages, such as that I need to be cautious about my own assumptions regarding the practice of teaching at Dago and I needed to ensure that I did not somehow direct their responses to my questions in order to suit those assumptions. I had to make sure that my questions were open to any kind of response, and that I was sensitive to notice the differences of their responses and my pre-interview assumptions. Another disadvantage of being an insider is that I felt that I had to hold back some information I learnt about the other PELIs from Dago teachers (who are my former colleagues). India for instance, asked me some questions about how the other PELIs were doing and how the teachers taught there. I had to give a very general response to this kind of question to ensure that I did not violate the trust I received from other participants and their PELIs. Finally, it was difficult when a senior teacher at Dago asked me what I thought about the way some of the Dago participants taught when I observed their classes. Again, I had to respond to the question carefully, because my answer could have been taken as an expert evaluation of the teachers' performances. I told her that my observation was not intended to assess the teacher's performance in terms of whether they taught effectively or not. My observation was to see their teaching habitus and how they developed it. Thankfully, the senior teacher seemed to understand my situation and did not really chase me with more 'evaluative' questions.

Moreover, when I was interviewing the participants, I felt so connected to their stories because I was one of them. In fact, I still feel that I am a PELI teacher trapped in a university setting. I feel alien within academia and inadequate to talk about theories in linguistics or English literature. I feel more

comfortable when teaching students to develop their English skills than when giving a lecture on second language acquisition or the politics of language. Perhaps it is because I have not developed the habitus which is common in my university's social space. I hope that as I complete my doctoral studies, I will have gained more capital and developed habitus which is in line with my current professional alliance.

When I started my days as a new lecturer at my university, I was surprised by the formality of the interactions among the lecturers. Everyone addressed others with a 'Sir' or 'Ma'am', which is very different to how I addressed my fellow teachers at Dago – just by their names. Moreover, the seating arrangement was also so different when I was given one cubical for myself, which was very different to the shared teacher room which I used to have at PELIs. The cubical indicates the different practice of a lecturer when compared with a PELI teacher. In my cubical as well as other lecturers' spaces, there is a cabinet filled with books according to the subject that we teach. It was very different from the documents I had on my teacher's desk at Dago, which was dominated by handouts and a few grammar books. There are no shared teaching materials which were developed by the lecturers working together; instead, the shared materials were just textbooks and dictionaries which were bought by the university and could be used by the lecturers. I needed to get used to the dynamic of the community of practice at my university and learn how it operated in its day-to-day business.

Finally, I would like to end this thesis by responding to a statement given by a university lecturer twenty years ago when I was just starting my career as an English teacher at a PELI in 2006 when she said, "How could you teach English it you do not have a degree in English or in English education?" In a way, this statement has haunted me for many years and caused me to question my own teacher identity. I admit that I was offended by her statement and, at that time, I could not

defend myself and argue for my position as an English teacher because I also thought that having a degree in teaching or in English was a mandatory requirement to be a professional English teacher. But after conducting this study, here is my response to her accusation.

> I have the 'right' to be an English teacher and I can be an effective English teacher because I have developed valuable capital and habitus in the ELT field through my experiences as an English learner and speaker, and later as an English teacher. As an English teacher, I believe in communicative language learning approaches; I incorporate jokes and humour in my teaching; I use multiple teaching methods and strategies to cater to the needs of my students; I always vary my activities in the class to keep my students engaged; I demand respectful classroom interactions; I allow the use of students' mother tongue in my lessons; and I do not aim for my students to speak like a native speaker but seek to develop their ability to communicate effectively. (Hutabarat, 2020).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Scoping study

Title: Indonesian non-native speaker teachers at a private English language institute

 The investigation on English teachers' identities in Indonesia have been focussing on a number of issues such as teacher autonomy (Bjork, 2006), student's perspective on teachers as being inspirational (Lamb & Wedell, 2015), or English teacher's perceptions of an ideal English teacher in particular with relation to the dichotomy of native speaker versus non-native speaker teachers (Setiawan, 2015). Another focus was on investigating pre-service EFL teachers' identity development in a multilingual environment (Afrianto, 2015; Kuswandono, 2013) or pre-service teachers' identity construction during teaching practice (Mambu, 2017; Riyanti, 2017). However, all of these studies were conducted within a formal school context, thus covering only half of the ELT practices in Indonesia as is confirmed by Floris (2013) when she claims that "in terms of academic studies, I also observe that studies in English teacher education and teaching process so far also have focused more on formal schools" (2013, p. 5). Therefore, this research will complement the discussion about NNESTs' identities in Indonesia in by focussing on INNESTs who are teaching at a private language institute (PELI).

The purpose of this scoping study is to provide background and context for the chosen participants and to provide grounding for the decisions about methodology presented in the research proposal. The scope of this study is a result of my reflexivity after studying some literature about some of the challenges non-native English teachers encounter especially with regard to the negative stigma they bear of being non-native speakers of the target language. Narrowing this research area, I then conducted some informal interview with English teachers from 10 secondary schools and 2 private English language institutes in Indonesia during my visit in August 2017. The main objective of the

interviews was to understand teachers' perspectives about their identities. The findings from the interviews give clues that the school teachers and PELI teachers, although both are called 'English teachers', are distinctly different in the way they perceive their identities. However, this is not to say that all school teachers or PELI teachers share similar identities depending on their institution, but rather there are several distinct commonalities shared between teachers who are teaching at the similar institution.

School teachers' main sources of their identities seem to stem from their obedience in teaching according to the national curriculum and their social status as a school teacher. Their sense of achievement thus the measure of their performance is reified in their student's test scores. School teachers are required to follow quite strictly the national curriculum. Although the curriculum itself allows or even encourage or individual creativity in teaching, the teachers seem to really focus on preparing their students for the test which are mainly testing student's reading and listening ability and grammar. School teachers take pride on their students' performance in the national exam. In contrast, PELI teachers are quite relax about students' performance in the test, what matters to them is that the students are willing to speak in English. Thus, casual conversations in English are common in PELI but not so much at formal school. Because of my familiarity with the PELI context and the scarcity of study within this context (Floris, 2013), I decided to focus this research project on the construction of Indonesian NNESTs' identities at a private English language institute in Bandung.

Private English language institutes (PELI) are for profit organization which provide English language lessons for people in addition to English lessons at schools. PELIs normally develop their own curriculum or teaching materials, although some of them use publicly made textbooks from

well-known publishers like Pearson's Cutting Edge, Oxford's Headways, McMillan's Inside Out. PELIs generally emphasize on developing student's speaking skills (Enter-English Center, n.d.; ILP, 2017; Lessons For Life, n.d.) and preparing students for international English language tests such as TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) or IELTS (International English Language Testing System) (English First, n.d.; Enter-English Center, n.d.; The British Institute, n.d.). PELIs' students are categorized into three broad categories: children, teenagers, and adult students. Each student is tested on their level of English proficiency prior to be assigned into one class. The classes are levelled based on the level of English grammar complexity in a level. The most common levels are beginners, pre-intermediate, intermediate, post-intermediate and advanced English.

In addition to the generic types of English packages above, most PELIs offers more specialized programs such as English for business, Academic English, or English for tourism. Some PELIs also offer their service to give English language training to corporates, in which the teachers will be assigned to the client company to teach the employees. Moreover, PELIs also offers translation service and Indonesian lesson for expatriates who life and work in Indonesia but need to learn the language.

In line with their focus in developing students' speaking skills, the most common teaching methods is communicative language learning (Floris, 2013) with activities such as pair work, group work, and role plays at the core of the lessons. The teacher's roles in the lessons are mostly as a mentor and facilitator. The teacher would normally give grammar input prior to the more communicative activities. During the pair work or group work activities, the teacher's role is more as a facilitator and motivator to provide the space for their students to practice using the newly-learned grammar points or expression in a conversational situation. During the pair work or group work activities, the teacher

would monitor the students' performance and make notes of the mistakes. Once the activities are over, the teacher would highlight the common mistakes and provides the correct forms or expressions. Throughout the lesson, the teacher will try to minimize teacher talking time and maximize student talking time and would encourage their students to use ONLY English in the classroom.

Outside the classroom, PELIs helps their students to develop their English through organizing out class activities such as watching movies or playing games which provides more space for the students to practice their English. In PELI venue, there are often stickers saying "English only zone" to encourage their students to use their English. PELI teachers are also encouraged to ONLY use English in their conversations with their students even out of class hour. Some more established PELI such as English Course, International Language Programs, or The British Institute, also offer homestay programs where they arrange for host families in the native speaker countries like UK, USA or Australia for their students during summer break.

PELI as a business unit employ slim organizational structure. A common organizational structure of a PELI includes a principal or director of school, senior teacher, teachers, and non teaching staff such as the receptions, finance and accounting, building maintenance, and marketing.

Figure 1PELI organization

Teachers normally occupy the biggest proportion of the workforce in PELI. These teachers mostly interact with their fellow teachers and are not interested at the non-academic side of the business. In this research, these teachers as seen as a community of practice since they spend time together either

socially or professionally, and they share similar repertoire in teaching English, and have similar vision which is to teach English effectively.

Government's roles in TEFL in Indonesia

Over the years, however, there have been some efforts put forward by the Indonesian government to improve the quality and equality of the education including TEFL across the country both in school settings as well as at language institutions. At secondary schools, the government regularly evaluates the national curriculum and then makes some changes wherever necessary including setting up some sorts of standards for TEFL practices across secondary public schools in Indonesia. Unfortunately, the implementation of the national curriculum has not been as smooth as what it is on the paper. Teachers have complained about it saying that they are not ready because they have not been equipped or trained to teach according to the national curriculum (Ahmad, 2014; Darsih, 2014; Sutjipto, 2016). Others complained about the appropriateness of some of the contents and learning activities or strategies and inadequate time allocation to teach English (Iskandar, 2015). Moreover, the Indonesian government also initiated reformation in the management of teachers to improve the teacher's productivity by establishing a certification for teachers. Teachers who can comply to the standards and pass the teacher competence test (Ujian Kompetensi Guru/UKG) will be certified and rewarded in term of the doubling their base salary (Kemendikbud, 2017; Ragatz & Chen, 2010). Although this new policy was eagerly welcomed by teachers, such implementation in a country with more than three million teachers and most of them are not highly educated, is a very difficult task and requires systemic and integrated action plan starting from the recruitment process, continuous professional development, improved remuneration package, and community involvement in education (Chang et al., 2014). Ragatz & Chen (2010) also concern with the continuation and effectiveness of the program since the allocation for teacher salary had already taken more than half

of the overall budget in education even before the new policy was enacted, the new policy will make the government spending most of its money on teacher's salary (Ragatz & Chen, 2010), and this will further limit the government ability to fund other important projects such as to improve the school facilities, to update teaching technology and materials, even to build new schools in more rural areas.

In terms of PELI, the government was considered late in responding to the need for ensuring the quality English courses because only in 2012 that the implemented a sort of quality insurance strategy by setting up academic standards and evaluating procedures in English courses in Indonesia (Floris, 2013). has enacted more rigorous requirements for native English teachers wanting to teach in Indonesia. All the native speaker teachers (NESTs) are required to have a degree in English literature/linguistics or education in addition to having at least five years teaching experience prior granted the work permit to start their teaching career in the country. At some ELCs, the teachers are required to have some sort of certificate such as CELTA (Certificate for English Language Teaching to Adults) in addition to their degree (Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional Nomor 66 Tahun 2009, n.d.). Although Indonesian English teachers (non-native English speaker teachers or NNEST) are not required to have such qualification, some PELIs do favour NNEST who has additional certification issued by Internationally recognized bodies such as Cambridge CELTA or Oxford Cert Tefl. INNESTs with CELTA will get higher salary and be offered to teach at higher levels. This could make those without any internationally recognized teaching certificates such as CELTA feel inferior and less valuable as an English teacher regardless of other qualities that they bring to the classroom.

Implication to research design and methodology

The two distinct groups of Indonesian non-native English speaker teachers as elaborated above may be seen as signalling for a comparative case studies. However, I decided to only focus on PELI

teachers for two main reasons. First, I believe that the danger of comparing 'two sets' of teachers would risk producing certain stereotypes to the teachers which is unhelpful in understanding the formation of individual teacher's identities which are unique and personal. Because although they might be part of a community of practice, the way they experience their membership is unique. Secondly, as mentioned above, there has been very few studies being done in the context of private English language institutions, so this study I hope will contribute greatly to the knowledge about English teachers who are teaching in a non-formal setting such as PELI.

My experience of working in a PELI will influence the way I interpret the relations between agents in the field and the rationale behind their practices. Moreover, I am aware that I come to the research field with some assumptions which may have guided me in designing the research methodologies and choosing a particular PELI as the site of the study. My experience working at one of the PELI's branches and my familiarity with the key persons in the organization have helped me gaining access to the teachers. Such top down approach is although quite common in Indonesia and although I approached the participants personally afterward, could create resistance from the participants as they could feel being forced to participate to the research project. Therefore, I need to make sure that I respect their personal participation in the research by working at their pace and timing. I understand that my participants have other commitment other than teaching, so I will make sure that I put their priorities first. The interviews will most probably be done in the evening after their teaching hours at a pub or restaurant to ensure that they do not feel as if they are 'working'. Thus, special strategies regarding recording the interviews should be taken seriously since the noise at such public places may significantly affect the quality of the recording.

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Appendix 2. School of Education ethics approval letter

R

Research Governance and ==Ethic==s Officer <Liam.McKerve
y@bristol.ac.uk>
Thu 05/04/2018 16:05
To: Pritz Hutabarat

Your online ==ethic==s application for your research project "Case studies of Indonesian non-native English Speaker Teachers' Identities at a Private English Language Institute in Bandung Indonesia " has been granted ==ethic==al approval. Please ensure that any additional required approvals are in place before you undertake data collection, for example NHS R&D Trust approval, Research Governance Registration or Site Approval.

For your reference, details of your online ==ethic==s application can be found online here:

http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/==ethic==s-online-tool/applications/63902

Appendix 3. Information sheet

University of
BRISTOL

Information Sheet

Purpose of the Study. As part of the requirements for PhD in Education at University of Bristol, I have to carry out a research study. The study is concerned with the construction of Indonesian English teachers' identities at a private English language institute in Bandung, Indonesia.

What will the study involve? The study will gather information through interviews, focus group discussion, class observations, teacher biography, and study of relevant documents. The data collection will be carried out in two phases: phase 1 from April to May 2018 and phase 2 from July to August 2018. First, I will conduct three interviews for each participant, each interview will last for 60 to 90 minutes. Second, I will invite all of the participants (6 participants) to join a focus group discussion in which they will discuss various issues around English teaching practices they have been involved in. Third, I will observe two lessons from each participant. Fourth, each participant will be asked to write a short biography explaining their journey as English teachers. Finally, I will also study some relevant document such as lesson plans, teaching materials, or newspaper articles to help me formulating some questions for the interviews and focus group discussion.

Why have you been asked to take part? You have been asked because of your suitability with the research focus which is to investigate the construction of Indonesian nonnative speaker teachers. Moreover, are a suitable candidate because you have a degree in English language, Linguistics, or English teaching and you have been teaching English at your current institute for more than three years ensuring that you have accumulated sufficient knowledge needed for this research project.

Do you have to take part? Your participation is voluntary. You will be given a consent letter and you have the right to withdraw from the research project at any time **before the 1 January 2019** and you do not need to provide any reasons for it**.**

Will your participation in the study be kept confidential? Yes. In this research project, I will make sure that only pseudonym is used. Moreover, in the final document I will make sure that there are no clues to your identity will appear. Any quotes used in the thesis, which are taken from your speeches, will be entirely anonymous.

What will happen to the information which you give? The data will be kept confidential for the duration of the study, available only to me and my research supervisors. It will be securely stored at the University of Bristol database system which is protected using password only known by me. On completion of the project, they will be transferred to my personal database system and will be retained for a further two years and then destroyed.

What will happen to the results? As this study is a part of PhD degree assignments, the results will be presented in the thesis. They will be seen by my supervisors, a second marker and the external examiner. The thesis will be available at the University of Bristol library, so it may be read by future students or other researchers. The study may be published in a research journal.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part? I don't foresee any negative consequences for you in taking part apart from the fact that I will require some of your spare time during the data collection process. However, as this study will dig deep into your journey of becoming an English teacher, you may recall some negative experiences which may be quite distressing or saddening. Whenever you feel uncomfortable during

the interviews or observation, you are free to ask for my retreat or postpone the process until you fell more ready.

What if there is a problem? At the end of the procedure, I will discuss with you how you found the experience and how you are feeling. If you feel distressed about the whole process of interviews or observations, please contact me personally or your manager. I will respect your decision to reschedule the interviews or observation, or even to withdraw completely from the project at any time **before the 1ˢᵗ of January 2019.**

Who has reviewed this study? I have discussed the ethical issues related to conducting this study with my fellow researcher and my supervisors at University of Bristol. In addition, the approval must be given by the Social Research Ethics Committee of University of Bristol before studies like this can take place.

Any further queries? If you need any further information, you can contact me: Pritz Hutabarat, (UK) ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, or at ph16428@bristol.ac.uk or my supervisors Dr. Frances Giampapa at frances.giampapa@bristol.ac.uk and Dr. Angeline Barrett at angeline.barrett@bristol.ac.uk.

If you agree to take part in the study, please sign the consent form attached with this information sheet.

Appendix 4. Letter to participating PELI

University of Bristol
BRISTOL

University of Bristol

School of Education

35 Berkeley Square, Bristol BS8 1JA

Head of School: Prof. Bruce Macfarlane

Tel: +44 (0) 117 33 14263 Email: ed-hos@bristol.ac.uk

………………………..

………………………..

Bandung-Indonesia

23rd March 2018

RE: Permission to Conduct Research Study

Dear Ms…,

I am writing to request permission to conduct a research study at your institution from April until May 2018 and from July until August 2018. I am a doctoral research student at University of Bristol, supervised by Dr. Frances Giampapa and Dr. Angeline Barrett. In my

research project, *Indonesian Non-native English Speaker Teachers' Identities: A Case Study of private English Language Institution's Teachers*, I will explore the construction of teacher's identity within the dominant ideologies in English language teaching as well as in their teaching practices.

The research will invite participation from six Indonesian non-native English teachers at your institution. The data for this research will be gathered through interviews, class observations, teacher's written biography, and focus group discussion. Throughout the research project, I am not aiming to change what or how the teacher chooses to teach and will not be making any judgements about their teaching practices. My research focus is on how the participants view their identity as non-native English speaker teachers in Indonesia and how it influences the ways they teach.

By participating in the research, your institution would be contributing to a project that will deepen our understanding of how Indonesian non-native English speaker teachers construct their identities, and how their identities influence their teaching practices. Moreover, by understanding teacher's identity, I hope we can better understand their motivation and commitment to teach, thus able to help them develop to become the English teachers they aspire to be.

The commitment from the school would be to allow me to observe and work together with the participants. I would audio-record my interviews with the teachers and focus group discussion sessions, take notes during class observations, and take photos of some of the teaching materials used in the class.

University of Bristol has strict ethical procedures on conducting ethical research with teachers and young people, consistent with current British Educational Research Association guidelines. Before beginning the research, I would inform all of the participants about the research and offer them the opportunity to refuse to participate. Throughout the research the participants will be able to refuse to participate at any time.

All participants, including the teachers and the school, would be made anonymous in all research reports. The data collected would be kept strictly confidential, available only to my supervisor and myself, and not used other than specified without the further consent of all involved being obtained. All tapes would be destroyed at the end of the research period and kept in locked conditions until then. I have enclosed copies of the information sheet and consent letter for the teachers with this letter.

If you feel you would like to take part in the study, or need more information about what is involved, please contact me via email.

Thank you for your time and attention. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Pritz Hutabarat

Email: ph16428@bristol.ac.uk

PhD candidate

University of Bristol

Appendix 5. Introduction to research project

Introduction to research for the participating institute

A Brief Introduction to Ph.D. Research

Researcher: Pritz Hutabarat

Ph.D student, University of Bristol, UK

Research Title: Indonesian non-native English speaker teachers' identities at a private English

language institution in Bandung, Indonesia

Introduction

Research Aim

To explain how the identities of non-native English speaker teachers in Indonesia are discursively constructed and negotiated.

Purpose of the Research

Globalization has made English arguably the most used international language in the world to the extent that there are more non-native speakers than native speakers. According to the latest survey, there are in total of 1500 million people in the world learning English as a foreign language but there

are only 527 million native speakers. In addition, English is used as an official language in 35 countries and is spoken in 101 countries (Noack & Gamio, 2015). The extent to which English is position within a country varies depending on the historical, political, economy, and cultural consideration from each independent country. However, people in general acknowledge the importance of English as a global language although they do not give official status of English in their country and it is mostly learnt as a foreign language in countries such as in China, Japan, and Indonesia (Crystal, 2003). Moreover, people use English as a 'lingua franca' or a shared or common language when interacting with other people who are coming from different linguistic backgrounds. A similar practice is also present within inter-nationals communication such as the use of English as the official language within ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) countries (A. Kirkpatrick, 2012). Consequently, English is taught as a mandatory subject at schools in most of country in the world. This in turn give rise to the number of English teachers, both who are native speakers of English and non-native speakers teachers. There is no official and reliable data about the composition between native English speaker teachers (NSETs) and non-native English speaker teachers (NNESTs) worldwide, but I argue that NNESTs covers the majority of English language teachers in the world. Ironically, the acceptance of English a global language has not eliminated the long standing dominant discourse of native speaker superiority in the field of English language education all over the world.

The dominant discourse promoting NSETs as better teachers is rooted in the assumptions that they are considered as the speakers of 'standard' English (Carter & Nunan, 2001) who have perfect knowledge and competence of a language (Davies, 1991). Being the native speakers of the target language makes them become the preferred choice by the language students compared to NNESTs as shown in most studies investigating students perceptions of NESTs compared to NNESTs (Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002; Kramadibrata, 2015; Watson Todd & Pojanapunya, 2009). Kramadibrata

(Kramadibrata, 2015), in particular, investigating 67 English learners at a private English language institution (PELI) in Indonesia, argues that students implicitly prefer learning from NESTs, although when asked explicitly, the participants did not count native-ness as a significant quality in English teachers. Although he views this phenomenon as some kind of cognitive bias which are hard-wired into the human brain by evolution (Haselton, Nettle, & Andrews, 2015), I argue that it is a socially constructed phenomenon which means that the production of it is influenced by the dominant discourse in the field. These discourses have been perpetuated through media such as English teaching materials (online and offline) which often displaying the 'standard' English of native speakers as the model or ideal version of English, photos of white English teachers in many English language teaching (ELT) related websites, and promoting western experts in English language teaching training or seminars. Moreover, at PELIs as well as at mainstream schools in Indonesia, having NESTs is used as the main marketing 'jargon' to imply high quality of English teaching. Because of these kinds of discourse, Indonesian NNESTs (INNESTs) have to face some negative stereotyping compares to their NESTs counterpart such as possessing un-natural accent (often worsen by their regional or tribal accent), making numerous and frequent grammar mistakes, lacking in cultural knowledge of the target language, and relying on grammar translation methods when teaching.

This research thus seeks to investigates the various discourses surrounding the formation of INNESTs' identities and how they manoeuvre and practice their agency within the English language teaching field in Indonesia. Additionally, this study will examine the influence of community of practice in shaping individual identities and vice versa. Specifically, this study will focus on Indonesian NNESTs who are working at a PELI because of their unique positioning in the field. Here, PELI teachers are less considered as teachers, unlike the school teachers. They are often considered as language instructors as manifested in the Indonesian government regulations

concerning the two teachers. School teachers are managed through the ministry of national education (MoNE) whereas the PELI teachers are regulated under ministry of labour (MoL). Consequently, PELI's teachers are considered as professionals which indicates having more freedom in deciding which curriculum or teaching materials to be used, teaching methods to be employed, or teaching qualifications to be attained (Floris, 2013). However, PELI teachers do not gain the same respect as the school teachers do because their professional outlook creates an image of more egalitarian relationships between the teacher and students which could be problematic especially when dealing with disciplinary issues. Moreover, PELI teachers are also positioned as supplier or service provider (if not sales person) of English language to the students and parents, who on the other hand position themselves as customers or clients. This relationship creates imbalanced power relations between the teachers and students or parents since the teachers are required to please their students or parents (students and parents are in more powerful position than the teachers). This is especially true where there are more supply (in this case English teaching programs) than the demand (in this case students) (Mills, 2010). Finally, PELI as a social space shared by INNESTs is potential able to give more insights on the complex process of INNESTs' identity formation. PELI initiates the forming of a community of practice amongst the teachers, and as they embark on the same journey to teach English effectively to their students, they develop repertoire of teaching techniques or practices and share values which are distinctively theirs. The embodiment of these values and practices construct INNESTs' identities.

The scarcity of research being done in the context of PELI indicates lack of appreciation of the contribution of PELI in the success of ELT in Indonesia and of reflective practice amongst the PELI teachers which hinder them from conducting academic level of investigations. So far, most of the studies in the areas of ELT in Indonesia has been done within the formal school context (Floris, 2013) with the foci have been on teacher autonomy (Bjork, 2006), English teacher's perceptions of

an ideal English teacher in particular with relation to the dichotomy of native speaker versus non-native speaker teachers (Setiawan, 2015), pre-service EFL teachers' identity development in a multilingual environment (Afrianto, 2015; P. Kuswandono, 2013), and pre-service teachers' identity construction during teaching practice (Mambu, 2017; Riyanti, 2017). Two studies which were conducted within the PELI contexts were by Floris (2013) investigating PELI teachers' beliefs on the teaching of English and by Kramadibrata (2015) looking at the halo effect surrounding NESTs in Indonesia (more discussion will be given in Chapter 2). With the increasing demand of proficiency in English coupled with the low quality in English teaching at mainstream schools (Lie, 2007; Musthafa, 2001; Nurweni & Read, 1999; Widiati & Cahyono, 2006), the contribution of PELIs and their teachers will be more needed in the future.

Research Design

This research project will be conducted as case studies of six NNESTs at a private English language institute in Indonesia. Moreover, this study will gather its evidence through interviews, direct observation, study of documents, focus group discussion, and reading to teacher biography. Interviews are used as they provide platform for teachers to tell their life stories according to their point of view and reflexivity. This is done to explicitly identify some of the dominant discourse which have significantly influenced the participants' identities. By reading and listening to their live stories, I hope to gain deeper understanding about the life of the participants and how it influences the formation of their habitus as professional Indonesian NNESTs. By interviewing the teachers, I will be actively interacting and taking part in dialogic processes with what it is that I want to understand and that opens up my prejudices, subjectivity, biases and pre-conceptions (Howell, 2013). Classroom observations are needed to see how teacher's identities are embodied in their classroom instruction. Focus group discussion will allow me to see the dynamic between of the relationships

between the participants and to see the shared beliefs and values in teaching English. The data analysis of this study will be done in three stages. First, the data will be analysed thematically following thematic analysis strategies proposed by Clarke and Braun (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to identify the themes emerging from the data. Secondly, these themes will be used to investigate the dominant discourse surrounding the issue of INNESTs' identities. Finally, the themes will be positioned within three Bourdieu's concepts of *field, habitus,* and *capital* to illustrate how the INNESTs exercise their agency within the field of English language teaching in Indonesia.

Dissemination of Findings

All participants of the research will be informed of the findings arising from the analysis of the data and will be invited to give comments either orally or written.

Appendix 6. Consent letter

![University of Bristol logo]

CONSENT FORM

Name of Researcher: Pritz Hutabarat
Email address: ph16428@bristol.ac.uk
Phone number: (UK) ███████████

Title of the study: Indonesian non-native English teachers' identities at a private English language institute in Bandung

Please answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge

	YES	NO
DO YOU CONFIRM THAT YOU:		
• have taught at your current institution for more than three years	□	□
• graduated with a major in English literature or English Language or English teaching	□	□
HAVE YOU:		
• been given information explaining about the study?	□	□
• had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	□	□
• received satisfactory answers to all questions you asked?	□	□
• received enough information about the study for you to make a decision about your participation?	□	□
DO YOU UNDERSTAND:		
that you are free to withdraw from the study and free to withdraw your data		
• **before 1 January 2019** without having to give a reason for withdrawing?	□	□

I hereby fully and freely consent to my participation in this study

I understand the nature and purpose of the procedures involved in this study. These have been communicated to me on the information sheet accompanying this form.

I understand and acknowledge that the investigation is designed to promote scientific knowledge and that the University of Bristol will use the data I provide for no purpose other than research.

I understand the data I provide will be **anonymous**. No link will be made between my name or other identifying information and my study data.

I understand that the University of Bristol may use the data collected for this study in a future research project but that the conditions on this form under which I have provided the data will still apply.

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

Name in BLOCK Letters: _____

Appendix 7. A sample lesson plan

Teacher: India   **Class: Flamstead, GE intermediate**

No. Sts: 10 students

Lesson Main Aims:

To enable the students to understand and use a lexical set of extreme adjectives such as *terrified, astonished, delighted, hilarious, freezing, boiling* and *ecstatic* in the context of media.

To develop students' reading skills for gist and specific information in the context of news stories.

To develop students' writing skills in the context of media.

Assumed Knowledge:

- Students might have enough basic adjectives as they had a lesson about adjectives before.
- Students are familiar with some target adjectives such as excellent, fantastic, terrible, awful, furious, freezing, boiling and exhausted.

Focus & Time	Stage Name	Stage Aim	Procedure
T – Ss S – S 3-5 mins	Warmer	To engage their attention To prepare Ss for the task	1. Write "news" on w/b and ask students to discuss recent news they read, heard or watched. Elicit different topics such as lifestyle, technology, money, gossip, sport, etc. 2. Ss work in pairs or in small groups to discuss and share the news. Then, they need to find out which

			news are the most common news and the most interesting one. 3. Monitor students during the activity to make sure they are on task. 4. Feedback on content and performance.
S – Ss S – WC 5 – 10 mins	Reading Task	To develop Ss' reading skills for gist and specific information in the context of news articles	1. Ask students to match the headlines with the news stories. Set a 2-minute time limit. 2. Stop the activity when everyone is mostly finished. Peer feedback. Whole class feedback. 3. Ask students to read more carefully to choose the best answers to complete the article summaries in 5 minutes. 4. Feedback on content and performance.
S – Ss T – WC 4-5 mins	Exposure and highlight	To provide context for the target language through a text and draw students attention to the TL	1. Group the students into 3 groups. Ask them to stand in lines. Give each group a highlighter. 2. Tell them that they have 3 minutes to highlight the adjectives from the news stories. They have to take it in turns to find an adjective and pass the highlighter to the next team member until they find all adjectives. 3. Stop the activity after 3 minutes. Ask a representative from each group to check the other groups' answers. 4. Monitor students during the activity and confirm the answers.

			5. Feedback on content and performance. Recap the functions of adjectives. *Adjectives are used to modify/describe nouns or pronouns.*
---**Prayer Break**---
S – S S – Ss 15-20 mins	Clarification of language focus	To clarify the meaning, pronunciation and form of the TL	1. Ask students to match the extreme adjectives with the ordinary adjectives from the news articles. Set a 2-minute time limit. Peer feedback and then class feedback. 2. Check the meaning by showing different pictures for the adjectives to elicit more extreme adjectives and by asking CCQs. Establish the meaning that the ordinary adjectives have the same meaning with the extreme adjectives, but they are different in degrees. (see the lexis analysis for the CCQs) 3. Drill the pronunciation and deal with pronunciation problems here if any. Students listen and write the adjectives in the column according to their stress pattern in SB p 71 pronunciation. 4. Ask students to write the definition for the extreme adjectives in SB p 71 No 2. Highlight the form of TL on W/B.

			Very/really/extremely + ordinary adjectives *Really/absolutely/completely + extreme adjectives* 5. Pair the students. In pairs, students choose 4 extreme adjectives and think of some situations for the adjectives. They take it in turns to give clues to the other pairs; the other pair guesses the adjectives for the situations. 6. Monitor for the accurate description for the extreme adjectives. 7. Class feedback
T – C C – T 5-10 mins	Controlled practice	To concept check and prepare students for more meaningful practice	1. Students read the headlines and replace the words in bold with extreme adjectives. Set a 3-minute time limit. 2. Monitor the activity and the use of extreme adjectives. Peer feedback and class feedback. 3. Feedback on content. 4. More controlled practice from WB p 42 No 8a and 9a. 5. Peer feedback and class feedback.
S S – S 15-20 mins	Semi-controlled practice	To provide students with freer practice of the target language	1. Put students in groups of 3 and ask them to discuss about social media: what it is, the examples, its influence and how it influences people, personally and generally. Set a-3- minute time limit.

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			2. Individually student write their opinions of what they think about social media and its impacts. Encourage them to use extreme adjectives to describe the situation. 3. Monitor and give feedback on the accuracy.
S – S 5 – 10 mins	Peer evaluation	To raise students' awareness of the use of TL in written form	1. Ask students to exchange their writing. They need to decide whether they agree or disagree and why. 2. They also need to check whether the adjectives are used correctly or not and give suggestions. 3. Whole class feedback on the use of TL and how well student use the TL to expand their responses.
S – Ss 5 – 10 mins	Flexi stage	To give students practice to use the TL in spoken form	1. Give each student a copy of the *Questionnaire*. Students work individually to fill in the gaps with suitable adjectives. 2. Students then work in pairs and ask each other the questions. Encourage them to ask follow-up questions where appropriate. 3. Students report back to the class on the most interesting things they found out about their partners. 4. Monitor the activity to make sure they are on task and help when needed. 5. Class feedback.

Appendix 8. Excerpt from field notes

November 22, 2018
Dinner with Valerie

I had dinner with Valerie and her son. We went to a restaurant near the institution after she finished teaching her last class that day. Her husband is working in Singapore so they only see him during school holidays. Her husband works as an architect and doing well. Valerie just bought a brand new car so I guess that her husband is doing well with his job because Valerie was only a part time teacher only teaching 3 hours per week at the moment. During the meeting we mostly talked about the condition of the institution at the moment. We both agreed that the institution has lost a lot of students and that the facilities are poorly maintained. We remember how it used to be such an elite institution and a market leader. We also talked about some inter personal problems between teachers in the institution. She said that she did not really spend time there like she used to be. She only taught one class so practically she only comes there once a week for about two hours. She is quite busy with her study and looking after her son.

She mentioned that she really wanted to be a lecturer. She thinks that being a lecturer will enable her to train future English teachers, something that she is really passionate about. She also really wants to continue her study abroad like me so she told me that she was so jealous of me but she is very happy for me too.

We also talked about her research interest in teacher proficiency. She said that she wanted to investigate it for her thesis. She enjoys going to campus and having discussion with other teachers and lecturers. Although she did not tell everyone in the course that she is doing a master study. She said that one of the teachers once mocked the quality of the local university where she is taking the course. It made her hid the truth to her. She specifically asked me not to tell the person about her study.

During our conversation her son did his homework and once he finished he played games on his gadget. He could hear our conversation and Valerie said that he liked me. I was not entirely comfortable meeting her there with her son because other people might think that we were a family. On one hand I suppose it was good because it was better to be considered a family than as just a couple. Since people will pay less attention to a family than a couple. Plus, if my friend or someone who knows me see me with a woman and her boy it is less likely that that person think that I was having an affair. It would be more risky if it was just me and the participant.

Valerie is very relax about meeting me and seem not to worry about having her son with us which I thought could be quite risky because he could then tell his father about our meeting. So during the meeting I make sure that I keep it quite formal and asked about Valerie's husband as well to show that I respect his role and existence in the family although he was not present with us. We finished out meeting at around 8 because I did not want to make her son to stay up too late.

Appendix 9. A sample of observation notes

This picture was presented to Nada and then I asked her to describe what was happening in the lesson. Nada is an experienced teacher, teacher trainer, and IELTS examiner. In this lesson she is working with her students to develop a story. It was the final stage of the lesson. She did this in the last half an hour of a 90-minute lesson. She asked the students to pack up their stuff before starting the activity. She said that she does not want her students to look at their notes while they are doing the activity because the aim of the activity was to practice speaking skills. So the emphasize of the activity was on fluency. Furthermore, prior to this activity the students had practiced using past tenses when they were working on their coursebook. So they are already familiar with the forms and some of the vocabulary needed to tell stories. She started the story by reading from the cue card. The students then continued the story. The main grammar points that were practiced were past tenses since the story was about somebody who was traveling to different places. The class was intermediate level. As can be seen from the picture, there were only three students in the class. The seating arrangement was horse shoe with the teacher sitting at the centre facing the students. The teacher quite close with the students to enable them the speak at normal volume. The students were quite relaxed and they seemed to enjoy the activity. Nada was successfully make a supportive environment for her students to practice their speaking skills. Once in a while she gave negative feedback to the students in not threatening manners. The students corrected their speech after getting the correction. When not talking the other students listened attentively because soon it would be their turn to continue the story. Overall it was a fun class to observe.

The classroom was clean and comfortable. It has an air conditioner and the floor was carpeted. The chairs were comfortable and in good condition. It makes sense that this PELI charge quite high for

their students since not only do they are taught by CELTA certified teachers, the classroom environment was also very comfortable.

Appendix 10 A sample of short story analysis

Participant: Yanni

Part time teacher at Riau

Transcription from recording minute 24:11 - 32:48

1. At TBI in relation to my relationship with native speakers,
2. I got more exposure to the way they talk their communication about their lives and their contexts
3. so I also thought that my dream came true,
4. you know I used to just dream like being with the Huxtable kids
5. and communicating with them ya
6. in other words with native speakers.
7. and then you know what when once i actually i applied for the teaching job in EF
8. and now I think I was so stupid
9. because in the interview they asked me why I want to teach at EF
10. and I said I just want to teach at an English course where there are native speakers
11. ya because I want to know more like the culture,
12. the way native speakers speak
13. so I can teach them.
14. maybe to someone it would sound strange or stupid
15. I want to teach at native speakers. actually my expectation was right ya
16. because like some styles not only British or American or Australian,
17. but sometimes I am still not sure
18. whether they are genuine or just being sarcastic with their statements.
19. I think it is because of our culture differences.
20. Sometimes I have to think first before I ask something to them.
21. and you know what when I was at jalan Jawa, Christine was the DOS
22. she is from Canada
23. and she was working on a computer
24. and she was kinda quiet
25. and then I came there and suddenly ask her
26. "Christine, are you okay?

27. What do you mean are you okay? (in an annoyed voice)

28. oh ok ok maybe that kind of question is not really appropriate.

29. and I heard that the native speakers there they do not want to think that they have problems.

30. and I could sense that she did not really like my question.

31. So at the moment matt over heard

32. and he laughed at me.

33. or maybe he was laughing at the way Christine responded

34. and he came behind christine and said

35. Okay, if you want to ask her that question do like this

36. he was behind christine

37. and he touched her shoulders

38. and then okay ask like this " christine...like romantic.

39. She did not take it seriously

40. but I still feel embarassed.

41. So ya I learn the culture, how to ask question, give opinions,

42. although sometimes it made me shut my mouth

43. when i think too much.

The analysis

Who:

Yanni, the moderator, who is also the main character. As told above, Yanni came from a low social economic status family. His loves English language and has a strong desire to understand the English (western) culture to the extent that he mentioned it as his prime motivation of applying for a job at one institution (10). He did not get the job in the end and he thought that it might be because of his "stupid" (14) answer. At the time of this study, Yanni has been working at his institution for more than ten years. His institution hires native speaker teachers so Yanni thought that his dream of being a part of an English speaking community has come true (3). Yanni was confident to talk to his native speaker colleagues and was eager to get to know them at personal level and he did not hesitate to initiate a conversation (25). The other character of the story is Christine, a native speaker teacher from Canada (22) who was also the director of studies (DoS) at the institution when the story took place. Christine's response to Yanni's question was received to be a rejection of Yanni's invitation to have a conversation or of his care. Christine was not just a regular teacher, she was head of the

department. As the DoS, she was responsible to ensure the smooth running of the business, the quality of the teaching and overall learning process. In Indonesia, like other parts of the world, being a native speaker means that you are viewed as superior than the local non native speaker teachers. The third character is Matt, a native speaker teacher. Matt was in the room with Yanni and Christine when they were having the conversation. Being a native speaker himself, Matt knew what the appropriate things to do or say. He must have listened to the way Yanni asked Christine and assumed that Yanni showed a special interest to Christine, which is a very common thing in Indonesia where local people are often seen wanting to have a relationship with westerners. Therefore, jokingly, he demonstrated how to flirt on Christine. Because of this incident Yanni was so embarrassed that he is scared to start a conversation with native speaker. Now he think too much (43) before talking to a NEST which often stop him from making a conversation at all. Other less significant characters were the EF interviewer who asked Yanni about his motivation of applying for a job there and who did not recruit him in the end. The Huxtable kids were very significant in the journey of Yanni as an English learners. They are characters of a TV series that Yanni grew up watching and who inspired him to learn English. Students (13) in general were mentioned to justify his proactive attitude to learn about English culture that it is important to know about the culture as well as the language.

Where: at the staff room. Staff room is a 'sacred' room for teachers where they spend time planning their lessons. It is also a social space for teachers to exchange ideas and information or just to make friends. In the staff room at this institution there are two computers with a printer which are shared used by the teachers. teachers often use them to find pictures, songs or movie clips which they use in the class. At personal level, teachers use staff room to chat about personal stuff and they often personalized their desk by putting family photos, photos of their pets, etc.

When: in the past, during preparation time.

Appendix 11 Yanni's observation notes

Date: 16 July 2018

Class: General English

No. of students: 12 on register (10 came, 4 late comers)

Beginning of the lesson

Yanni checked the register by calling the student one by one. Only 6 were present at the beginning of the lesson so Yanni had a small conversation with the students while waiting for the other students to come. He asked them about their school whether they had a lot of homework or not. He let the students interacted with each other as they came from different schools and universities. The students just gave short responses such as "It's okay", "just usual", "boring". Yanni tried to get the students to talk more about their school by asking them some follow up questions such as " Why is boring?" Do you have a favourite subject at school?"

After waiting for 10 minutes 4 students came and Yanni started the lesson with a vocabulary game. He prepared pictures of different sports (swimming, basket ball, football, badminton, chess, volleyball, tennis, boxing, running, pool, baseball, hockey, ski, and golf) and stick them around the classroom (mostly at the front of the class). He then called two students to the front and gave them a fly swatter. He then started to give clues about the sports and the students had to hit the right picture. After he gave instructions, he played the game for more than 15 minutes. In total he spent almost 30 minutes at the beginning of the lesson.

 He then asked one of the students to come forward and draw a famous sportsman "Jonathan Christie (a famous Indonesian badminton player) and asked the rest of the students to guess who this person was. The students shouted out names such as Federer, Nadal, Lin Dan, and guessed correctly. Yanni asked a couple of other students to draw other sportsman Ronaldo, and Mike Tyson.

He grouped the students three by three then he said, "If you meet Jonathan Christie, what questions will you ask?" He let the students discuss in their group for 2 to 3 minutes. He then asked them to say the questions out loud. He picked up some intonation, grammar, or pronunciation problems and corrected them. Such as

"Where you born?"à Where were you born?

"How long have you play*ed* badminton (incorrect stressing)?"

He asked one student from each group to write their questions on the whiteboard. Then he corrected the mistakes. He used phonetic symbols to teach them pronunciation.

He drilled the questions by giving an example then asked them to repeat after him.

Next, he asked the group to think about one sportsman but not telling the other groups. He then regroup the students so that in one group there are members of the previous group. The students asks questions in the new group and guess who the person by writing it on a paper.

Yanni let the students did the activity for almost 20 minutes, then stop the activity when most of them finished the activity.

He gave feedback on some mistakes they made such as

"Has she play tennis ball for 5 years?"

"Did he play in Manchester United?"

The last activity, he asked them to write about their favourite sportsman. He gave 15 to 20 minutes to complete their paragraph. He told them that the title was "My favourite sportsperson". Once he started the activity he monitored by going around each student and gave help whenever needed. In the end he asked two students to read their paragraph (there was not enough time for all students to read their paragraph.

After the lesson, I had a small chat with Yanni talking about how the lesson went. He said that the lesson went well and that he did the same lesson for more than once. He told me that he preferred teaching big classes because he said it was more lively to have many students in a class. He commented that some students were shy and reluctant to speak but he tried to asked them questions so that they would practice their speaking with him. He also said that he did not use any materials from the course book for the lesson because he needed to fill up the course period with other materials otherwise the class would finish all the course material from the book before the end of the term.

Appendix 12 Comparisons between the participating PELIs

PELI	Facilities	Materials	Number of students	Types of English programmes
Dago and Riau	AC Multimedia Internet Computer room, Library, Canteen, Waiting Room, Car Park, Carpeted floor, Big reception and lobby area, Spacious classrooms, Big staff room, Big garden, Some lobbies area for students to hang out, TOEFL test centre	Cutting Edge (Pearson), Inside Out (Macmillan), Energy (Pearson), Let's Talk (Cambridge), Market Leader (Pearson), Cambridge Preparation for TOEFL, Official TOEFL iBT (ETS), Cambridge English IELTS	More than 500	General English, Children English Programmes, TOEFL and IELTS preparation class, FCE class, English conversation class, Business English, Academic English, English for Specific Purposes, Teacher training programmes including CELTA
Jana	AC, Multimedia, Internet, Waiting Room, Car Park, Big reception and lobby area, Spacious classrooms,	Cutting Edge (Pearson), Inside Out (Macmillan), Energy (Pearson), Let's Talk (Cambridge),	200 - 500	General English, Children English Programmes, TOEFL and IELTS preparation class, FCE class, English

	Medium size staff room, Some lobbies area for students to hang out	Market Leader (Pearson), Cambridge Preparation for TOEFL, Official TOEFL iBT (ETS), Cambridge English IELTS		conversation class, Business English, Academic English, English for Specific Purposes
Len	AC, Multimedia, Waiting Room, Car Park, medium reception and lobby area, Spacious classrooms, Medium size staff room, small areas for students to hang out, canteen	Own coursebook	300-500	General English, Children English Programmes, TOEFL and IELTS preparation class, English conversation class, Academic English, English for Specific Purposes
Pascal	AC No Lobby One desk reception No internet No computer No audio material Only one shared classroom No staff room	No coursebook	Under 200	English Conversation

Harvey	No AC, audio materials, small waiting area outside motorcycle parking, No Car Park, small reception no lobby area, medium size classrooms, small size staff room, small areas for students to hang out	Own coursebook	200-400	General English and English for Children

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Appendix 13 Stages of data collection schedule

Dates	Activities	Participants	
1st Visit April-May 2018	Email the participating PELI about the start of the study and the participants of the study.	Pritz	
	Meeting with the school director to gain access to teachers, staff room, and to be able to come to the PELI for almost two months.	Pritz Sharon (Pseudonym)	
	Class Observation	Arbo	24 April
		Irama	25 April
		India	25 April
		Mirna	2 May
		Valerie	3 May
	Interview	Arbo	16 April, 24 April
		Irama	17 April, 25 April
		India	17 April, 25 April
		Mirna	24 April, 2 May
		Valerie	3 May
		Claire	8 May
		Maya	17 May
		Nada	17 May
	Hangout	In the staff room the participants as well as with non-participant teachers	

2nd Visit July- September 2018	Interview	25 participants	The interviews lasted for 45 to 120 minutes	
	Class observation	11 class observations	Yanni	16 July
			Darren	18 July
			Nada	18 July
			Mike	20 July
			Anji	8 August
			Tracy	8 August
			Andrew	20 August
			Shofia	21 August
			Willy	4 Sept
			Andara	11 Sept
			Putih	11 Sept
	Hangout	Hangout in staff room at Len and Jana Hangout with Andara, Putih, and Eric at a cafee Hangout with Wily at PELI after work		

		Hangout with Yulia, Claire, and Valeri at a restaurant. Hangout with Yanni at a café next to Riau. Hangout with Arbo at a Café next to Dago.		
	Study of documents	PELI's mission statement	Dago	10-13 July
		Teaching schedule	Riau	16-27 July
		Training schedule Coursebooks	Jana	6-10 August
		Teaching resources	Len	20-24 August
			Harvey	3-4 Sept
			Pascal	11-12 Sept
October 2018 – January 2019	Email participants to ask further questions. WA chats with participants to ask further questions.			
3rd Visit	Set a date to meet with 9 focus teachers.	Arbo	17 September	

Sept – Oct 2019	Meet the teachers and show them 'their' stories Get some feedback Revise the narratives	Claire	24 September
		Yanni	25 September
		Anji	8 October
		Mary	17 October

Appendix 14 Thematic Analysis

Stage 1 Transcribing

Stage 2 Coding Level 1

Stage 3 Coding Level 2 (Multiple resources coding)

Stage 4 Thematization (Generating themes)

Stage 5 Refining themes

Stage 1 Transcribing

Date: 16 April 2018

Participant: Arbo

Place: Dago

PH: Can you tell me about your experience learning English? How did you learn English? How did you develop this level of fluency?

A: Okay. Well you know I'm Indonesian, I'm not a native, but well basically we use English at home. (pause) My mother, whenever she is angry she would just burst in English She always uses English, that's the first time we get connected with English. Until a few years later that I decided to learn proper English. Because I knew how to use the language but I never knew what simple present was or what you know (not clear)

PH: So when was this formal or proper learning of English?

A: (pause) probably around the high school or starting and starting university.

PH: Okay so from home with your mother and then you wanted to learn the proper

A: the proper English, well of course we get the subject at school but we didn't learn properly you know how English teachers at school here.

PH: Okay. Did you study English at university then?

A: No I studied engineering.

PH: Interesting. so how did you study then? when you said that you studied English more properly? where did you go?

A: I started actually here at Dago but I started in intermediate level and then I moved to English First and that's it.

PH: Okay. So what level were you when you left the last English course?

A: Advance. I finished the whole thing.

PH: So during those times you would still use English at home with your parents or your siblings?

A: Yea, a...well with my relatives because I have a lot of relatives who live abroad and they don't really speak Indonesian, so I had to communicate in English them

PH: Was that often to communicate with them?

A: (pause) it used t be often but not anymore now.

PH: Did they live in America or Oz?

A: Some of them live in America, some of them live in Australia, some of them live in Hongkong yea..

PH: Okay. Wow. Interesting. So you got this English already. Did you teach English straight away after you passed advance level?

A: no. ehm. I started teaching by giving private lessons and that was because one of my mum's friends asked me well requested me to teach her kids so I decided sure why not.

PH: When was this? After you graduated or..?

A: That was ... from English First ya.

PH: from university?

A: no. I was still a university student at that time but I was in final semester if I'm not mistaken. and a (pause) one time this private student of mine asked me to take him to EF because he wanted to sign up at EF so I took him I accompanied him. While I was waiting for him doing the placement test thing one of my ex teachers saw me. he was the academic coordinator the dos there oh well she. she asked me are you taking another class? and I said well I'm taking my student. and then what student? English student. and then yea she took me in to her room and she asked me questions and offered me like would you be interested in teaching? **(Wow, really??)** and I said I don't have any experience teaching classes. if it is private class then it's okay and she said no. take the job and we'll se what happen. so she gave me the opportunity to to observe some classes to see how the teachers handle students the final day **(EF was you first English teaching job)** ya it was year 2000 I remember. so then I said ya. she said it's okay. obviously I a lot of tricks when I was a student I saw different teachers how they taught classes and when I observe them actually brought back memories, and hm.. maybe I can do this maybe this can be my thing **wow in the year of 2000 EF teachers were mostly native speakers ya?** ya.

PH: Were you the first Indonesian teachers there?

A: uhm.... no there were several other local teachers. I was probably the fourth, ya I was the fourth **but the majority was still native speakers** the majority is like 60 40 **Okay. and that was in Bandung ya** ya. **Okay wow that's quite impressive.**

PH: What Engineering did you study at school?

A: a... I studied metallurgy. so it's like ironman.

PH: Have you ever worked in that field?

A: No no the reason I became an Engineer was because my grandfather in his deadbed asked me personally to become an engineer **oh no way** ya.. I couldn't say no, so ya (I was tough?)

PH: How do you feel now that you had to do that knwoing that you have a little or no interest in the field?

A: well I just tried to finished what I started yea it wasn't easy. I mean a (pause) I don't mind the science, the calculation stuff, the idea, well the thing is I don't like working with machinery or engine I like interacting with people that's the whole idea.

PH: Your grandfather, did he pass away before you graduated or..?

A: He passed away when I was in my second year in high school **ooo (I was surprise) but you kept your promise?** ya. I promised him, I don't want him to haunt me. **Was it really specific that he wanted you to study metallurgy?** no, anything as long as it's in engineering.

PH: Okay. right after you graduated because like before you graduated actually you started teaching English at EF ya. sorry what year was it (I forgot) 2000.

(there is a pause here because I forgot to bring a pen and paper) **at EF ya. Did you graduate a year after that?**

A: uhm I graduated in 2001.

PH: Okay, so from this time on form 2000 upto now you consistently...(he overlapped my speech, like he knew what I was going to ask)

A: no it was on and off. I resigned in 2003 because I had to move to Canada **(so you lived in Canada?)** for a while I didn't like the country so I moved back.

PH: How long were you there for?

A: it was supposed to be permanent thing but after 6 months I decided not this is not my place so came back here after six months and (he quickly move on to another topic) I tried different jobs. I thought after three years of teaching this is enough doing the same thing again and again again we well me personally I didn't get proper training workshops all about like wing it like learning by doing. then in 2008 I started again **EF? the same place?** ya because I knew the owner like we were really close and I just hang out there and you know I talked to them and I said look if you have uhm..sick teacher, teacher call in sick and you need someone to cover, I'm available just call me. it was supposed to be a you know like like a side (press on the word side) job but then she just said no, you're in that's it. it's not gonna be a side job and uhm.erm.erm I don't know ya. **but you took the job in the end?** I just took it and then I quit again in 2010 internal problem with the management yea.. it was a mess i was not the only one **Okay** and then I started my own school **sorry** I started my own school language school. **your own English language institution.** ya in the late 2010 I started my own school. **Wow.** uhm.. (pause) again problem with the investor and so somehow this language school turned into a photography school. **How many years did it run?** uhm.. including the photography about two years. I decided just just stop I just ya and then ya.. one of my friend used to work at EF (pause) we bumped into each other on the street it was Myria. and she said hey TBI is looking for a teacher why don't you you know apply and see what happen. and I said okay. I got nothing to lose why not. and I was hired. it was in 2014.

PH: What an experience.

A: (laugh quietly) whatever it seems like whatever I do whatever I decided to do it was not teaching it was never successful.

PH: Do you mind telling me the name of your English school?

A: English master club. EMC.

PH: Did you like do it properly? I mean did you register to government?

A: Ya it took forever even until 2012 the process was still not finished yet. apparently we had to bribe some of the officers and I decided that no we're gonna do this legit you know I'm not gonna spend money for that. **ya**

PH: How about the materials, did you prepare all the materials?

A: Ya we had all the materials ready.

PH: I assume that you prepared for those materials before hand right? did you get any help?

A: Ya I got help from here and there, from fellow teachers and friend. sorry and I got info that an English school was closing down so we checked out their materials and got it from them.

PH: So a.. you have gone through so many different things a at EF when you were there for almost 3 years you were there as a fulltime teacher?

A: ya uhm.. the first 6 months I was the hourly paid teacher but after four months they offered me contract and I said no I think about it and then after two months I decided okay sure why not.

PH: Did you manage to get promoted while you were there?

A: uhm...no, not really. well they asked me to be a senior teacher and then some sort of stuff but it, well the system didn't work anyway i was there for about seven months. initially to help with some school stuff with internal problems related to academic but then ya the system didn't work

PH: So you basically develop your teaching skills just by observing how other teachers teach there at EF and also from own experience as an English learner there, but I heard that you did Celta

A: Yup last year, april to may 2017.

PH: Why did you take CELTA? I think you have no problems teaching, I mean you've got the experience teaching

A: Yes and no actually because again I didn't get proper training. and basically at my previous workplace as long as the students are happy then you are a successful teacher that's it, so we were made to believe that that we are good teachers just because the students idolized us ya. I took the CELTA not because I wanted to (pause) at the beginning it was more like because a lot of the fellow teachers here pushed me and I said okay, let's see what happen. I just said to myself look if I am not gonna learn anything new then I will just gonna stop I'm gonna quit I don't care. uhm.. let's give it a week. then after three day this is interesting, like you know just like a proper training and they basically the workshops taught me how to analyse what I did wrong why stuff like that. so ya... i'm glad I took that (you learn something) a lot.

PH: initially you were a bit hesitant.

A: I was a bit hesitant. yea coz I took GITE before that and it was only for five days but on the third no on the fourth day I was really tired I didn't feel like I learnt something it was so confusing and when I was going to take the CELTA I tried to compare it with that the whole 21 days with this 5 day and I kept on asking myself if i could handle the 21 days and all the paper work all of the stuff that I need to prepare, but then after two weeks I just said this is way easier than GITE (really) for me ya ya. I didn't I didn't, the resubmission I didn't take it personally, okay, if I have to resubmit and I'll do it. out of 5 I resubmitted 2. and everything became clear, crystal clear like okay why now small thing why not parroting.

PH: Did it help you with your work now?

A: ya. i would say I became I'm becoming more and more confident. i used to hate teaching skill lessons. honestly like reading, they can read why do I have to teach them reading and so I didn't know how to teach so my favourite was always language always language lessons because it makes sense to me. but after the CELTA okay speaking reading writing okay there's something you can do with that. there's something you can do to help the students that if they have problems.

it's not easy to change your style of teaching. After I did my CELTA I have a better self control right the staging, and i know why I have to do that but then the way i interact with the students are pretty much different. because my experience with EF the first two months was really terrible because no body ever helped

m to plan for my lessons. and my bos, she is a scottish lady, whenever I asked her questions she would always responded and everytime she talked to be I could not understand her English. but then they gave me more classes and different types of students and that's how I learned.

PH: Okay, so it helps you with your teaching practices and also it helps you with your confidence because you are now more confident as a teacher, does it help you with your relationship with the other teachers here because you told me that they pushed you.

A: It's okay but then it's becoming clearer when you have the CELTA you have the experience you interacting with teachers who already have the CELTA AS WELL you know what you are talking about. before that I used to have this big question mark in my head you know what you guys talking about yo know I just go to class teach them done that's it.

PH: Okay from here you are an hourly paid teacher. will you be interested if they offer you a full time position?

A: they already offered a contract, a full time contract wiith a senior teacher position. but two months ago. but then again there was misunderstanding so i didn't take the offer.

PH: Did you want to be a senior teacher?

A: Well it was something that Yayu, the actel had prepared me. so we took about I thought that i needed six months to adjust and she gave me six months okay this are the things that you have to do when you are going to become a senior teacher so I helped her uhm. It was okay I don't mind doing all the paper work and everything it's not that bad. but then ya misunderstanding, miscommunication and i said to my self look if this happens even before I sign the contract that what's gonna happen if this happens again. you know, so i just said no. they tried to offer, give me the second chance. I don't need the second chance you need the second chance. i never applied for the position, they asked me so ya..

PH: What about in the future, will you ever consider it again to become a senior teacher or actel?

A: Maybe again I'm gonna say the same thing I said to them earlier like if they're gonna offer me something then I'm gonna see the offer first, I'm not gonna say yes or no. it's not about again it's not about the money, you know I have the side business. i have other sources of income but it's about you know do you think I'm reliable and do i think you are reliable..it's about that because that point where the miscommunication happened i just said okay this is not gonna happen.

PH: But you actually don't mind doing it right? it's just the management around it that ..

A: ya. I was the district manager for an insurance company, i handled two cities yea it's a boring job I didn't mind. but you are doing the same thing again and again and again I fed up. I mean it's not the position, it's not

the job, it's not the money. It's about uhm who am I gonna be working with and who am I gonna be working for.

PH: Okay, so they offered you the position right. what about from yourself what's in the future for you?

A: Several people asked me whether I would start my own school again, and I just said no. uhm teaching for me is more like a fun thing to do. it's not a job. my job is something else. and yea. one thing that you to know me as a person I like being the centre of attention. I was a musician, professional musician. I was a professional magician, and now those two fields are not interesting anymore. now this thing where I can be creative and i still get what I need being the central of attention, so ya I love this job I love teaching. but again if you ask me like where i see myself in 5 years time from now as a teacher. I don't know. well one thing that i'm aiming at right now is being a trainer, being a teacher trainer whether here or somewhere else.

PH: Do you have a plan about how to get there?

A: Well that's the only thing i have in mind when I finished the CELTA because the CELTA tutor asked me about my plan and I said I'm aiming for trainer and DELTA for sure, taking that. sometime next year I think.

PH: Wow it's amazing that you want to invest you time, money for that.

A: Well it's fun why not.

PH: as a teacher, who do you want your students to describe you?

A: the first they would say is crazy. the first impression they always get was a...scary and crazy. I am an Indonesian teacher and somehow Indonesian teachers want to be served like kings and queens of the class, not me. i feel more comfortable if they can see me as their partner. so i don't want them to hesitate when they ask me something and it works.

PH: what about with your fellow teachers? who do you want them to see you as?

A: uhm.. honestly I don't really care. whatever they have in mind about me it's not my business so i never think about that. i care about how my students think about me because we're gonna interact a lot. like during pts session senior teacher usually asked me like are you approachable are you willing to help other teachers. i always answer that question with the same answer, I am not going to help unless asked. i know some people became too sensitive when someone tries to help them. i can say that i am approachable but you need to ask me, if you do not ask me then you can do it on your own. I am not gonna initiate, don't expect me to be responsive. don't give me sarcastic statement, if you need my help then just ask, i'll be willing to help.

PH: Do you think that you fit in with the other teachers here?

A: Not really. some teachers say that whatever I say sounds like an order. Well if you ask for my help then this is all i'm gonna say is that if you want my help then this is what I'm gonna say it so just take it or leave it so it's like my way and highway thing.

Stage 2 Coding Level 1

PH: Can you tell me about your experience learning English? How did you learn English? How did you develop this level of fluency?

A: Okay. Well you know I'm Indonesian, I'm not a native, but well basically we use English at home. (pause) My mother, whenever she is angry she would just burst in English She always uses English, that's the first time we get connected with English. Until a few years later that I decided to learn proper English. Because I knew how to use the language but I never knew what simple present was or what you know (not clear)

PH: So when was this formal or proper learning of English?
A: (pause) probably around the high school or starting and starting university.

PH: Okay so from home with your mother and then you wanted to learn the proper
A: the proper English, well of course we get the subject at school but we didn't learn properly you know how English teachers at school here.

PH: Okay. Did you study English at university then?
A: No I studied engineering.

Pritz Hutabarat
not a native speaker
@mention or reply

Pritz Hutabarat
use english at home
@mention or reply

Pritz Hutabarat
English for casual communication at home

Uninstructed ELL	14	49
Having a partner to practice speaking	4	9
Having a penpal to practice writing	2	2
Help his friend to check his student's test	1	1
Learn through social media	0	0
Learn while teaching	8	15
Learning through doing hobbies	1	1
Life abroad	2	
Speak to a mirror	1	1
Speak with native speakers	4	9
Use English at home	2	2

Lead in: I explained about the topic of the research.

PH: Can you tell me about your experience learning English? How did you learn English? How did you develop this level of fluency?

A: Okay. Well you know I'm Indonesian, I'm not a native, but well basically we use English at home. (pause) My mother, whenever she is angry she would just burst in English She always uses English, that's the first time we get connected with English. Until a few years later that I decided to learn proper English. Because I knew how to use the language but I never knew what simple present was or what you know (not clear)

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Stage 3 Coding Level 2 (Multiple resources coding)

Stage 4 Thematization (Generating themes)

Investment in English language	25	166
Motivation to learn English	12	27
PELI ELL	7	13
SCHOOL ELL	17	54
Uninstructed ELL	17	72
Having a partner to practice speaking	4	9
Having a penpal to practice writing	2	2
Help his friend to check his student's test	1	1
Learn through social media	0	0
Learn while teaching	8	15
Learning through doing hobbies	10	24
Life abroad	2	3
Speak to a mirror	1	1
Speak with native speakers	4	9
Use English at home	2	2
writing in diary	1	1
Investment in teaching skills	28	125

about those whom I interact with. I found this in one of the classes that I taught. The students came

from various engineering discipline. so before we started the study I asked them for

input about what topics we should cover in the study. I always feel closer to my students than to my

fellow teachers because I do not have any teachers who are close to me.

So how did you learn your English?

Well since I was little, I like English a lot like I even added -s to every Indonesian word that I used.

just to sound like English language. Like my mum when she was in college she just used Dutch and

English because all of her lecturers were from Holland and USA. so she sometimes she spoke in

English at home. in addition, I usually watched English programmes on TV. But now I am thinking

maybe because I just like languages. so I also learned German. although I never used English with

my siblings. However, my English improved a lot when I started teaching English at PLGI and TPI