

Beginning teachers' identity and agency:
A case study of L2 English teachers in South Korea



Minjeong Song
Kellogg College

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education
Hilary 2017

Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Dr Ian Thompson and Dr Katharine Burn for their continuous encouragement and invaluable guidance. Over the last six years of conducting this study, I had fought the identity wars of my own and faced the numerous moments of self-doubt and fear for the future. Yet, as I knew that I was in their safe hands, I was able to pluck up courage to experiment with and give voice to my ideas. With their unreserved support and golden pieces of advice, I could make strides and finally arrive at this last leg of DPhil-ing still as an optimist. I also have learnt from their teaching that optimism is not blind positivity but an achievement made of every hard-won step forward, however small.

I am also very much obliged to Professor Emerita Anne Edwards. I had the privilege of commencing my DPhil project as her student. Even after her retirement, her support continued. For me she is a guardian of academic standards and professionalism. I will always cherish the memories of our supervision meetings: her handwriting on the flipchart as we were brainstorming; her curious stare over her reading glasses, and her beam of satisfaction to name a few.

Also, there are my dear pupils. They often protested, “I’m sorry, Miss, but you are a teacher”. From their affectionate rather than disdainful reproaches, I could sense their high expectations for me to live as a person of true grit and integrity. They wanted me to be their champion, matured and ready, with whom they could feel safe to share and work towards their dreams. Thanks to them and to be their champion, I have been able to persevere as a firm believer in the institution of schooling and education.

Last, but by no means least, there is my family. I am eternally grateful to my parents for always having a belief in me and teaching me to respect learning and hard work. My life’s project is to become a parent just like them to my children. My beloved husband and two sons, they make me a better person.

Abstract

Beginning teachers' first years of professional teaching have been extensively researched as a transformative time with a focus on their coping with praxis shock. Whilst the subtext of the literature often positions entrant teachers as in need of support and guidance at large, little research has concerned their agency at work, that is, how they create and recreate their opportunities for learning and development.

The present study follows four beginning L2¹ English teachers' first year of teaching in two public high schools in South Korea and aims to understand how they navigate, make sense of, and act in and on the materialised worlds of teaching. To be specific, the study explores the thesis that beginning teachers' progression from university to work brings about their experiencing of *consequential transition* (Beach, 1999), that is, reshaping of identity, knowledge and skills. Drawing on Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (1998), the study posits one's identity as objectified self-images which organise the person's actions in and on practices, hence a tool of agency, and applies the concept of identity as an analytic tool to examine the dialectic of person and practices. Also, Hedegaard's (2012) model, especially the notions of a *social situation of development* and an *activity setting*, is utilised to further delineate the dynamics entailed in beginning teachers' emergent identity and practices. The participants were interviewed prior to and at multiple time points throughout the school year 2013. Classroom observation was used to capture their emergent identity and practices and informed the interviews.

The findings revealed some embedded contradictions which fuelled the beginning teachers' ambivalence towards how to objectify themselves as professionals. Their access to the world of teaching was granted based on the cultural logic that to be a teacher is to be proficient in subject matter, whilst their knowledge of pedagogy was almost ignored. In the classroom, however, their linguistic competence, that is, the core of their identity, was almost dismissed as irrelevant, since the virtue of subject teaching was gauged by its utility for test performance and achievement. Such

¹ L2 refers a second language, any language learnt in addition to one's native language, especially in the context of second language acquisition.

a forceful motive of teaching to the test meant that the novice teachers all had to acquire the new identity of an exam coach. They also had to cope with other institutional demands, for which they had no prior formal training and structured guidance or support on site. They thus had to become self-reliant to improvise the kind of school identity expected of them. Especially, homeroom care duties were experienced as a make-or-break challenge for the new teachers.

The findings point to suggestions for how to assist beginning teachers' transition to professional teaching in the South Korean context. First, the nation's initial teacher education (ITE) should expand how teaching and learning to teach are conceptualised in order to enhance the relevance of beginning teachers' initial identity to what happens in school practices. Second, ITE should incorporate more practice-oriented pedagogy to assist student teachers' development of true concepts for resilient initial identity. Finally, schools should promote teachers to engage with *relational work* (Edwards, 2010a) so that schools could create a culture in which inquiry and collaboration are nurtured for sustained professional dialogue and interaction, where new teachers also are invited and supported to question and clarify what matters in practices and pave their ways to become resilient professionals.

Table of contents

Acknowledgments	ii
Abstract	iii
Table of contents	v
List of figures and tables	ix
Abbreviations	x
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	11
1.1 Public school teachers in South Korea	11
1.1.1 Civil servants who passed a highly competitive employment test	12
1.1.2 Subject-matter-driven ITE and teacher selection.....	14
1.1.3 A typical school day in an academic high school	16
1.1.4 Conflicting motives of L2 English education	18
1.1.5 Positionality	21
1.2 Sociocultural conception of teacher learning and empirical challenges	23
1.3 Introducing key tenets	26
1.3.1 Cultural-historical approach to mind	27
1.3.2 Identity as a tool of agency	29
1.4 Research questions	31
1.5 Summary of the remaining chapters in the thesis	33
Chapter 2: Literature review	35
2.1 Inseparability/separability claims and analytic dualism.....	35
2.2 Post-Vygotskian approaches to the self and identity.....	37
2.3 Theorisation of teacher identity.....	42
2.3.1 Teacher identity as multiple, transforming and sociogenic	43
2.3.2 Narrating as a tool of identity work	45
2.4 Empirical studies of teacher identity and implications	46
2.4.1 Persistent initial identity	47
2.4.2 Powerful shaping of school practices	49
2.5 Proposing a theoretical framework.....	52
2.5.1 To locate the directive force of one's actions in and on practices	53
2.5.2 Four contexts of identity in practice	55
2.5.3 Agency as a social achievement	57
2.5.4 Demands in practices	59
2.6 Summary	61

Chapter 3: Design and Methodology63

3.1 Rationale.....	63
3.2 Recruitment	66
3.3 Research sites	68
3.3.1 Greenfield High School	68
3.3.2 Springfield High School	70
3.4 Participants	70
3.4.1 Paul	71
3.4.2 Wendy	72
3.4.3 Emma	73
3.4.4 Kate	74
3.5 Data generation.....	75
3.5.1 Overview.....	76
3.5.2 Classroom observation.....	77
3.5.3 Observation-informed interview	78
3.5.4 Theory-informed interview	80
3.6 Data interpretation	84
3.6.1 Building individual trajectories	85
3.6.2 Reading across trajectories	90
3.7 Ethical considerations.....	94
3.8 Limitations and biases	96

Chapter 4: The beginning teachers' trajectories99

4.1 Paul	99
4.1.1 Participation in institutional practices.....	100
4.1.2 Actions in the classroom.....	106
4.1.3 Agency	113
4.1.4 Summary	115
4.2 Wendy	116
4.2.1 Participation in institutional practices.....	117
4.2.2 Actions in the classroom.....	122
4.2.3 Agency	127
4.2.4 Summary	129
4.3 Emma.....	130
4.3.1 Participation in institutional practices.....	131
4.3.2 Actions in the classroom.....	137
4.3.3 Agency	144

4.3.4 Summary	146
4.4 Kate	147
4.4.1 Participation in institutional practices	148
4.4.2 Actions in the classroom	151
4.4.3 Agency	158
4.4.4 Summary	160
Chapter 5: Looking across trajectories	162
5.1 Answering Research Question 1	163
5.1.1 Negotiating access to resources in the staffroom	163
5.1.2 According persuasive power to senior voices	168
5.1.3 Summary	177
5.2 Answering Research Question 2	180
5.2.1 Negotiating possible forms of teaching to the test	180
5.2.2 Self empowering for virtuous common interests	185
5.2.3 Negotiating adulthood and affinity in the homeroom	189
5.2.4 Summary	196
5.3 Answering Research Question 3	200
5.4 Summary	203
Chapter 6: Conclusion and discussion	205
6.1 Contribution to research knowledge	208
6.1.1 A cultural-historical analysis of language teacher learning	208
6.1.2 A critical reading of what it means to be an L2 English teacher	210
6.2 Implications for teacher education policy and practice	213
6.2.1 Enhancing relevance of ITE to what happens in school	214
6.2.1.1 Figuring teaching as a real-life activity	214
6.2.1.2 Incorporating social pedagogy for homeroom management	217
6.2.2 Building resilient initial identity	220
6.2.2.1 Aiming at developing true concepts	220
6.2.2.2 Nurturing a collaborative inquiry stance	223
6.2.3 Promoting relational work to change school culture	228
6.3 Implications for further research	233
6.4 Closing remarks	235
References	237
Appendix 1: Schedule of interviews with colleague teachers	249
Appendix 2: Schedule of interviews with participants	250
Appendix 3: Translation of a section of the 2nd interview with Paul	252

Appendix 4: CUREC approval email	258
Appendix 5: Letter of invitation to student teachers	259
Appendix 6: School letter	261
Appendix 7: Abstracts of the three articles in Korean	262

List of figures and tables

Figures

Figure 2.1: Planes of analysis (Hedegaard, 2012)

Figure 3.1: Paul's work positions in Greenfield

Figure 3.2: Wendy's work positions in Greenfield

Figure 3.3: Emma's work positions in Springfield

Figure 3.4: Kate's work positions in Springfield

Figure 3.5: Course of data generation

Figure 3.6: Data display matrix

Figure 6.1: Model of teacher learning and development (Shulman & Shulman, 2004)

Tables

Table 1.1: Course schedule of the Department of L2 English education in KNUE

Table 1.2: Emma's school timetable

Table 3.1: Data set

Table 3.2: Matrix of identification, salience and expertise

Abbreviations

CHAT: cultural-historical activity theory

CPD: continuing professional development

EFL: English as a foreign language

HEI: higher education institution

ITE: initial teacher education

SLA: second language acquisition

SLTE: second language teacher education

STST: school teacher selection test

TETE: teaching English through English

Chapter 1: Introduction

A line of rhetoric that dominates discourses of teacher professional development argues that beginning teachers are rightful recipients of formal guidance and support so that they gradually gain control over their professional judgement and actions (Ingersoll & Strong, 2011; Ingersoll, Merrill, & May, 2014; OECD, 2011; Pillen, Den, & Beijgaard, 2013). A curiosity that motivated this inquiry is, in a culture such as South Korea where such supported development is not the norm how novice teachers' agentic thinking and action arise in practice. This chapter first sets the scene by considering the sociocultural milieu surrounding beginning L2 English teachers' transition from university to school in South Korea, highlighting some systemic disjunctions they are destined to confront. I also briefly reflect how I experienced education and schooling as an L2 English teacher in South Korea and how this personal history motivated me to embark on this study. Then, the chapter considers a sociocultural turn in the field of second language teacher education (SLTE) and identifies persistent challenges yet to be addressed. Next, it introduces a set of key tenets of the study and explicates how a cultural-historical perspective is apposite to this analysis as I wish to explore social, cultural and historical contradictions embedded in new teachers' emergent identity and practices. After introducing three research questions, this chapter concludes by outlining the remaining chapters of the thesis.

1.1 Public school teachers in South Korea

This section details the sociocultural milieu surrounding beginning L2 English teachers' transition from university to school by considering four themes: 1) civil servants under the state control; 2) subject-matter driven ITE and employment; 3) a typical school day in an academic high school; and 4) conflicting motives of L2 English education.

1.1.1 Civil servants who passed a highly competitive employment test

The process of becoming a teacher in South Korea reveals certain assumptions about the nature of teacher expertise and the relationship of the teacher to the state education system. Beattie (1996) contrasted interviews in England and Wales and *concours* in France as teacher appointment procedures and considered the different assumptions each makes about what the activity of teaching is for and what makes a teacher. He discerned four interrelated assumptions behind the French system.

- (i) the state is more important than the school;
- (ii) teachers are appointed by the state for life;
- (iii) teachers' professional merit is assessable and predictable;
- (iv) what really matters in a teacher's portfolio of qualifications and competences is subject expertise (Beattie, 1996, p. 14).

These premises are much echoed in the School Teacher Selection Test (STST) in South Korea. Every year Metropolitan and Provincial Offices of Education in the country recruit new public school teachers by co-administering the national competitive test (for overview Kim & Han, 2002). That is, the nation's public school teachers are hired to form a national team of civil servants whose brief is to carry out duties in schools. A successful candidate of the highly selective employment test is like 'an *agrégé (e)* ... who instantly acquires prestige by virtue of having passed a *concours* at a particular moment, and retains it throughout her or his professional career' (Beattie, 1996, p. 12). With the security of tenure as well as a stable income and good vacations, teaching in the public system is often claimed, rather scornfully, to be 'an iron rice bowl' profession, where 'a rice bowl' in East Asian countries denotes one's livelihood and 'iron' being unbreakable, thus a profession for life. Meantime, insecure jobs are compared to a porcelain rice bowl. Auguste, Kihn and Miller (2010) reported that South Korea's annual turnover of teachers is just over 1%. Problems such as teacher shortage and attrition are indeed foreign to the country. Coupled with a difficult job market for graduates, teaching in the state system is still a popular career choice amongst talented young Koreans.

The stakes are too high to fail. To pass the employment test is a rite of passage; it marks the transition to a better life with an elevation of social status.

What makes the employment test even more competitive is that the nation's annual supply of prospective teachers, university graduates and their equivalents, greatly exceeds the annual demand of new teachers; for example, Chung, Kim, Ryoo, Park and Moon (2011) reported that in 2009 the ratio of supply to demand of secondary school teachers was 30 to 1. The government has attempted to tackle the problem of oversupply via cycles of inspections and disaccreditation. For instance, on 23 March 2016 the National Evaluation Center for Teacher Education Institutions, a government body, announced the initial result of the fourth cycle of the national inspection on teacher education programmes—scheduled from 2015 to 2017; as a result, the total of 3,220 ITE places is to be reduced.² However, the visible effect is yet to be seen. With a new cohort of university graduates with qualified teacher status swarming into the pool of candidates every year, the competition for employment is getting ever fiercer. For instance, the average competition ratio for secondary education jobs across subjects for the academic years 2016 and 2017 was overall one out of ten. As for L2 English teacher posts in Seoul, the capital and largest metropolis of South Korea, the competition ratio for the 2016 entry was 24.17:1 and for the 2017 entry 20.60:1 (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2016, 2017). In Gyeonggi Province, the most populous province in South Korea, for the 2016 entry the ratio was 13.47:1 and for the 2017 entry 20.40:1 (Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education, 2016, 2017). For Daejeon Metropolitan City, South Korea's fifth-largest metropolis, for the 2016 entry the ratio was 21.2:1 and for the 2017 entry 25.3:1 (Daejeon Metropolitan Office of Education, 2016, 2017). It is not surprising that student teachers'

² The National Evaluation Center for Teacher Education Institutions conducted the first cycle of inspection for 1998~2002; the second 2003~2007; the third 2010~2014; and the fourth is scheduled for 2015~2017. The fourth cycle targets: 11 national universities of education; 45 universities of teacher education; 5 departments of education in three comprehensive universities; teacher education courses in 51 comprehensive universities; 39 graduate schools of education for initial certification; and 55 graduate schools of education for in-service teachers.

expenditure on private coaching services to prepare for the employment test is ever increasing (Nam, 2006). Even universities have been pressured to provide similar coaching courses as their students' poor pass rates of the test negatively affect their grades in the national inspection. The infatuation with private coaching services for the teacher selection test is not simply a reflection of the intensity of competition, but more significantly, I would argue, it illustrates the impersonal and detached relationship that teacher aspirants in South Korea are forced to develop with the activity of teaching.

1.1.2 Subject-matter-driven ITE and teacher selection

This study was motivated by an observation that South Korean beginning L2 English teachers' readiness for the job is not practice-oriented (Chang, Kim & Choi, 2012). The nation's ITE is by tradition led by higher education, mainly four-year Bachelor's degrees with a mere four weeks of school placement in the final year. Whether these programmes are fit for purpose has been seriously questioned (Chung et al., 2011). The curriculum for L2 English teacher education consists of: linguistics subjects such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics; theories of second language acquisition (SLA); and literature studies, whereas pedagogy is largely neglected. As an illustration, Table 1.1 is the programme of L2 English ITE in Korea National University of Education (KNUE), from which three of the participants of the study graduated. In the beginning, the programme focuses on improving target language skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing and gradually incorporates linguistics, theories of SLA and literature studies. This is what Wright (2010) termed as the 'applied linguistics model' (p. 264) of language teacher education. My intent here is not to argue that such a content-driven ITE curriculum itself is inherently flawed, thus leaving South Korean student teachers ill-prepared for real world teaching. Rather I would contend that the real casualty is the fallout when the theory-driven ITE interacts with the negative washback of the high-stakes employment test. As a competitive examination, the STST ranks candidates

Table 1.1 Course schedule of the Department of L2 English education in KNUE

Year-Semester	Courses
1-1	Academic English Listening; Academic English Conversation; Academic English Composition; Reading English News; English Listening & Speaking 1
1-2	English Conversation; An Introduction to the English Language; English Listening; Academic English Reading Comprehension
2-1	Introduction to Theories of English Education; Theories of English Phonetics and Phonology; English Reading Comprehension; Reading in Language Learner Literature; English Discourse and Pragmatics; Advanced English Conversation
2-2	Multimedia English Education; English Composition; English Grammar; English and American Short Stories and English Education; Practical Presentations; English Listening & Speaking 2; Teaching English Poetry
3-1	English Teaching Methods for Secondary Schools; Studies on English Teaching Materials; English and American Culture; Development of English Teaching Materials; Teaching English Understanding; English Discussion; Applied Linguistics; Advanced Readings in English and American Essays
3-2	Introduction to English Literature; Basic Contrastive Analysis: English vs Korean; Teaching Speaking in English as a Foreign Language; Teaching Reading in English as a Foreign Language; Teaching English and American drama; Education of English Pronunciation; Understanding of English Semantics
4-1	Theory and Practice in English Language Testing; Academic Essay Writing; Readings in English and American Novels; Understanding of Media and English and American Literature; English Syntax; Special lecture on English Education; Teaching Writing in English as a Foreign Language
4-2	Studies of English Curriculum for Secondary Schools; English History; Advanced Course in English Linguistics; Studies on English Classes; English Interview Skills Workshop; Pronunciation Practice for English Teachers

according to their grades in each round in order to decide who are to progress to the next round.

The STST for the school year 2013 which the participants of the current study sat was administered in the three phases, with the first two serving as elimination rounds. The first round comprised of two written tests about general pedagogy and subject knowledge respectively, selecting 200% of the year's post openings. The second round was an essay writing test on subject knowledge, selecting one and a half times more teachers than there were vacancies. The third and final stage consisted of lesson planning, an in-depth interview and demonstration teaching. To proceed to the second and third stages of and eventually pass the employment test candidates must demonstrate their theoretical mastery of subject and pedagogical knowledge. Nam (2006) pointed out that the centrality of disciplinary knowledge

in the selection test is the major reason why student teachers buy private coaching services. There is no Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT) status in South Korea with a compulsory induction period. From the very first day in school successful candidates are expected to assume full responsibility as a professional teacher. Culturally, teacher professionalism in South Korea has been considered as a matter of morality and self-monitoring rather than standards and external validation; accountability and compliance are practised as a tacit agreement (Kim, 2007). The question is then how beginning teachers confront complex problems in school practices, where individualistic and self-sustaining performance is expected from the outset.

1.1.3 A typical school day in an academic high school

This study follows four beginning L2 English teachers working for two public high schools in South Korea. In general, a school day in an academic high school is comprised of morning homeroom hour, seven fifty-minute subject lessons with ten-minute breaks in-between and a lunch recess, followed by two supplementary subject lessons, a dinner break and night-time self-study. To catch a glimpse of what Korean academic high school teachers' day-to-day life is like, I here describe a typical day in school for Emma, one of the four beginning teachers in the study. Table 1.2 shows Emma's weekly timetable.

Arriving at school around 7:30 a.m., Emma heads straight to her staffroom and picks up the roll call book and hurries to her homeroom, Class 6 of Year 2. In South Korea a homeroom is a designated living space for a group of pupils. They stay at their homerooms the whole school day; in the case of academic high school pupils as late as 10 p.m. daily. A homeroom is a unique setting which embodies the nation's cultural conception of education and schooling as a humanising activity by assisting pupils' moral and character development. Pupils do not disperse to classrooms dedicated to particular subjects but stay in their homerooms for lessons. Instead, subject teachers travel to homerooms to teach, carrying materials needed. Apart from its burdensome administrative workload, being a homeroom teacher also entails pastoral care

Table 1.2 Emma's school timetable

Time	Period	Duties	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.
07:40~08:00	L2 English listening practice	Supervising	Class 6 (Homeroom)				
08:00~08:20	Homeroom hour	Supervising	Class 6 (Homeroom)				
08:20~09:10	Period 1 (50')	L2 English teaching	Class 6			Class 5	
09:20~10:10	Period 2 (50')				Class 9		Class 1
10:20~11:10	Period 3 (50')			Class 5	Class 1	Class 6	Class 6
11:20~12:10	Period 4 (50')		Class 9	Class 6			
12:10~13:10	Lunch						
13:10~14:00	Period 5 (50')	L2 English teaching	Class 9			Class 1	Class 9
14:10~15:00	Period 6 (50')			Class 1	Club activity	Class 9	
15:00~15:20	Cleaning	Supervising	Class 6 (Homeroom)				
15:20~16:10	Period 7 (50')	L2 English teaching	Class 6				Class 5
16:20~17:10	After-school supplementary 1	L2 English teaching					
17:20~18:10	After-school supplementary 2						
18:10~19:00	Dinner						
19:00~20:30	Night-time self-study 1 (or after-school supplementary 3)	Supervising (or L2 English teaching)					
20:40~22:00	Night-time self-study 2	Supervising					

and interpersonal commitment to assist homeroom pupils' moral and character development.

The metaphor of teachers as second parents has been accepted as a shorthand for 'model' practices for homeroom teachers. Unsurprisingly, continuing staff in a school are not eager to take the position. Therefore, vacant appointments are often conveniently left for incoming teachers for the next academic year, a pool which includes newly appointed teachers.

Emma starts her homeroom duties by supervising L2 English listening practice which the school runs in preparations for *Suneung*, the high-stakes university entrance exam. After the listening practice, she checks attendance, makes announcements, disciplines tardy pupils and so on. Before leaving for the day's teaching duties, she makes sure her homeroom is tidy.

Emma travels to her assigned homerooms for subject teaching. Her subject teaching duty entails 17 lessons to four homerooms of Year 2 pupils. Between her teaching hours, she takes care of either her administrative duties as a homeroom teacher or prepares for next lessons. Emma has her lunch in the staff dining hall, and when she goes back to her staffroom from lunch she often finds her homeroom pupils are waiting for her to get early leave permission. She finds it all too tiring to haggle over their excuses for an early leave, but still tries hard to persuade them to stay for the day's night-time self-study. She wants to take some rest during her lunch break but it is impossible. In the cleaning period, she comes down to her homeroom to oversee her homeroom pupils cleaning their designated areas. The school day officially finishes around 4 p.m., but most of her homeroom pupils stay for the day's supplementary courses and night-time self-study. Emma usually teaches two supplementary L2 English classes before dinner, but at times has another after it. The homeroom teachers of Year 2 take turns to supervise the night-time self-study but the implicit norm in the department is that all the homeroom teachers stay until 10 p.m. to see the pupils off home.

1.1.4 Conflicting motives of L2 English education

Collins (2005) contended that the history of L2 English education in South Korea needs to be understood in respect of the socio-political contexts in which the language was instituted as an instrument to achieve the national goal of growth and development. It was in the mid-1990s that the term *globalisation* began to sweep through the educational discourses in the country. The government propagated L2 English as the most powerful commodity which would enable the nation's competitive engagement with the fast-paced, globalised world; the mastery of the modern-day lingua franca was propagandised as 'an index of cosmopolitan striving' (Park & Avelmann, 2004, p. 650). The year 1997 was symbolic, in particular, as L2 English was finally introduced as a compulsory subject in primary schools, consequently inducing the colossal waves of early L2 English education in the private sector, such as immersion kindergartens,

language camps and early study abroad to name a few (Mikio, 2008). A recent snapshot of the country's L2 English craze coupled with its mass education exodus to Western countries is the rise of the number of *gireogi appa*, literally 'goose dad', the father who stays in South Korea to finance the mother and children abroad. Lee, Han and McKerrow (2010) reported that 'some 40,000 South Koreans in 2008 were recognised as migrating wild geese families' (p. 338). Meanwhile, at the middle school level, L2 English then becomes a key subject. For instance, with the introduction of the 2009 National Curriculum middle schools were given freedom to allocate more class hours to their chosen subjects within the limit of 20% of the total class hours of curriculum. Some 73.8% of the nation's middle schools (7th Grade to 9th Grade) were reported to assign more hours to L2 English (Jin, 2011). The three key subjects of L2 English, Korean and Mathematics account for more than 50% of middle school curriculum (Jin, 2011).

The latest National Curriculum mandates the development of communicative competence and cultural understanding of English-speaking countries as the goal of L2 English education in all school levels (MEST, 2011). However, the political aspiration is overruled at the school level by the unwavering demand of teaching to the test by pupils and parents who are desperate to gain the upper hand in the education arms race deeply rooted in the nation's age-old elitism (Shin, 2012). The stakes get even higher at high school level (10th Grade to 12th Grade) as L2 English is a key exam subject in *Suneung*, the national competitive exam for university admission. Given that the effective governance of an academic high school is measured in terms of the number of pupils admitted to highly selective universities, teaching to the test only intensifies as the school year progresses. L2 English lessons turn to exam coaching based on a list of high-frequency vocabulary items and grammar points. Official textbooks are casually displaced by bestselling commercial exam workbooks. L2 English teachers are expected to model themselves on cram school tutors with their almost theatrical performance of exam coaching. However, exam-driven pedagogy is not equally appreciated by all pupils. Those pupils who either cannot keep up with or are disinterested in their exam

performance were forced to surrender themselves as stepping stones for their academically superior peers. After all, it takes losers to make winners. It is not uncommon to witness unmotivated pupils sleeping at their desks during L2 English lessons if they are not distracting classes with off-task discussions and other disruptive behaviours. The relentless pursuit of test-driven pedagogy has systematically marginalised underachieving pupils, discolouring the purpose of public education to provide the fair and equal opportunity of learning for all. It has created dysfunctional classrooms which even experienced teachers find difficult to handle.

Meanwhile, parents team up and compete to buy better private L2 English education, at times beyond their means, to enable their children to enter the nation's prestigious universities, whose membership is taken as synonymous with high social status, promising careers and even marriage prospects (Kim, 2006; Park, 2009; Seth, 2002). Parents' socioeconomic status has thus become a strong predictor of children's L2 English proficiency (Kim, 2010), further widening the so-called English Divide in the country. In other words, L2 English has become symbolic capital, another mechanism of social reproduction by which the privileged preselect themselves and maintain the status quo in the highly competitive society (Lee et al., 2013; Song, 2011). Park (2009) commented that the current context of L2 English education in South Korea is nothing less than 'a collective neurosis of English fever' (p. 50). Meanwhile, the poor are systemically categorised as those who refuse to compete. They are fighting a losing battle, coping with relative deprivation. Piller and Cho (2013) observed:

These structures of competition [in Korean education] allocate a central place to English—as an index of global competitiveness—as a mechanism to distinguish those who are allowed to progress to better opportunities from those who are forced to bear the burden of underperformance by being relegated to a progressively shrinking sphere of opportunity. (Piller & Cho, 2013, p. 31)

Education can no longer serve as a powerful means of empowerment, upward social mobility and economic prosperity in the society as it once did, but now it is a mechanism to cement the socio-economic order from generation to generation.

1.1.5 Positionality

I embarked on the study as an insider. Just like the participants in the study I am an L2 English teacher in the public system in South Korea. I went through the same path as they did to get into teaching; I earned my teacher certification via a four-year Bachelor of Education, passed the STST, and began my career in 2002. That is, I was an old-timer whilst the participants were newcomers to the world of teaching. It is thus not unreasonable to say that I lived in and through the kind of school practices and their inherent tensions and conflicts which the four participants would face in their respective schools before they did. My insider position meant that I must sensitise myself to my bias towards/against certain values and interests in the researched school settings and the nation's educational discourse as they would mediate my choices and actions whilst conducting the study, shaping how it would unfold.

Having passed the teacher employment test, I felt that I reached the pinnacle of my life's achievements. I was proud of myself. Yet, what happened afterwards was an anticlimax by comparison, to my regret. For the first few years in teaching I, as a beginning teacher, was busy keeping myself afloat against uncertainties both as an L2 English and homeroom teacher. The one thing that I clearly remember is that I had to manage without much help. At times I consulted my senior teachers, but it was rather to ask for the facts and information needed to complete my assigned administrative tasks. I hardly recall myself sitting down with my senior colleagues for a chat, let alone long discussions, about the concerns which I was grappling with. Being new to school practices was in itself difficult and tiring. Yet, it was even more unnerving that I was expected to get on with my job quite alone and isolated. When day-to-day survival took priority, I could not find the time and motivation to be mindful of and stand by what I had imagined to be my purpose in getting into teaching. I endured more or less through the culture of individualism and its implied call for developing self-sufficiency. However, my experience over time was telling me that allowing individualism, or so-called autonomy into professional dispositions of beginning teachers was dangerous and corrosive. Although no one really

interfered or ordered me about how I managed my classroom teaching and homeroom care, I did not feel in control at all. In fact, I felt increasingly demoralised and even tamed, at the same time struggling with a sense of intellectual stagnation. Besides, my growing feeling of apathy and helplessness occasioned my lapses in judgement which compromised the quality of care that I was able to manage for my pupils' learning and well-being.

Over the years I have seen many other beginning teachers facing the similar problems as I did; their initial enthusiasm for the world of teaching was replaced by passivity and apathy, which turned so easily into the force of habit. Misinformed and uninformed, they made some worst decisions and painfully learnt that those decisions were what defined them as teachers and they had to live by. I, then no longer a beginning teacher, came to a conclusion that the longer the period of professional stasis was allowed to (new) teachers, the more difficult it became to overcome the inertia. My educated guess was that my discouraging first years in teaching were not purely my personal misfortune or me being slow to adapt to new practices, but rather a public problem, something systemic related to the settings of school practices and even perhaps the nation's culture of teacher professionalism. If indeed the latter is the case, I was intrigued to find out what forces are at work and their interplay and their consequences to novice teachers' learning and development and ideally to make recommendations by which they could be supported to become not only adaptable and responsive practitioners when facing new demands in practices but also key voices in shaping the nation's educational debates.

The rhetoric of teacher education reform in South Korea is based on the narrative of the demise of public education. Public schools are indiscriminately denounced as a dysfunctional system. To the eyes of disgruntled parents, public schools have failed their talented children as they could not deliver teaching to the test as effectively as its ever-thriving private counterparts, such as cram schools and private tutors. They also feel that the state system has failed their academically uninterested children by marginalising them and allowing them to fall prey to maladjustment, bullying and violence, and teen suicides, to name but a few. Meanwhile, ideals,

such as creating better life opportunities for the young and promoting social mobility, are fading away fast, if they have not gone completely. I would put it that the present study is not simply about beginning teachers' learning and development per se, but it concerns the virtues of it, or what it can eventually enable the nation's institution of schooling to achieve for the future of young people. To care for novice teachers is to defend and cherish the institution of schooling and education so that it can function as a just and democratic system which provides an opportunity for betterment for anyone to fulfil their life to the fullest. South Korea is blessed with the fact that the teaching profession still a much-desired career path and attracts the best brains in the country. I am thus hopeful that the nation is still in with a chance of genuinely supporting talented teacher aspirants to become excellent teachers.

1.2 Sociocultural conception of teacher learning and empirical challenges

The field of second language teacher education (SLTE) has embraced a sociocultural turn in human sciences, more conspicuously in its theorisation of the nature of language teacher learning and development (see Borg, 2003, 2006; Freeman, 1996, 2002; Golombek, 1998, 2015; Golombek & Doran, 2014; Golombek & Johnson, 2004; Lantolf & Johnson 2007; Johnson, 2006, 2009, 2015; Johnson & Golombek, 2003, 2011a, 2016; Richards, 2008; Woods, 1996). Johnson (2006) summarised how the epistemological turn defines learning.

Learning, therefore, is not the straightforward appropriation of skills or knowledge from the outside in, but the progressive movement from external, socially mediated activity to internal mediational control by individual learners, which results in the transformation of both the self and the activity. (Johnson, 2006, p. 238)

In fact, the phrase 'sociocultural turn' and the name of Vygotsky as the spearhead of this epistemological movement are not foreign to second language acquisition (SLA) research. Lantolf and Beckett's (2009) review showed that SLA researchers' uptake of sociocultural theory has been prolific, though largely confined to the Soviet psychologist's canonical ideas

such as ‘the zone of proximal development and dynamic assessment, private speech, internalization, regulation, activity theory, and the genetic method’ (p. 459). However, casting a sociocultural light on understanding the nature of language teacher learning and development still remains a peripheral concern (Cross, 2010; Kano & Stuart, 2011; Lantolf & Beckett, 2009). It has also been suggested that the field of SLTE as a whole faces a paucity of theory-driven empirical studies of language teacher learning (Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005). For instance, Cross (2010) diagnosed that in the current literature, data interpretation in particular, has largely relied on inductive approaches based on the specifics of each study, whose ‘findings have little to offer other studies across the field at a broader theoretical or conceptual level’ (p. 437). He called for a theoretically sound framework with which SLTE researchers could address:

the need for a theoretical orientation that recognizes the social, practical, and contextual dimension of cognition; an understanding of the teacher as a historical, sociological agent within larger (and political) contexts for practice; an awareness of the contradictions and tensions that arise within cognition as thinking and doing is mediated by and played out within the contexts that it exists; and an analytic framework commensurate with current empirical and methodological developments in the field. (Cross, 2010, p. 434)

Cross’s observation above, whilst evoking a broader question of the place of theory in language teacher cognition research, also urges us to reflect on how the field of SLTE should engage with the sociocultural turn both theoretically and empirically in order to advance its understanding of the nature of language teachers’ learning and development and inform SLTE practices.

Freeman and Johnson’s (1998) seminal paper, espousing the causes of the sociocultural turn, had laid out some significant empirical and methodological challenges for SLTE provision and research practices, suggesting certain criteria that they need to fulfil. In essence, they aspired to herald a new era of SLTE provision and research practices by proposing three fundamental principles to reframe the knowledge base of learning to teach. Firstly, they called for empirical studies to focus on language teachers rather than learners of language as the object

of research. Wright (2010) echoed their concern when he argued that the main thrust of research to inform SLTE practices has been misplaced upon theories of SLA and L2 learner psychology, urging researchers to break away from the tradition and refocus attention on how language teachers actually learn to teach instead. Freeman and Johnson's (1998) focus on teachers as agentic learners supports that learning to teach is a sense-making process of how language teaching unfolds in practices, debunking the positivistic paradigm of learning. In other words, language teachers are no longer viewed as conduits of pre-codified knowledge for students' language learning but redefined as 'users and creators of legitimate knowledge and theorizers in their own right' (Johnson, 2006, p. 241), thus calling for empirical effort to address how language teachers as agentic learners direct themselves to think and act as professionals. Second, Freeman and Johnson (1998) insisted on the need to consider teacher learning in connection with 'the sociocultural terrain in which the work of teaching is thought about, carried out, and evaluated' (p. 409).

By including schools and schooling in the knowledge-base of language teacher education, we are recognizing that language teaching cannot be understood apart from the sociocultural environments in which it takes place and the processes of establishing and navigating social values in which it is embedded. We are also acknowledging that, insofar as it sustains or critiques schools as environments of value and schooling as a process of valuing, teacher education is indeed a political undertaking. (Freeman & Johnson, 1998, p. 409)

An empirical challenge for sociocultural studies of teacher learning and development is, therefore, to delve into what happens in practices, how social settings of practices play an integral part in teacher learning. Cross (2010) noted that the current SLTE literature still lacks empirical studies utilising 'practice-based data ... informed by thinking-based data' (p. 436). He, in particular, heeded 'the dissonance ... between what teachers think and what teachers do' (p. 436) as a window on how specific settings of practices effect on language teacher learning. The third and final argument of Freeman and Johnson (1998) called to reframe the activity of teaching as 'grounded in the phenomenon itself' rather than imparting a set of *a priori* claims

established as ‘disciplinary antecedents’ (p. 410) of teaching. That is, teaching is a socially constructed pedagogical process and the legitimate knowledge for teaching is tied to particular settings of practices. They called for empirical effort into how language teachers interrogate and eventually (re)design the knowledge base of teaching. Crucially, they noted the importance of delving into teachers’ identity work in the process, how they understand and position themselves as an integral part of the social contexts of teaching and how it shapes their actions.

However, achieving Freeman and Johnson’s empirical aspiration discussed above still remains as a challenge to the current SLTE scholarship. As Johnson (2006) observed, the field is yet to address ‘the epistemological gaps between how L2 teacher cognition is conceptualised, how L2 teachers are prepared to do their work, and how L2 teachers and their practices are constructed in the public settings where they work’ (p. 237). In light of the discussion so far, this study aims to address a dearth of empirical research on language teacher learning whose theoretical/methodological underpinnings are grounded in the sociocultural understanding of teacher learning and teachers’ role in it. In other words, the study posits beginning L2 English teachers as agentic social actors and the activity of teaching as a pedagogical process grounded in practices, and sets out to understand how their (emergent) identity and personal practices and particular settings of school practices interweave together, shaping each other.

1.3 Introducing key tenets

This inquiry concerns neophytes entering new practices and aims to understand how they navigate, make sense of, and act in and on their unfamiliar social worlds. More specifically, the study seeks to explore how social, cultural and historical contradictions in practices intersect with newcomers’ (emergent) identity and personal practices, whilst appreciating their creativity and agency. Integral to this inquiry is thus to theorise how one’s mind and action develop in relation to the particular settings of practices and how to capture their interplay empirically.

The following discussion presents two fundamental premises of the study in this regard: cultural-historical approach to mind and the notion of identity as a tool of agency.

1.3.1 Cultural-historical approach to mind

The study aims to explore how contradictions in practices intersect with new teachers' emergent identities and practices, whilst appreciating their creativity and agency. To do so, this study draws on a cultural-historical approach. Ellis, Edwards and Smagorinsky (2010) delineated three major theoretical approaches indebted to Vygotsky's legacy: sociocultural, cultural-historical and cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) by discerning their different 'analytic primacy' (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995, p. 84) given to the notion of *cultural mediation*. They argued that a sociocultural perspective focuses on mediation as a mechanism of individuals' enculturation into practices by participating and acquiring the forms of identity promoted in them, whereas CHAT focuses on the mediation of *activity* and collective use of tools and concerns 'internal contradictions within activity systems ... as generators of change and the evolution of the system' (Ellis et al., 2010, p. 3). Similarly, Stetsenko and Arieievitch (2004) stated that CHAT focuses on 'a collective and collaborative (i.e. social) use of tools ... [for] mastering specific classes of tasks discovered in collaborative practices' (p. 482) to grasp how an *activity system* connects a person and environment, laying the foundation of the forms of the person, and how it is refined over time, engendering new forms of culture. An interventionist line of CHAT is developed and refined by Engeström (1987, 2001, 2007a, 2007b).

Meanwhile, Ellis et al. (2010) maintained that a cultural-historical approach concerns cultural mediation in terms of its capacity to reveal the dialectic of 'human consciousness and practical activity' (p. 3) and its ultimate power of transformation. The cultural-historical tradition understands that ontologically an individual is 'an ensemble of societal relations' (Roth, 2007, p. 84). That is, the dualism of individual and social is not tenable, but they are understood as 'two moments in a single process' (Cole, 1996, p. 135). Therefore, to understand

a phenomenon as a dialectical process is, as Rees (1998) observed, to investigate how '[the] internally contradictory totality [is] in a constant process of change ... [where] the parts and the whole mutually condition, or *mediate*, each other' (p. 7). A dialectical intention in Vygotsky's work is evident in his idea of a *social situation of development*. Edwards (in press) explicated:

the developing child's changing relationship with his or her environment over time ... marked by new structures of 'consciousness' (Vygotsky 1998, p. 199) which in turn alter the child's relationships with experienced reality. It is these relationships which make up the social situation of development. Therefore, as fresh structures of consciousness emerge, defunct relationships fade away and new are formed so that children become repositioned as agents within the discourses in which they are participating. ... Development is a crucial component in the social situation of development and is intertwined with what is learnt. (Edwards, in press, p. 8)

To recapitulate, one's social situations of development consist of an assemblage of relationships between the person and their participating social worlds with the potential for development. It is the person's agentic engagement with the social relationships that could transform their social situations for development. In this connection, a cultural-historical envisioning of learning is, as Edwards (2010b) contended, the relational transformation between learners and their social situations through the dialectic of internalisation and externalisation.

Learners take in what is culturally valued, consequently interpret their social worlds differently and therefore act in and on them in newly informed ways, which in turn impact on the social situations (Edwards, 2010b, p. 64).

Also, from a cultural-historical outlook being agentic can be phrased as one's capacity to transcend the predispositional properties of mediational means and expand their 'semiotic potentials' (Wertsch, 1991, p. 38) to put forward their intentional actions, transforming themselves as well as practices. Further, a cultural-historical application of a dialectic as a methodology is to appreciate agency, both personal and social, generating 'specific and concrete description of how the interaction of the two gives rise to a qualitatively new situation, both for the totality and for the parts of which it is composed' (Rees, 1998, p. 5).

To recap, drawing on a cultural-historical approach to mind and its dialectic orientation, the study posits novice teachers as a ‘Vygotsky’s learner... not simply swept along by historical practices of the community she enters, but is agentic, using concepts while acting on and shaping those practices’ (Edwards, in press, p. 3) in order to understand the nature of their learning and development in their first year in professional teaching.

1.3.2 Identity as a tool of agency

The study posits that beginning teachers’ learning and development as participating in school practices is, in essence, a process of identity (trans)formation, thus theorising one’s identity as a tool through which they navigate, make sense of, and act in and on practices. It was Beach’s (1999) recasting of the age-old question of transfer of learning as *consequential transition*, ‘transformation of knowledge, skill and identity’ (p. 112), that led the study to consider the notion of identity as a heuristic to understand novice teachers’ learning in practices. He was intrigued to grasp how one experiences ‘continuity and transformation in becoming someone or something new’ (p. 102) as participating in multiple social worlds. To explain the fluidity, he drew on sociocultural perspectives and argued that one’s boundary crossing between practices results in qualitative changes in the person and the practices with potential to bring about the changes in the person’s senses of self and social positioning.

To expand my understanding of the concept of identity drawing on others within the sociocultural field, I call on Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner and Cain (1998). They understood identity as ‘the imaginings of self in worlds of action, as social products’ (p. 5); one develops identity through participating in activities in practices. To illustrate how one’s identity materialises in their making, Holland and her colleagues proposed four contexts of identity in practice: *figured world*, *positionality*, *space of authoring* and *making worlds*, where they drew on Vygotsky’s fascination with cultural symbols and Bakhtin’s sociology of human expression to illustrate how ‘the ensemble of societal relationships’ (Daniels, 2007, p. 94) which defines

the person in practices is negotiated and sustained. Against these four contexts of identity making, they described the process of an identity becoming intimate, where the person first ‘learns “the” identity of inscribed acts—the signs or markers of culturally constructed identity’ (p. 282), inconsequential to their senses of self then; gradually, adopts it to affect others and eventually as a means ‘to evoke [their] own sense of who [they are] and so organize [their] behavior’ (p. 282). It is this very notion of identity as a cultural-historical tool which mediates one’s actions in and on practices that this study draws in order to investigate how beginning teachers learn and develop in relation to particular settings of school practices.

Another theoretical underpinning of Holland et al. (1998) is the idea that identity is a tool of agency. They argued that one’s agency is realised as a dialectical process between *improvisation* and *appropriation* in the person’s formation and transformation of identity. In order for one’s impromptu actions in a given situation to be utilised as a heuristic means to organise subsequent actions in and on practices, it requires the person’s sustained deliberate effort for self-direction and change, what Holland et al. (1998) described as the substance of agency in action. In this light, this study posits that to understand novice teachers’ agency is to look into their improvised actions and follow what motivates them to choose and transform certain spontaneous actions over others into sustained everyday practices, whilst discarding others. The study also posits that the process of appropriation entailed in one’s identity work is an ongoing struggle to maintain personal equilibrium. One participates a multitude of social worlds, thus lives plural identities simultaneously, albeit different degrees of attachment and commitment (Holland et al., 1998). As living in the assemblage of social worlds, the person develops a nexus of life trajectories, engendering self-understandings specific to those sites of identity work. As Dreier (1999) noted, these multiple identities ‘refer to each other, sometimes in problematic ways’ (p. 8). In this light, the study premises that identity wars are inevitable in new teachers’ participation in practices. They enter teaching as a whole person with a wide spectrum of life experiences and emotional baggage, what Holland and Lave (2001) termed as

history-in-person (p. 5). An integral part of their carried-over identity is the envisioning of ‘a qualified mode of participation’ (Dreier, 1999, p. 8), certain moral/ethical images of self as a teacher. Meanwhile, there is also the forms of identity through which school practices are sustained, thus imposed on novice teachers. Therefore, new teachers’ initial identity, whilst utilisable as resources for their sense-making of and acting in and on school practices, is highly likely to engender tensions and conflicts when misaligned with their expected school identity. The disjunctions need to be addressed; novice teachers’ identity work is thus an indispensable and ongoing aspect of their participation in practices.

To recap, the study postulates that identity is a tool by which new teachers navigate, make sense of, and act in and on practices, hence a tool of agency. Identity is viewed as the outcome of their living in and through the contradictions in practices. Their emergent identity is thus premised as empirical evidence to reveal the ongoing dialectic of beginning teachers and specific settings of their practices, shedding light on how their agency is played out.

1.4 Research questions

The following research questions (RQs) have guided this inquiry:

- 1) How does beginning teachers’ identity mediate their participation in the institutional practices of school?
- 2) How does beginning teachers’ identity mediate their actions in the classroom?
- 3) To what extent do beginning teachers become agentic?

The formulation of the three RQs is informed by Hedegaard’s (2012) plains of analysis: society, institution, activity setting and person. RQ 1 focuses on beginning teachers’ participation in the institutional practices of school such as L2 English departments and other administrative divisions to which they are assigned and asks how their identity, both carried and emergent, mediates their participation in the particular settings of institutional practices. To the

newcomers the realised world of teaching manifests itself as an array of institutional demands ‘knowledge-laden, imbued with cultural values and emotionally freighted by the motives of those who already act in them’ (Edwards, 2010a, p. 5). Acknowledging the strong culture of seniority and bureaucratic hierarchy in schools in South Korea, the study assumes that, as junior members, beginning teachers’ participation in their departments might be less vocal but more submissive. The first RQ aims to investigate how they respond to demands—privileged values and motives—in their departments and negotiate their identity in connection with a set of promoted identities in them.

Within the broad institutional practices of school beginning teachers occupy particular settings of activities. RQ 2 focuses on their actions taken in the activity settings of classrooms within the practices of school and inquires how new teachers’ identity, both carried and emergent, shapes and reshapes their actions in the classroom. In South Korea, teachers are expected to act as figures of authority in classrooms. The tradition of professional individualism also permits them a greater degree of autonomy in the classroom. Therefore, beginning teachers’ introduction, use, and modification of particular pedagogical tools might be expected to be more flexible in that particular context. By following the career of new teachers’ tool use, that is, why they introduce certain tools into classrooms and how new meanings are negotiated with those tools, RQ 2 aims to explore how they recognise and align different motives in their classrooms and organise their actions whilst developing new senses of self.

RQ 3 then brings the elements addressed in RQ 1 and 2 together and seeks an understanding of the nature of beginning teachers’ agency as they engage with diverse—often recurrent—demands in their schools. The study posits that agency is recognised in one’s actions as they are being taken and when they are completed—it is not simply a matter of intention but intentional actions that are realised, purposively and reflectively. The study thus premises that it is impossible to separate agency from actions in activities. The study also assumes that to analyse agency empirically is to grasp the social formation of the intentions that

are being carried out and achieved through actions. In this connection, more nuanced questions of agency that will be addressed through RQ 3 are concerned with: how the intentions carried in novice teachers' actions arise; and what mediates the degree to which they are engrossed with realising those intentions.

1.5 Summary of the remaining chapters in the thesis

Chapter Two presents a review of the literature in five broad themes. First, it briefly discusses the inseparability/separability debates about the relationship between the individual and the social amongst socioculturalists. Second, it considers post-Vygotskian studies of the person in practices, identifying its achievement and the persistent challenges yet to be addressed. Third, it reviews how the concept of teacher identity has been theorised and empirically studied in connection with a sociocultural turn in teacher cognition research. Fourth, it reviews empirical studies of novice teacher identity (trans)formation considering their design, methodological choices, findings and implications for the present study. Finally, the chapter proposes a theoretical framework informed by Holland et al. (1998) and Hedegaard (2012) for a cultural-historical study of beginning teachers' learning and development in practices.

Chapter Three details the design of the study and the approaches to data generation and interpretation. It considers how the choice of case study approach is linked to the notion of a *trajectory* as the object of inquiry of the study aiming for a cultural-historical understanding of beginning teachers' learning and development in practices. It also provides the descriptions of the participants, four beginning L2 English teachers and the two state schools in South Korea explored in this study. Ethical considerations, limitations and potential bias are also discussed.

Chapter Four presents the individual trajectories of the four participants accounting how their identity was utilised and negotiated as they navigated, made sense of, and acted in and on the materialise worlds of teaching in their respective schools. For each participant, the trajectories are told in two interrelated spheres of actions: that is, how they navigated, made

sense of, and acted in and on the practices in their assigned administration departments (staffrooms) and how they did so in their classrooms, followed by a summary.

Chapter Five looks across the trajectories of the four beginning teachers to provide an embracing picture of the findings by identifying similarities and differences. It considers the following themes: 1) negotiating access to resources in the staffroom; 2) according persuasive power to senior voices; 3) negotiating possible forms of teaching to the test; 4) self-empowering for virtuous common interest; and 5) negotiating adulthood and affinity in the homeroom.

The final chapter answers the research questions and considers the contribution of this study to research knowledge. Then it draws out the implications of the study for ITE and teacher induction practices in South Korea. It concludes by discussing the directions for future research, followed by closing remarks.

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter first discusses the separability and inseparability debates about the relationship between the individual and the social amongst socioculturalists and clarifies how the current study takes a stand in the discussion. Second, it examines how the ideas of the self and identity are addressed in post-Vygotskian studies of the person in practices and considers key issues and their implications for the present study. Third, it continues to discuss how teacher identity has been conceptualised and applied empirically in teacher cognition research under the aegis of a sociocultural turn. Within this research, the focus narrows to the field of SLTE and examines how identity has been utilised in researching novice L2 teachers' learning and development, identifying its achievements and persistent challenges. Lastly, putting the foregoing discussions into perspective, it proposes a theoretical framework informed by Holland et al. (1998) and Hedegaard (2012), suggesting a way of cultural-historical study of language teacher learning.

2.1 Inseparability/separability claims and analytic dualism

Vygotsky's legacy has been adapted for various strands of sociocultural research with different theoretical orientations (see Daniels, 2008). Sawyer (2002) described a bone of contention amongst socioculturalists, amongst whom he included 'cultural psychologists, Vygotskian educational theorists and those studying situated action and cognition' (p. 284) as follows.

Socioculturalists are divided on two of the foundational theoretical claims of the paradigm: a *process ontology* of the social world; and the *inseparability* of the individual and the group. A process ontology holds that only processes are real; entities, structures or patterns are ephemeral and do not really exist. Inseparability is the claim that the individual and the social cannot be methodologically or ontologically distinguished. (Sawyer, 2002, p. 283)

Sawyer argued that even inseparability theorists such as Hutchins (1995) and Lave and Wenger (1991) with a strong orientation for a process ontology failed to maintain their theoretical integrity in empirical practice by making 'entity-implying statements' (2002, p. 291). He also

claimed that socioculturalists as a whole, despite their outspoken empirical focus on situated practices, have been reticent about admitting their theoretical dissent from a process ontology. That is, Sawyer (2002) argued, they, in effect, have studied the relationships *amongst* individuals in situated practices in order to ‘theorize difference, heterogeneity, cultural tension and conflict’ (p. 293), which, in principle, is untenable with a strong insistence on a process ontology. In short, Sawyer viewed that all socioculturalists, even those most stalwart in support of inseparability claims, have endorsed *analytic dualism*.

By rejecting the inseparability claim in their empirical studies, socioculturalists have been able to study (1) properties of individuals, thus at times connecting their work to cognitive psychology; (2) properties of different contexts, such as different family arrangements, different activity frameworks in classrooms and different peer-group structures; and (3) the forms of microsociological practice that mediate between these two ... Sociocultural methodology belies its strongest claims for inseparability, and it succeeds best when it accepts analytic dualism. (Sawyer, 2002, p. 299)

To conclude his paper, he identified broadly two challenges that socioculturalists face if they are to sanction the inconsistency between their theoretical foundation and empirical practice, thus holding onto analytic dualism. First, he demanded to explicate precisely how the individual and the social are connected to each other.

If individual and group properties are analytically distinguished, then it becomes necessary to specify with some precision one’s theory of how they are related. To be complete, a theory that accepts analytic dualism must include postulates about the two-way causal relationship between individual and social properties, including the internalization processes associated with development and the externalization processes whereby individuals affect social structure. (Sawyer, 2002, p. 300)

The second challenge Sawyer (2002) pointed out is concerned with socioculturalism’s genetic weakness, that is, how to flesh out its lacking macrosocial appeal.

Socioculturalists do not have an adequate theory of social structure and how it constrains and enables individuals. ... [They] have rarely drawn substantively on sociology, political science or history—disciplines that argue for the irreducibility of macro-level entities or structures such as social class, educational level, geographic region, race and ethnicity, social networks and institutional structures, and social power and its forms. (Sawyer, 2002, p. 301)

The study holds to the view that ‘context and individual are seen as distinct but inherently interrelated levels of analysis’ (Daniels, 2008, p. 54), thus assuming that ‘an analysis of the individual must entail an analysis of social life, and vice versa’ (Saxe, 2004, p. 261). That is, inferring some level of separability between the personal and the social, the analytic primacy of the study was given to ‘the constructive activities of individuals as they emerge in social life’ (Saxe, 2004, p. 261). That is, how individual novice teachers construct their own unique trajectories of participation in—or identification trajectories with—the materialised worlds of teaching and how their productions intertwine with the specific settings of practices.

2.2 Post-Vygotskian approaches to the self and identity

Vygotsky’s writing did not specifically attend to the issues of self and identity, which has posed both challenges and opportunities for his followers to debate (Holland & Lachicotte, 2007; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995; Stetsenko & Arieviditch, 2004). As discussed above, Post-Vygotskian researchers are tasked to substantiate how the macrosocial interconnects with the formation of mind whilst acknowledging individuals as agentic social actors. Post-Vygotskian scholars often drew on other prominent theorists outside of the Vygotskian tradition to complement the social aspects of the formation of mind which the soviet psychologist was less eloquent about, and eventually founded Vygotskian accounts of the self and identity. Penuel and Wertsch (1995), for instance, integrated Vygotsky’s theory of individual functioning and development through cultural mediation and Erikson’s (1968) account of how social processes fuse into individuals’ choices of who to be. They stressed to delve into the particularity of ‘contexts in which identity is contested or under transforming shift’ (p. 90) as they mediate individuals’ choices of and commitment to the cultural-historical tools constitutive of the sites of their identity work, eventually reshaping their identity. A prominent figure often incorporated in devising Vygotskian theories of the self and identity is Mikhail Bakhtin. For example, Wertsch (1991) drew on Bakhtin’s ideas of voice, speech genres and dialogicality to explicate how historical,

cultural and institutional settings are tied to the formation of *mind*, the term he insisted on as he intended his discussion to be extended to understanding ‘other aspects of human mental life, such as self and emotion’ (p. 14). Holland et al. (1998) also drew on ‘[Bakhtin’s] much keener appreciation of the ties of cultural forms to social others and the fundamentally social nature of dialogism’ (p. 174). They devised a Vygotskian theory of identity which appreciates a person as an agentic and creative social actor who moves flexibly between their cultural learning and social imposition to negotiate how to be. Holland and her colleagues’ work has been widely applied in studies of identity in various educational settings (see Urrieta, 2007; Vågan, 2011).

Meanwhile, Stetsenko and Arievitch (2004) provided a useful summary of the current scholarship on the social formation of the self and identity. They delineated two approaches which theorise the self as ontologically grounded in the social: *transactional* and *dialogical*. For the former they reviewed: social constructionism (e.g. Gergen, 1994); situated learning theory (e.g. Lave, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Rogoff, 1990); and a line of activity theory (e.g. Engeström, 1987), whereby social discourse, participation in a community, and a goal-oriented collective activity respectively are attributed to govern the social production of identity. They disapproved of the transactional views, whereby ‘the self is dissolved in the collective dynamics of social processes’ (p. 478). They also were critical of the dialogical approaches such as Holland et al. (1998), Penuel and Wertsch (1995), Valsiner (2002), for their over-reliance on ‘the relatedness, dialogism and responsiveness of human life’ (p. 480) as the almost exclusive ontological ground of the self, whilst neglecting to consider:

(a) whether and how the genuinely constructive and practical material processes ... are implicated in producing and defining the dialogical realm of human interactions and human subjectivity, and (b) the reciprocally constitutive role of human subjectivity and the self in the emergent reality of social practice, dialogical interactions and human life. (p. 480)

Instead they considered what cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT), specifically Leontiev’s account of the self (1983) could offer in devising ‘a profoundly social and relational view of the self’ (p. 475). They argued that Leontiev’s idea of the self oversold the power of the material

structures of practices and activities, thus disregarding individuals as ‘active agents of their own development and the development of the humanity’ (p. 489). To address ‘the principal dialectical unity of human subjectivity, social relations and material practice as having the same ontological grounding’ (p. 490), they proposed the notion of ‘the self as a leading activity’ (p. 493), where the self is theorised as a process, not preparation for life but the very engagement itself with moment-to-moment life situations, and as the very power for social transformation.

Hedegaard (2012), though not directly concerned with the problem of the self and identity, also provided a useful insight in addressing the downplay of individual agency in the transactional approaches to the self. She made a similar attempt as Stetsenko and Arieviditch (2004), arguing for ‘an expanded CHAT’ (p. 477). Her notion of an *activity setting* in particular was a critical disruption from the Leontievian activity theory in order to explicate a person as an agentic social actor with the power to transform the existing practices as well as themselves. Her approach to describe how the social permeates and intersects with the personal is to focus on the motives and demands in practices which relay societal norms and expectations, albeit to varying degrees of imposition. She asserted that one’s existence as a social being is to acquire the sets of privileged competences and motives in given social settings. Yet, she noted that one does not passively inhabit or acculturate the leading motives in practices but proactively realign different demands on them to carve out their own moves putting forward their intentions.

The recent debate over dialogism amongst Scandinavian scholars such as Linell (2015) and Steffensen (2015) also defends the theoretical and methodological grounds to the dialogical approaches to the social formation of the self, thus addressing Stetsenko and Arieviditch’s (2004) criticism above. Thompson and Wittek (2016) drew on Linell to argue:

The dialogical self refers to the complex interplay between the self and the social in the development of mind. ... The dialogical self has two main components: contextual sense making and individual consciousness. The individual mind is social in that knowledge, norms, concepts and language originate in the social world. Contextual sense making can be defined as an “in situ” matter for both the speaker or writer and the interlocutors. (Thompson & Wittek, 2016, p. 86)

That is, the concept of *the dialogical self* and its underpinning of ‘self-other interdependence’ (Linell, 2015, p. 124) support the images of a person as an essentially cultural-historical being, who takes forms and meanings through their moment-to-moment sense making of the complex interweaving of diverse voices relaying different motives and intensions, shaping the very cultural, historical and social settings in which they are situated.

Meantime, some scholars tried to reify the interconnection of a person and practices to argue for the social formation of the self and identity. Gee (2000), for instance, defined one’s identity as an assemblage of social recognitions by which the person organises a *combination*, the ways of presenting and performing themselves in practices.

At a given time and place, a person engages in what I will call a “combination.” A combination is some specific way of combining the following things: (a) speaking (or writing) in a certain way; (b) acting and interacting in a certain way; (c) using one’s face and body in a certain way; (d) dressing in a certain way; (e) feeling, believing, and valuing in a certain way; and (f) using objects, tools, or technologies (i.e., “things”) in a certain way. This combination either can be seen as an active “bid” to be recognized in a certain way or can be seen as leaving oneself “open” to being recognized in a certain way. (Gee, 2000, p. 109)

His central thesis was that one’s identity, a set of combinations that mediates the person’s actions in and on practices, is not an imposition but an ongoing negotiation, pointing to one’s agency and intentionality as integral to their identity work. He further delineated two essentially social questions to be addressed in empirical studies of the self and identity.

One crucial question we can always ask about identities of any type is this: What institution or institutions, or which group or groups of people, work to construct and sustain a given Discourse—that is, work to ensure that a certain combination, at a given time and place, is recognized as coming from a certain kind of person? This is a “macro-level” question. ... We can always also ask a crucial “micro-level” question: How, on the grounds of moment-by-moment interaction, does recognition work such that some specific combination is recognized (or not) in a certain way, or contested or negotiated over in a certain way? In the end, we are talking about recognition as a social and political process, though, of course, one rooted in the workings of people’s (fully historicized and socialized) minds. (Gee, 2000, p. 111)

In other words, he viewed that one’s identity is constructed *vis-à-vis* the interpretive system, or the dominant discourses and privileged motives in practices which relay what matters in the realms of activities, endorsing a certain identity over others. One’s identity work thus entails

issues of power and control. An essential aspect of empirical efforts to grasp one's identity would should involve reifying micro-political struggles, how conflicting motives in local practices and wider social processes—societal and cultural norms and priorities—are at play. Similarly, Holland and Lave (2001) argued for the criticality of delving into what happens in practices in order to understand one's identity work as an essentially social process. They staked out the twofold social relations entailed in one's making of personhood.

[First, there is] a constellation of relations between subjects' intimate self-making and their participation in contentious local practice—what we refer to as “history in person” ... Indeed, there is a second principal constellation of relations under discussion here—relations between contentious local practice and broader, more enduring (historical, processual, and open-ended) struggles ... We must ask how the latter are locally realized, how they shape subjectivities, and how they are shaped in practice if we are also to address relations between contentious local practice and the production of subjectivities. (Holland & Lave, 2001, pp. 5-6)

In their view, the development of personhood needs to be puzzled out against doubly historical settings, that is, as a product of the interplay between *history-in-person* (Holland & Lave, 2001) and institutional histories, both nested in macro-social processes. Also, they noted that local practices remain contentious and unresolved with changing expectations and demands at hand. Due to such uncertainties and open-endedness of local practices, they maintained that one's identity work is never finished, but always in the making.

Some post-Vygotskian scholars attempted to complement the lacking macrosocial aspect of socioculturalism by drawing on theorists whose theoretical orientations are social. Daniels' (2001, 2006, 2008, 2011) critical application of Bernsteinian sociological theory (e.g., Bernstein, 2000) is exemplary in devising ‘an appropriate theory of social structure and an account of how it directs and deflects the attention of the individuals it constrains and enables’ (Daniels, 2011, p. 361). Daniels (2006) wrote:

Bernstein's account of social positioning within the discursive practice that arises in activity systems, taken together with his analysis of the ways in which principles of power and control translate into principles of communication, might allow us to investigate how principles of communication differentially regulate forms of consciousness. (Daniels, 2006, pp. 47-48)

What is evident from the scholarly efforts discussed so far is that Vygotsky has indeed left a significant theoretical vacuum, or an open-ended quest for grasping how broader cultural, historical and social forces interconnect with the development of intramental processes (Wertsch, 1991), including the issue of self and identity. Post-Vygotskian scholars are thus tasked to build and consolidate the theoretical integrity of their proposed approaches to the self and identity; they need to devise a coherent exposition on how particular settings of practices foreground the formation of subjectivity and yet individuals can still conduct themselves as agentic actors. In parallel they also have to substantiate their approaches' investigative capacity as a 'languages of description' (Daniels, 2011, p. 363) to unravel the interweaving of social and personal domains of life in terms of the other.

2.3 Theorisation of teacher identity

This section examines how the post-Vygotskian debate on the social formation of mind discussed above is reflected in the current teacher identity literature. I broadly discern two different approaches to theorise teacher identity: first, by describing its existential nature as multiple, transforming and sociogenic; and second, by characterising what it functions as, or its mediating capacity in practices. The distinction may appear to treat them as though they were separate, but this is only for ease of discussion. Rather they denote different facets of a totality. In essence, I would argue that concerns over the lack of agreed definitions of teacher identity (see Kleinsasser, 2013) are misguided. Instead if the notion of identity aspires to be 'an analytic tool for studying important issues of theory and practice in education' (Gee, 2000, p. 100), any constructive inspections should examine the fit between theorisation and methodological choices which eventually affects research findings; that is, how multiple definitions of teacher identity have theoretically and methodologically informed and shed light on various aspects of teachers' learning and development.

2.3.1 Teacher identity as multiple, transforming and sociogenic

In recent years, the concept of identity has gained a wider currency as a heuristic to study teacher learning and development (see Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard, Meijer & Verloop, 2004). A driving force behind the popularity of such teacher identity research appears to be attributable to a growing consensus that teacher identity exerts significant influence on teacher effectiveness and eventually on the quality of educational provision (Day, Kington, Stobart & Sammons, 2006; Menter, 2010). In particular, the concept of identity has been widely utilised to investigate the nature of teacher learning and development at boundaries, or what Akkerman and Bakker (2011) understood as ‘sociocultural difference[s] leading to discontinuities in interaction and action’ (p. 133) such as in the contexts of policy reforms in school (e.g. Day, 2002; Lasky, 2005; Ma & Singer-Gabella, 2011; Sachs, 2001; Williams, Corbin & McNamara, 2007) and boundary crossing between institutional practices, e.g. novice teachers’ transition from university to school (e.g. Pillen, Den Brok & Beijaard, 2013; Watzke, 2007). In other words, identity work is recognised as a quintessential aspect of teachers’ endeavour to re-establish the daily rhythms of life when facing new practices.

A growing consensus supports teacher identity as multiple, transforming and sociogenic (see Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard, Meijer & Verloop, 2004; Rodgers & Scott, 2008), which strongly resonates with a sociocultural turn in human sciences. Downplaying the notion of identity as an individual mental activity striving to secure a sense of unity and continuity, the position strongly advocates the situatedness of the self, tied to specific contexts, upholding a vision that a legitimate question of identity is no longer, as Zembylas (2003) aptly put it, ‘who one is’ but ‘when, where and how one is’ (p. 215). For example, Day et al.’s (2006) longitudinal study of Variations in Teachers’ Work, Lives, and their Effects on Pupils (VITAE) illustrated that the manifold nature of teacher identity reflects ‘a number of life, career and situational factors’ (p. 601). Similarly, in a review study of teacher identity, Menter (2010) argued that although ‘there are some core values that have

typified teacher identity' (p. 42), their materialisation is contingent on local settings of policies and practices, pointing to the situatedness of teachers' identity work. In particular, he pointed out that the degree of compatibility (or conflict) of motives between teachers and institutional practices in schools attests to their sense of professional fulfilment and creativity. Researchers using this framework have focused on addressing how teacher identity is formed in dynamic transactions with broader cultural, historical and institutional settings as the real locus of teachers' identity work. When teacher identity is theorised as transforming through ongoing negotiations specific to contexts, thus multiple, sociogenic and historical, teachers are also viewed as agentic actors. Such conceptions of the teacher and teacher identity give rise to a set of assumptions upon which empirical effort should be grounded in. That is, it not only calls for design and methods to analyse emergent and changing identity as trajectories in relation to the settings of practices but also puts forwards a critical problem of detecting teacher agency. In other words, a critical empirical challenge is to capture the dialectic of teacher identity and the cultural, historical and social settings in which teachers' professional lives are situated.

Yet, some concerns have been raised in terms of the disparities between how the notion of teacher identity has been theorised and empirically investigated, identifying key issues for further deliberation and research. For instance, Beijjaard et al.'s (2004) review of 22 studies of teacher identity published in 1998-2000 reported that the existing literature not only rarely followed the trajectories of teachers' identity work, thus disregarding the fundamentally historical nature of teacher identity (trans)formation, but also largely neglected to consider their 'professional landscape' (p. 126) as an integral part of teachers' identity work. Akkerman and Meijer (2011) also observed that there is still a call for empirical research to address the procedural aspects of how multiple identities of a teacher come about, interact and transform over time. Such a tendency is also observed in the current SLTE scholarship. Despite the field's growing interest in the notion of identity and its heuristic potential, it is argued that few have focused on the historical formation and evolution of language teacher identity in relation

to the settings of their practices (Kanno & Stuart, 2011; Kleinsasser, 2013; Tsui, 2007). In particular, novice L2 teachers in transition from university to school remain an under-represented demographic, leaving a central question of *becoming* at the very early, yet critical period of career development unanswered, that is, why some are enmeshed in contradictions, struggling for survival, whilst others transcend and grow from contradictions in practices.

2.3.2 Narrating as a tool of identity work

A body of research aims to offset the saturation of the postmodern approach towards identity by allowing for the neglected, yet indisputable aspect of identity as coherent senses of self, however inchoate and fleeting. Literature on teacher identity from this perspective is largely grounded on a narrative ontology of identity (see Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004), where teachers' narrating, e.g. 'self-as-teacher stories' (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013, p. 122) is theorised as their identity as well as a tool of identity work. That is, through ongoing storytelling in private and(or) social speech situations teachers make sense of themselves contingent to activities in practices to maintain the sense of equilibrium in the flow of time and shifting contexts. For example, Rodgers and Scott (2008) championed the idea of *a Self*, a more or less constant aspect of the self as 'the meaning *maker* and identity as the meaning *made*' (p. 739):

[S]elf will subsume identity(ies) and will be understood as an evolving yet coherent being, that consciously and unconsciously constructs and is constructed, reconstructs and is reconstructed, in interaction with the cultural contexts, institutions, and people with which the self lives, learns, and functions. (Rodgers & Scott, 2008, p. 739)

That is, it is one's *Self* that enables the person to conduct their life, fight their way against life's uncertainties and discontinuities with a modicum of continuity and clarity. Akkerman and Meijer (2011), drawing on Bakhtin's ideas of *voice* and *dialogicality*, also aspired to teacher identity as 'both unitary and multiple, both continuous and discontinuous and both individual and social' (p. 309). They conceptualised the self as 'a dialogical space between different I-positions' (p. 312), where diverse voices with their own intentions are negotiated and resolved

in order to retain stable and continued senses of self. Johnson and Golombek's (2016) notion of 'narrative activity as externalization' is a succinct summary of how narrating enables teachers to 'create cohesion out of their lived experiences', thus enabling them to 'gain increasing control over their thinking, feelings, and actions' (p. 14).

Similarly, Rodgers and Scott (2008) asserted that teachers' identity work become 'active' when they break away from 'authored by' and move to 'authoring' (p. 737), which requires elevated awareness of their own voices and increased sense of agency. Their assertion promotes a vision that teachers' identity work is a means of professional empowerment. Sachs (2005) also supported the proactive capacity of teachers' identity work stressed that teachers' agentic engagement with identity construction is, in fact, a prerequisite for taking on the fluidity and open-endedness of doing a teacher.

[Teacher professional identity] provides a framework for teachers to construct their own ideas of 'how to be', 'how to act' and 'how to understand' their work and their place in society. Importantly, teacher identity is not something that is fixed nor is it imposed; rather it is negotiated through experience and the sense that is made of that experience. (Sachs, 2005, p. 15)

To imagine teachers' narrating as a tool of sense making of themselves and public meanings in practices and eventually (re)arranging their actions in and on practices endorses that teachers are agentic actors in their learning and development.

2.4 Empirical studies of teacher identity and implications

Regardless of whether the transformation of identity is backgrounded as an oblique, yet evocative subtext or enunciated with great degrees of explicitness and assertion, researchers have shown that novice teachers' transition from university to work sparks off identity wars between their carried-over and expected school identity, interspersed with struggles, provisional truces and reconciliations. In this section, I review a selection of empirical studies whose research contexts strongly resonated with the current study by considering their design, methodology, findings and implications.

2.4.1 Persistent initial identity

A line of inquiry focuses on the significance of beginning teachers' initial identity in mediating how they experience and make sense of school practices, which consequently shapes the patterns of their participation and non-participation extending to attrition. For instance, Maistre and Paré (2010) examined the role of university in career training, with a particular focus on scaffolding in graduates' transition from university into practices. They interviewed senior students, beginning and experienced practitioners in four professions—physiotherapy, occupational therapy, social work, and teaching, all having either studied or graduated from a university in Quebec, Canada. Unlike the other three professions who were given considerable support from experienced colleagues, the beginning teachers interviewed received little or no support during their internship as well as the first year in teaching. They observed that the entrant teachers who survived the first years of professional teaching, unlike their dropout counterparts, managed to acquire a new identity as 'the satisficer' (p. 562) against some unfavourable conditions in practices such as the sheer complexity and extent of the problems they were expected to handle in general, the contingent nature of the demands in the classroom, and the lack of structured support and guidance. The survivors learnt to live with 'temporary but sufficient solutions' (p. 559) against the uncertainties to ease the cognitive load they had to deal with to reach a goal state. On the contrary, the brightest and best beginning teachers, due to their former identity as an expert student, found satisficing more exacting as they were highly demanding of themselves and found it difficult to dissuade themselves from settling for less than perfect solutions. As a result, they created insurmountable internal contradictions and eventually left teaching. They argued that ITE should induct student teachers in teaching as an ill-defined problem' (p. 559), whilst incorporating satisficing as a key strategy to prepare them for uncertainties in the first years of teaching. They asserted that the capacity to take comfort in and act on good enough resolutions could provide new teachers with a safe space whereby they could play themselves in and gradually learn to devise expert responses to practices.

In the developing expertise of beginning teachers (DEBT) project, Mutton, Burn and Hagger (2010), following 25 student teachers during the practicum in their Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) course in England, pointed to mediation of the ‘dispositions with which they arrive ... [that is] preconceptions, ideals and beliefs, providing the schemata which may enhance or, in some cases, hinder their learning’ (pp. 73-74) as participating in school practices. They observed that placement teachers’ carried-over identity conditioned their perceptions of the contextual settings of their schools to be facilitative or otherwise, consequently shaping their emergent identity. They noted that the factors that student teachers perceived as constraining were ‘an intrinsic aspect’ (p. 82) of learning to teach, thus could not be intervened and eliminated. They insisted that ITE should instead focus on student teachers’ attitudes and dispositions, evincing ITE as a powerful intervention to instil student teachers with proactive and deliberative orientations to teaching experience and, by extension, learning to teach as a whole so that they could develop the capacity to devise sensible and practical solutions facing complex problems in practices. Similarly, Ruohotie-Lyhty (2013) showed that the carried-over identity of new teachers exercised lasting effect on the nature of their participation in practices. In a narrative study of two newly qualified language teachers set in Finland, she recounted two novice language teachers’ completely different narrating of their first years of teaching, that is, as ‘easy’ vs. ‘painful’, and their respective choices of ‘agentic and victimic life plots’ (p. 126). She noted that it was the mismatch between the new teachers’ initial self-images and expected identity in school realities, e.g. an innovative subject teacher vs. a disciplinarian that resulted in their identity crises, jeopardising their senses of security and confidence. She suggested that ITE go beyond simply inculcating student teachers with subject knowledge and pedagogy but guide them to engage with various ‘educational perspectives and relational skills’ (p. 127) which make up the realities of the school so that in time they would not be stifled by diverse demands in practices but respond to them as agentic learner teachers.

These studies support the view that the ways in which ITE organises and refines its programmes mediate how student teachers figure and experience the world of teaching and themselves within it. Therefore, for ITE to introduce new ways of imagining teaching practices is to provide learner teachers with new tools, or new possibilities for being a teacher, which could eventually transform school practices. Mantero (2004) provided an idea how ITE could organise learning opportunities in such manner. He argued for ITE to adopt and practise the idea of teacher identity as a tool of *transcendence*, that is, a tool with which teachers interrogate the diverse discourses of the activity of teaching and eventually transform traditional practices. For instance, L2 student teachers can critically examine the discourses of language teacher education (LTE), of the LTE profession, of the second language classroom, and of community. Mantero (2004) argued that these multiple discourses have their own ways of interpreting and representing tradition, thus creating discrepancies and tensions. He insisted that it is, therefore, essential for ITE to encourage student teachers to question and critically engage with how they are inducted into those traditions, e.g. as ‘the actual, the ideal, or the ought’ (p. 146) and thus how they are led to conceptualise critical questions in language teaching such as what it means to be a second language teacher. The inquiry process would allow student teachers to develop the capacity to act proactively and responsively in and on contingent demands—often conflictual and contradictory—they would face in school practices. In other words, ITE should act as a potentially powerful intervention to help student teachers cultivate the kind of dispositions and initial identity which would allow them to embark on and pursue their careers as ‘transformative intellectuals’ (Johnson, 2006, p. 235).

2.4.2 Powerful shaping of school practices

Meanwhile, a body of literature has also shown the susceptibilities of new teachers’ carried-over identity to change and even abandonment, pointing to the powerful shaping of school practices. The studies reviewed here are selected as their described school settings and

practices bear the close resemblance to those of South Korea. Specifically, a particular context of interest, closely related to the current study, is L2 English education policies in East Asian countries, e.g. China, Hong Kong and Japan. For instance, Lam and Yan's (2011) study of 11 beginning teachers for their first two years of teaching set in Hong Kong indicated that even highly motivated beginning teachers with idealistic orientations towards teaching, (i.e. viewing teaching as a moral calling) left demoralised and resentful, despite their satisfying relationships with pupils, when they perceived that school environments—for example, in terms of the 'volume of non-teaching workload, equitability in the distribution of work, and professional autonomy' (p. 333)—were unsuitable. Some scholars have explored how practices shaped novice teachers' identity in terms of their professional socialisation into an organisation at the level of complex micro-political realities. For instance, Uitto, Kaunisto, Syrjälä and Estola (2015) pointed to the significance of the micro-political contexts of schools in Finland, how they mediate novice teachers' shaping of emotional experiences and eventually emergent identity. They reported Tiina's stories, told in peer group meetings, about her powerlessness to the discursive positioning imposed on her. The Finnish teacher felt disheartened by the absence of empathetic senior colleagues, which made her to be self-restrained in voicing her relational and emotional experiences, effectively forcing herself into 'silenced loneliness' (p. 168).

Uitto et al. (2015) also indicated that other tasks, or 'the increasing external demands or administrative tasks' (p. 171) imposed on schools complicate novice teachers' identity work. This idea of the school as an organisation has been pointed out as a reason for novice teachers' identity crisis. Gavish and Friedman's (2010) study, for instance, showed that Israeli beginning teachers felt lost when facing the demand to function as 'organisational persons' (p. 142) as they did not know 'what the organizational reality of teaching entails' (p. 145). Their analysis of the relationship between novice teachers' burnout and their perception of the organisational settings of their schools indicated the persistent level of burnout amongst the beginning teachers studied throughout the year, even from the onset of their careers. The novice teachers' negative

perception of their work settings strongly predicted depersonalisation and detrimental effects on the quality of their classroom teaching. Similarly, Kelchtermans and Ballet (2002) took heed of the notion of the school as ‘a functioning institution ... [imbued with] certain traditions and habits, or more or less subtle power relations between (groups of) school members’ (p. 107). They argued that new teachers’ first years of teaching entail a process of developing ‘micro-political literacy’ (p. 117), whereby they strive to realise ‘personal interests ... [to] establish the desired working conditions, to safeguard them when they are threatened or to restore them if they have been removed’ (p. 108). They delineated five categories of novice teachers’ personal interests: *material*, *organisational*, *social-professional*, *cultural-ideological* and *self-interests*, and observed that these categories interact, creating tensions and contradictions. They noted that it was novice teachers’ motivation for self-affirmation that shaped how they organised their actions to overcome their vulnerability as a neophyte and be recognised as a legitimate teacher.

Some scholars have delved further into the political settings of beginning teachers’ professional work and interrogated how those settings created demands which then permeated the institutional practices of their schools and eventually their day-to-day survival, supporting the view that issues of teacher identity are directly related to the questions of policy, politics and governance (See Ozga, 2000). Tsui (2007) took a historically motivated approach and followed the trajectories of identity transformation of Minfang, an EFL student in China deeply sceptical of communicative language teaching (CLT) reluctantly becoming ‘the custodian of CLT pedagogy’ (p. 671) against a backdrop of institutional idolisation of CLT in a prestigious university. In accordance with the nation’s policy initiative, the university rigidly prescribed the meanings of CLT rather than inviting its members to debate and develop new meanings. Drawing on Wenger’s (1998) theory of identity formation, Tsui argued that teachers’ identity formation is, in essence, an ongoing struggle to prove to themselves as well as other members of the community that they possess legitimate access to practices and the kind of competence valued in the social space. When maintaining his membership of the prestigious institution

became his priority, Minfang, as a junior member of the university, felt obliged to perform his prescribed identity whilst hiding his true feelings towards it. This meant that his initial motives towards language teaching were gradually dismissed, fuelling his growing sense of alienation. Meanwhile, Loh and Hu (2014) showed the raging neoliberalism in Singapore, its permeation into a high achieving school and its relentless moulding of a new teacher, Natalie. The school's target-driven pedagogy denied her constructivist vision of learning and its prevalent neoliberal ideologies and practices demanded her to perform a well-operating unit to successfully brand and market 'Singapore Inc.' (p. 14). With a full teaching load, she struggled to keep afloat. Despite her acute sense of loss and bitterness, ironically she was praised as a competent teacher.

The studies reviewed above point to the fact that the school as a social institution is a contested field of diverse expectations and demands from the past, of the time and for the future, yet with more or less clearly defined institutional identity. They also indicate that new teachers indeed enter practices with their own professional ideals and convictions. Yet, their initial envisioning of teaching is often at odds with and even simply overpowered by the stark reality of school life, often entrenched with 'individualism, low morale and commitment amongst teachers, the existence of 'vested interests' and the excessive bureaucracy' (Flores, 2004, p. 313). As a result, their already fragile identity is thrown further into uncertainties, resulting in the early onset of psychological disengagement characterised by 'the loss of idealism, the emergence of routines and a sense of 'giving up'' (Flores, 2004, p. 313). These observations pose a critical question of how schools, as a key site of professional learning and development, should plan and provide responsive guide and support to lubricate new teachers' transition into practices in a way that is attentive to their personal needs and motivations.

2.5 Proposing a theoretical framework

The study postulates transformation of identity as a necessary consequence of entrant teachers' living in and through contradictions and tensions immanent in practices. Positing their

emergent identities and practices as the empirical evidence to reveal their ongoing dialectic with cultural, historical and institutional settings of practices, this study requires a theoretical framework which could shed light on the mutual shaping of sociocultural settings and teacher identity whilst casting an analytical gaze on how new teachers' agency is played out in the process. The discussion here envisions a new approach to a cultural-historical study of teacher learning and development, where the notion of teacher identity is imagined as 'a language of description' (Daniels, 2006) to reveal how beginning teachers' personal and social domains of life 'weave together' (Cole, 1996, p. 135), creating their individualities 'in a continual state of flux' (Johnson, 2006, p. 247) in practices. Teacher identity is theorised as a heuristic to reveal the mutual shaping between teacher and practices but also itself as an object of transformation in the process, hence the driving force which resets the course of the dialectic between the two. To do so, I integrate the practice theory of identity by Holland et al. (1998) and Hedegaard (2012). First, I discuss how Holland and her colleagues defined the concept of identity and predicated the process of one's identity work as specific to activities in practices by walking through their proposed four distinct, yet complementary, contexts of practised identity: *figured world*, *positionality*, *space of authoring* and *making worlds*. In doing so, I emphasise how their conception of identity could provide a language of description for 'the implied dialectic of person and environment' (1998, p. 39) with the strong evocation of agency. Then, I discuss how Hedegaard's (2012) model, in particular, her proposed notion of *an activity setting* could enhance the analytic capacity of Holland et al. (1998) by shedding light on the mechanism by which the macrosocial permeates into the making of personhood whilst appreciating agency.

2.5.1 To locate the directive force of one's actions in and on practices

Initially, Holland and her colleagues (1998) were intrigued by the evident improvisational nature of one's actions in practices, and questioned, what is the persuasive power that moves the person in the moment, often freighted with complexities and contradictions. To answer,

their point of departure was the symbolic power of behaviour as a telling illustration of the self as a participant in a specific activity: ‘Behaviour is better viewed as a sign of self in practice, not as a sign of self in essence’ (p. 31). Holland et al. (1998) elaborated:

There is, in each instance, a microgenesis, a microdevelopment as the person goes from a personal, subjective sense to its objectification, responding to and drawing upon past experience as well as the resources and demands of the particular situation. The ultimate behavior—whether an expression of hunger, a solution to a problem, a climb up a house, or a work of art—is a product of the person-in-practice. This product, in turn, can become a symbol or icon important in the mediation of future behavior. The process is one of heuristic development. (Holland et al., 1998, p. 40)

In effect, Holland et al. aimed to transcend the either/or contestation between culturalist and constructivist accounts for the origination of human actions, that is, either cultural learning or social imposition. Their resolution was to position the two distinctive perspectives in a dialogic framework in the Bakhtinian sense of different voices in conversation, which coexist by complementing and contradicting each other. Holland et al. (1998) argued:

Bakhtin’s concern with the social weighing of expression and the creative life of association, combined with Vygotsky’s emphases on historical development and on the potentiality of symbols for (re)formation, affords a means by which “cultural studies of the person” may avoid a common conceptual dilemma—one that traps persons permanently, either in “cultural logics” or in “subject positions” or in some combination of the two. (Holland et al. 1998, p. 6)

From this developmental-dialogic vision, they took heed of the evident improvisational nature of one’s actions, and of what is produced, ‘the practical artifacts of the moment—the verbal, gestural, and material productions’ (p. 17). They viewed that these personal productions, or the person’s answers to constantly encountered tensions and contradictions integral to their lived worlds, are the person’s very identity. A critical argument they put forward is that one’s identity is objectified and practised so that it functions as a heuristic means to ‘guide, authorize, legitimate, and encourage their own and others’ behavior’ (1998, p. 18). Drawing on the Vygotskian datum that ‘improvisations make a difference for the next moment of production’ (p. 45), they also attempted to transcend the time lag in Bourdieu’s theorisation of *habitus* as a matter of trans-generational achievement:

Pace Bourdieu, we suggest that the process [improvisations becoming a new habitus] is also condensed into the space of a lifetime. In our view, improvisations, from a cultural base and in response to the subject positions offered *in situ*, are, when taken up as symbol, potential beginnings of an altered subjectivity, an altered identity. (Holland et al., 1998, p. 18)

That is, they viewed that spontaneous productions are actively internalised to make a difference for the next productions, hence an impetus for and the very beginning of an altered identity.

2.5.2 Four contexts of identity in practice

In order to explicate the process of one's identity work in practices, Holland and her colleagues (1998) conceptualised social life in the light of two distinctive aspects: first, as 'conventional events, improvised but recognizable acts, and talked-about characters'; second, as 'of power, status, relative privilege, and their negotiation' (p. 125). To address the former, they proposed the concept of a *figured world*, 'a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others' (p. 52). The idea of figured world emulates Leontiev's motivation of devising the notion of *activity* as a 'third term' (p. 39) to free humans from the tyranny of environment but places them in a dialectical relationship. Yet, the idea also carried their intention to transcend the Leontievian provenance by drawing on Bakhtin's legacy.

Figured worlds distribute "us," not only by relating actors to landscapes of action (as personae) and spreading our senses of self across many different fields of activity, but also by giving the landscape human voice and tone. This last point goes beyond Leontiev, recalls Voloshinov, and presages Bakhtin. Cultural worlds are populated by familiar social types and even identifiable persons, not simply differentiated by some abstract division of labor. The identities we gain within figured worlds are thus specifically historical developments, grown through continued participation in the positions defined by the social organization of those worlds' activity. (Holland et al., 1998, p. 41)

That is, they imagined that a figured world is similar to an activity but with more personified hues: 'the figures, characters, and types [of a figured world] ... have styles of interacting within, distinguishing perspectives on, and orientations toward it' (p. 51). Their argument is

that although a figured world is produced and reproduced by culturally modelled stereotypes, or ‘standard plot’ or ‘a taken-for-granted sequence of events’ (p. 53), thus inescapably diffused with a set of culturally prescribed motives and purposes, its day-to-day operations happen through the contestation of varied human voices carrying their own personal interests and stances towards the privileged meanings and values of the imagined world.

The vision that a figured world is socially enacted and localised leads to Holland and her colleagues’ second context of practised identity, *positionality*. Drawing on Bourdieu’s conception of *field*, they observed that the idioms of social identification such as power, privilege and affiliation are inherent qualities of a figured world. This positional aspect of identity considers one’s career of actions as negotiating and claiming their relational standing in the social space. They should not only understand the markers of entitlement and access that ‘[figure] differently in terms of the symbolic capitals particular to each world’ (p. 272) but also have to work out their entitlement ‘depending on the others present, of greater or lesser access to spaces, activities, genres, and through those genres, authoritative voices, or no voice at all’ (p. 128). This relational aspect of one’s identity is thus not an individual but collective achievement through complex social transactions.

The third context of practised identity suggested by Holland and her collaborators is the notion of a *space of authoring* drawing on Bakhtin’s dialogism, that is, ‘a space defined by the interrelationship of differentiated “vocal” perspectives on the social world’ (p. 173) in order to explain one’s identity work as a social and yet creative process.

Dialogism makes clear that what we call identities remain dependent upon social relations and material conditions. If these relations and material conditions change, they must be “answered,” and old “answers” about who one is may be undone.
(Holland et al., 1998, p. 189)

To restate, they posited that one’s identity work is, in essence, a dialogic activity necessarily mediated by languages, laying ‘the social ground of “personal” creativity of authority’ (p. viii), where the person orchestrates multiple voices in practices and eventually raises their own voices to carve out ‘*expressible* relationship’ (p. 172) to others. They asserted:

The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. (Holland et al., 1998, pp. 171-172)

In their view, one's identity work facing a new figured world is to build the ownership and personal meanings out of the genres of languages spoken in the unfamiliar space. Yet, they further pointed to the creative power of one's self-authoring. That is, the person's improvised answers, though conditioned by the cultural and social settings of practices, are not entirely predetermined. Through them, the person can still reimagine and transform the figured worlds they are partaking in, which leads to their fourth context of practised identity, *making worlds*. Holland et al. argued that 'on the margins of regulated space and time' (p. 272) in one's participating social worlds, one can still envision, objectify and try new self-images as a means of self-direction, eventually transforming the very social worlds in which one participates and engendering new practices. Yet, they contended that in order for one's improvised answers to be habituated and acquire sustained power over the person's senses of self and actions it needs the approval of the *stabilized social audience*, '[e]ach person's inner word and thought has its stabilized social audience that comprises the environment in which reasons, motives, values, and so on are fashioned' (p. 189). In other words, Holland and her colleagues' dialogical envisioning of one's self-authoring argued for the 'social efficacy' (p. 272) of those voices occupying practices as critical role holders for the development of the person's answerability.

2.5.3 Agency as a social achievement

Holland et al.'s (1998) theorisation of the formation of one's identity was to pronounce 'the implied dialectic of persons and environment within the context of activity' (p. 39). In order to understand how one's actions are interwoven with the social settings in practices, they urged us to see how the person recognises and orchestrates the voices in their participating social worlds and eventually reshape the practices. A critical argument of their approach was the conception

of the person in practices as an agentic actor who could transform themselves as well as the social settings in which they are participating. They identified two distinctive forms of agency at work in one's identity work: *improvisation* and *appropriation*:

Rather it [heuristic development of identity] directs attention to two processes: (1) the genesis of the products (improvisations) that come from the meeting of persons, cultural resources, and situations in practice; and (2) the appropriation of these products as heuristics for the next moment of activity. To the extent that these productions are used again and again, they can become tools of agency or self-control and change... (Holland et al., 1998, p. 40)

To reiterate, they argued that historical (trans)formation of identity is achieved through the dialectic of improvisation and appropriation of objectified self-images for self-direction and change. They viewed that for one's spontaneous actions to be appropriated as a heuristic means to organise their subsequent actions in and on practices, it requires the person's sustained, deliberate effort. In this light, one's agency can be studied by looking into what motivates them to transform certain spontaneous actions into everyday practices whilst discarding others.

Another critical point made by Holland and her colleagues (1998) on the genesis and sustainment of agency was the idea that motivation is in essence sociogenic; it develops through the process of learning about a social world, through interacting with its members, not by the powerful persuasion of cultural system or psychodynamic forces. Based on observations of women students participating in the figured world of romance in universities they argued:

If a woman did not develop a clear identification of herself in the world of romance, then romance was not likely to be very salient for her and she was not likely to be much of an agent in conducting romantic relationships. Similarly, if she had not developed expertise, then she was unlikely to have formed much of a romantic identification. Salience, identification, and savoir-faire appeared to develop together in an interrelated process—a process that was continually supported and shaped in the context of social interaction... (Holland et al., 1998, p. 116)

In other words, one's motivation to participate in a figured world can be predicated by the degrees to which the person perceives the social world as salient and identifies with that world, which also positively correlates with their development of expertise in the world. That is, when a person finds a particular cultural world desirable and hence strongly identifies themselves

with the privileged motives and values in the world, the person makes an effort to objectify themselves as an agentic actor in it, standing a chance of developing the kind of expertise valued there. In turn, the figured world itself becomes even more salient and compelling for their senses of self. Similarly, Edwards (2014) argued that motives arise in practices through the dialectic of learners' internalisation and externalisation of the motives carried in those practices. Her argument was that differentiated motives and values populating practices are internalised, and in turn, feedback to organise their intentional actions in and on the practices, mediated by the culturally valued motives, 'what matters' in practices.

2.5.4 Demands in practices

Despite of its centrality in devising the theoretical framework of the study Holland et al.'s (1998) explication of agency appears to be essentially confined to listing elements of it—i.e. improvisation and appropriation—rather than illustrating how it materialises in practice as a social and relational achievement. This aspect, I would argue, greatly limits their theory's capacity for a cultural-historical analysis of teacher learning as it falls short of describing how one negotiates and achieves their agency through the dialectic with broader contexts of institutional and societal values and motives. It is at this point that Hedegaard's (2012) model, shown in Figure 2.1 is useful. Hedegaard's model is rooted in Leontievan ideas of the *object of activity* and the *object motive*, which Edwards (2010a) paraphrased as 'what is being worked on' and 'how the object of activity is interpreted by the participants in the activity' respectively (p. 68). Hedegaard proposed the notion of an *activity setting* in order to appreciate the person

Entity	Process	Dynamic
Society	Tradition	Societal needs/ conditions
Institution	Practice	Values/ motives / objectives
Activity setting	Situation	Motivation/ demands
Person	Activity	Motives/ intentions

Figure 2.1: Planes of analysis (Hedegaard, 2012)

in practices as an agentic social actor who could refigure their complex interweaving with the broader cultural, historical and social forces. In her model, an activity setting refers to each of the different locales within practices where specific institutional demands are made explicit, and where, to address those demands, recurrent structures are laid down for activities to take place. The set-up of an activity setting is significant as it affords particular social situations which condition and motivate one's participation in practices with potential for development. Yet, an activity setting is not an intractable condition ordained by established practices and societal traditions, but a sphere of possibilities where the person could transform the materialities of institutional practices by exerting agency. Conjoined with Vygotsky's idea of a *social situation of development*, the notion of an activity setting, therefore, allows the model to be used to delve into how one's agency is played out in practice, leading to the individual's development.

Edwards (2010a) explicated the usefulness of Hedegaard's framework to further delineate the dialectic of the person and practices. When taken horizontally, she argued that Hedegaard's model enables us to focus on the interaction amongst different actors occupying the same locale within practices and to delineate how differently they interpret and act and interact in and on the social settings. When read vertically, she maintained, it offers us a means to comprehend: how the privileged values and motives in institutional practices which mirror societal expectations and needs, permeate through and both afford and condition one's engagement with activities; and how in return the person's creation and recreation of social situations of development shapes and reshapes the activities and, by extension, the practices. The analytic focus of the present study is the vertical reading of Hedegaard's model. That is, it aims to grasp how beginning teachers recognise and negotiate with the demands in practices and manipulate the practices in order 'to propel themselves forward ... to shape their intentional actions' (Edwards, 2010a, p. 36); in doing so, how they create and recreate their own social situations of development and transform their relationship with the practices, leading to the emergence of new structures of consciousness.

2.6 Summary

The chapter reviewed how post-Vygotskian theorists have theorised the social formation of mind and identified that there is still a challenge to devise a language of description for the dialectic of individual and social processes, which adequately recognises the person as an agentic social actor. It also reviewed empirical research into language teacher learning in the field of SLTE conducted under the aegis of a sociocultural turn with a focus on how the notion of identity has been theorised and empirically applied in the field, and observed that the current SLTE literature fails to keep abreast of current developments in the theoretical approach.

It then discussed the work of Holland et al. (1998) and Hedegaard (2012) as a basis from which to devise an analytic framework for a cultural-historical analysis of beginning teachers' learning and development. The theoretical framework of the study that has emerged from the fusion of Holland et al. (1998) and Hedegaard (2012) transcends the current transactional and dialogical debates on the self and identity. The fused model, drawing on Holland et al. (1998), presents an understanding of the nature and overall dynamic of novice teachers' first year of teaching as a process of negotiating and conducting an assemblage of identification trajectories. Here, the term 'negotiate' is used to emphasise beginning teachers' agency inherent in their identity work; that is, their creativity in orchestrating diverse voices (demands) in practices to devise and revise their actions in and on practices, thus (re)directing their identification trajectories and, by extension, those of others. Therefore, a critical aspect of the analysis is to construct individual beginning teachers' trajectories of identity work (See Chapter 4), revealing how their intentions for actions are negotiated and materialised as actions in and on practices. Also, the analytic power of the proposed model is anchored to Holland et al.'s (1998) emphasis on narrating as a tool of identity work, especially their vision of one's self-authoring as developing *answerability* (p. 272), or the process by which they 'rearrange, reword, rephrase, reorchestrate' (Holland et al., 1998, p. 183) different voices in their participating social worlds to establish their own stable 'authorial stance' (p. 174) from which

to organise their actions in and on their social worlds. Yet, the proposed model transcends Holland et al.'s (1998) dialogical approach to the social formation of identity by drawing on Hedegaard (2012), in particular her analytic focus on how demands in practices are negotiated in the complex interweaving of macro and micro social processes. The fused model in particular utilises Hedegaard's (2012) distinctive and yet interwoven analytic planes—*society*, *institution*, *activity setting*, and *person*, which together strongly evince the dialectical processes of one's actions and particular cultural, historical, social settings of practices. The fused model thus defies its categorisation as a transactional approach as it appreciates an individual as an agentic social actor, arguing that it is impossible to separate agency from one's actions in activities. That is, agency is achieved in actions that are being taken and when they are completed in activities in practices. The proposed model also understands that demands in practices are materialised through and recognised, amongst other things, in the form of voices, some of which new teachers identify with and others with which they are at odds. Locating new teachers' identity work as integral to how they engage with demands in their schools, the fused model posits that novice teachers' agency can be recognised in the patterns of their participation in practices and their specific actions in particular activity settings over time, whereby they not only put certain demands, both recurrent and new, on others in practices but also respond to demands, both recurrent and new, on them in certain ways.

Chapter 3: Design and Methodology

This chapter first discusses the rationale of the research design, a longitudinal multiple case study by explaining: how the notion of *trajectory* (Dreier, 1999) is theorised as an empirical route to tease out novice teachers' identity transformation as participating in school practices; and how cultural-historical theory as a methodology is compatible with case study research. Then it considers the process of recruitment, data generation and interpretation, explaining how the theoretical framework of the study informed the in-depth interviews and observations and the iterative process of data reduction and interpretation, with illustrative references, where necessary, to the case of Paul, one of the four participants in the study. The chapter concludes with reflections on ethical issues, limitations and potential biases of the study.

3.1 Rationale

The study was intended to examine how beginning L2 English teachers' identity is practised to navigate, make sense of, and act in and on various motives and demands, or what Edwards (2010a) called 'what matters in practices' (p. 24) in their first year of teaching. Drawing on cultural-historical theory, the inquiry posited that novice teachers' learning is their agentic engagement with internalisation and externalisation through which they are both shaped by and shape the practices in which they participate. The study also postulated that beginning teachers' learning in practices is in essence an identification process; that is, they continually rework their identity, or how they objectify themselves as professional teachers, and use it as an organising principle of 'how [they] navigate practices, negotiate priorities and employ resources (Edwards, 2010a, p. 12). In this connection, the notion of identity is theorised as a psychological tool specific to activities in practices, thus a powerful heuristic to empirically capture the dialectic of beginning teachers and practices. The study therefore required a design and methodology that would allow me to close in on each novice teacher as an agentic actor in school practices and

appreciate their mutual shaping over time. In defence of a case study approach, Flyvbjerg (2006) argued that '[case study] can "close in" on real life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice' (p. 235), enabling researchers to develop 'a nuanced view of reality' (p. 223). The present study takes advantage of this quality of case study approach, its capacity for an up-close look into the object of inquiry as it unfolds in practices (Bassey, 1999). Stake (1995) argued 'the first criterion [in selecting cases] should be to maximize what we can learn' (p. 4). Therefore, a purposeful sampling method was used to select 'information-rich cases' (Patton, 1990, p. 169).

Meanwhile, the present study also aspires to a cultural-historical analysis of teacher learning and development. Lampert-Shepel's (2008) study of teachers' reflective actions illustrated how case study design and CHAT as research methodology combined could be a useful way forward in researching teacher learning as a situated activity.

The emphasis of CHAT on the need to identify the unit of analysis as the irreducible whole of the phenomenon and to study such unit's origin and the history of development is complemented with the phenomenological case study emphasis on the particular and unique contexts in which such a unit of analysis occurs. (Lampert-Shepel, 2008, p. 216)

That is, as a methodology cultural-historical theory mandates the kind of research approaches that would generate evidence on and from what happens in practices and appreciate a proposed unit of analysis in terms of its historical unfolding. The concept of a trajectory is widely used in this regard. Dreier (1999) provided a concise account of how the idea of a trajectory is apposite for a historical understanding of one's learning in practices as a situated activity. He maintained that individuals always exist as 'participants in structures of ongoing social practice' (p. 5). In taking this idea forward he understood one's life-trajectory as a representation of one's agency enacted over time as participating in multiple settings of social practices:

Across the life-span the person participates in a changing configuration of particular social contexts, and the person composes these changing contextual participations into personal life-trajectory. (Dreier, 1999, p. 19)

Dreier further argued that to orchestrate a trajectory entails identity work; one develops varying degrees of identification with and attachment to their participating social worlds, which in turn mediate how the person carries out their intentions and directs the course of their actions.

The feeling of belonging to particular practices and with particular persons and places develops on the background of being part of them, reflecting on one's personal relationship to being part of them, configuring those reflections into personal stances and configuring those stances into a mapping of what one stands for and where one belongs (which is what we mean by identity) (Dreier, 1999, p. 21)

Empirical studies have indeed illustrated that the idea of trajectory as a negotiated product is useful to generate historical understanding of one's learning in practices and grasp the inherent dialectic between the person and social practices in the process. For instance, Edwards and Mackenzie's (2005) study of women using an inner-city drop-in centre showed that how the notion of a trajectory is essential to grasp one's learning and development as an agentic process. They argued that practices bring great influence to bear on—may or may not support—how an individual detects and engages with possibilities and opportunities in them; but it was also one's 'capacity for deliberative action' (p. 30) that mediates how a person fashions and refashions their trajectory, reworking their senses of self. In this light, they maintained that to grasp one's learning in practices as trajectories it is essential to delve into the 'interweaving of powers, capacities and dispositions' (p. 301). Richmond, Juzwik and Steele (2011) illustrated how the concept of trajectory could be utilised as a pedagogical tool in organising learning opportunities for teacher candidates (TCs) in a teacher preparation programme. They argued that when the multiple identity narratives about TCs told by themselves and other stakeholders involved in the ITE provision were shared and negotiated, they transpired as a powerful mediational tool to mediate TCs' construction of '*trajectories of identification*' (p. 1867) with teaching.

A repeating trend in the studies of trajectories is to employ methodologies and designs which would capture the dialectic of person and social practices and their transformation

against the ever-changing backdrop of social life. Marsico (2012) succinctly expressed the kind of world view that studies of trajectories should project:

To take the psychosocial construct of trajectory as a subject for study implies the adoption of a process-based, dynamic vision of the life experiences that involves social actors within continually-changing contexts. People do not live in fixed, unchanging contexts, nor are their life trajectories uniform, rather, at various points in their lives, and therefore also their professional lives, they experience discontinuities, breaks and transitions. (Marsico, 2012, p. 121)

To summarise, adopting a case study approach, the present study followed four beginning L2 English teachers from two state high schools in South Korea with in-depth interviews and observations during the academic year 2013. The participants' recounting of their day-to-day life in school was conceived as the evidence of how their identity mediated the way in which they made sense of and organised their actions in and on the materialised world of teaching. To recast the study through 'the Qualitative Research Plumb Line' by Chenail (1997), it reads:

- . Area of curiosity: The dialectic of beginning teachers' identity and school settings
- . Mission questions: How does beginning teachers' identity mediate the ways in which they navigate, make sense of, and act in and on the demands in school?
- . Data collected: Observation of beginning teachers and interviews with them talking about their school life
- . Data analysis: Narrative analysis of the interview data

3.2 Recruitment

In planning recruitment, I considered two major issues, timing and the pass rate for the School Teacher Selection Test (STST). The time available for data collection within my doctoral programme required beginning teachers starting from March 2013, the start month of the academic year 2013.³ I was well aware that senior student teachers work extremely hard

³ Generally, successful candidates start working from every March, the start month of a new school year. However, on occasion, school placements for some new teachers can be delayed until the second term of that year, that is, late August, or even until the following school year.

through their last year in university to pass the highly competitive employment test, fighting uncertainties and stress. Practically, there were two start-points available, either prior to the commencement of the employment test or after. I might have waited until the exam results were known and simply recruited from the pool of those who passed. Yet, I was concerned about the tight schedule the successful candidates would be subjected to in the transition period. To illustrate, the STST for the academic year 2013 started on 10th November 2012 and the final result was informed on 5th February 2013. In the following week, those who passed the test had to take part in compulsory induction programmes organised by the provincial offices of education to which they applied. Upon completing the orientation, just a week prior to the start of the school year, new teachers were given their certificates of appointment and informed of their school placements. During the last week before the term would start, new teachers had to attend an array of staff meetings and were assigned to year group(s) and administrative roles. They also needed to make their own living arrangements. Given the circumstances, the pre-exam recruitment plan was more feasible and the latter could serve as a contingency plan to respond to any unforeseen difficulties in the first round of recruitment. Besides, the first option allowed me more time to gather contextual information for teacher profiles and build rapport.

In September 2012, the first contact was made with a cohort of senior student teachers preparing for the STST (Class of 2013, N=21) from the Department of L2 English Education, Korea National University of Education, South Korea. Among the 21 student teachers, three did not sit the employment test and one sought an employment in the private sector. Therefore, the remaining seventeen student teachers took the STST and seven of them passed (one male and six female) in the end. In response to my first contact, seven students showed interest and agreed to participate, provided that they passed the selection test. Eventually, four of the seven potential participants passed; and one of them was ordered to take a delayed school placement. Left with three participants, I sent out invitation letters to the remaining three successful candidates who did not show interest in the first round of recruitment. One (Paul) of them

agreed to participate, making the final set of four participants. Unfortunately, in mid-March two participants informed me that they would opt out due to personal circumstances.⁴ Having learnt that the two remaining participants (Emma and Paul) both had a novice teacher colleague, I asked for their help in sending recruitment emails, and both of their colleagues (Kate and Wendy) agreed to take part. In the end, I managed to recruit four teachers, Paul and Wendy in Greenfield and Emma and Kate in Springfield. Afterwards, I discussed how they would want me to contact their head teachers for access. They preferred to deliver the letter of invitation by themselves to their senior managers, and later informed me that permission had been granted for my visits. Before the main data collection started, I visited the schools to introduce myself and plan the timetables of school visits. On my first visit to Greenfield, I met the head teacher and a few number of Paul and Wendy's colleagues. Meanwhile, my first visit to Springfield was informal as I was advised that it was unnecessary to meet the headmaster and the deputy headmaster, but only introduced to Emma and Kate's departments' heads and colleagues.

3.3 Research sites

My descriptions of the two schools where the beginning teachers were placed are informed by their respective official websites and interviews with the participants and their colleagues.

3.3.1 Greenfield High School

Founded in 1954, Greenfield High School (hereafter Greenfield) educated just over 500 pupils, aged between 16 and 18 years (grades 10 through 12), with each year group comprising seven

⁴ I had conversations with both of them before they finally chose to opt out, in which I learnt that the both academic high schools in which they were placed had quite authoritarian headmasters. Both recruits expressed their concerns about how it would be seen to other teachers if they, as new teachers were to bring in an outsider (me) into school. One of them seemed rather stressed by her demanding head teacher. Already, she had been directly reprimanded for her less than satisfactory performance as a homeroom teacher by the senior manager. The other teacher also appeared to be stressed about managing her day-to-day interactions with pupils.

homeroom classes: five academic and two vocational. The comprehensive school was located in a rural area where the primary sources of parents' income were agriculture and transportation business. Greenfield was low performing compared with other schools in the catchment area, and thus not a preferred choice amongst parents in the local areas. The teachers interviewed stated that the proportion of pupils from single parent and low-income families was higher significantly than in its neighbouring schools. The overall lower socio-economic status of parents, coupled with its rural location, meant that Greenfield pupils had limited access to educational resources outside of school such as private tutors and cram schools. The parents and pupils were thus entirely dependent upon schooling for academic achievement. To respond to such expectation, Greenfield opened its self-study room for 365 days a year, which meant at least one teacher should be at school to supervise pupils, even on official public holidays.

In 2013 when the study was conducted, the number of teaching staff was just over 60. What stood out in the interviewed teachers' descriptions of the teaching staff was that a large proportion of teaching staff were in their 20s and early 30s and the remaining teachers in their late 40s and over. They pointed out strong culture of seniority and communication breakdown between younger and senior teachers, which meant that the junior teachers felt excluded from important decision-making processes. The L2 English department was comprised of seven teachers: three experienced, three beginning and one temporary teacher on a one-year contract. Three of them (two beginning teachers and a contract teacher) taught Year 1; two (a beginning and an experienced teacher) taught Year 2, and two experienced teachers taught Year 3. Each year group worked independently and communication across the year groups hardly happened. Practically teachers in each year group acted as a decision-making body for the affairs of their year group. At the end of the academic year 2013, all of the three experienced L2 English teachers applied to transfer to other schools. It seemed a repeated pattern; Paul, Wendy, and the other beginning teacher were appointed to Greenfield that year in order to fill vacancies left empty for the exact same reason the previous year.

3.3.2 Springfield High School

Founded in 2006, Springfield High School (hereafter Springfield) is an academic high school educating just over 1,100 pupils, aged between 16 and 18 years (grades 10 through 12) with each year group comprising ten homerooms, providing both Science Track and Humanities Track. Whilst the proportion of pupils from single parent and low-income families was relatively higher than its neighbouring schools, the majority of pupils could still afford private education. The interviewed teachers viewed Springfield as a low-performing school in the catchment area and noted that the attainment gap between high and low achievers was wide. For a successful university admission for Springfield pupils, it was advantageous to opt for the Early Acceptance Scheme which used the scores of school exams for university admission. Hence, the competition within the school was intense.

The L2 English department was comprised of nine teachers: five experienced, two beginning and two temporary teachers on a one-year contract. Three teachers (1 experienced, 1 beginning and a contract) taught Year 1; three (1 experienced, 1 beginning and 1 contract) taught Year 2; and three experienced teachers taught Year 3. A native English speaker was also present. Similar to Greenfield, formal staff meetings took place between the teachers of each year group once before every school exam, hence four times a year. Each year group worked independently and communication across the year groups was rare. Also, teachers in each year group acted as the decision-making body for the affairs of their year group.

3.4 Participants

Paul, Wendy and Emma were alumni of KNUE founded for teacher education for all school levels: pre, primary and secondary. Paul and Emma graduated in the same year 2013 and Wendy a year ahead of them. Kate graduated from a prestigious private university in Seoul. Other than subject teaching, a high school teacher in South Korea is normally allocated to a single administrative role, either homeroom management or general clerical duties. As

homeroom care implies heavy workloads, often the responsibility is shifted to incoming teachers, a pool which include novice teachers. Indeed, all the participants were appointed as homeroom teachers that year. Unusually, Paul and Wendy were assigned to two administrative roles, both homeroom management and general administrative duties.

3.4.1 Paul

Paul was a high performer throughout his secondary education and admitted to KNUE without any difficulty. Teaching was his long-held dream since the age of fourteen. It all started after helping out a classmate solving maths problems; he recollected that it just felt great. He did not feel any need to consider other career choices since that point. Paul's father, an Ethics teacher specialising in student counselling, was a great influence on him; to live like his father was his dream. Paul passed the STST in his first attempt. From the first interview, his passion for teaching was hard to miss; his purpose in getting into teaching was to become "a meaningful person" in pupils' lives. He believed that meaningfulness is achievable through connecting and communicating with pupils, helping their character development.

<i>Department of L2 English</i>	<i>Department of Year 2</i>	<i>Department of Student Affairs</i>
Head & 6 L2 English teachers	Head & 7 homeroom teachers	Head & 3 staff teachers
Year 1: 3 teachers	Homeroom 1 (vocational)	
Year 2: 2 teachers	Homeroom 2 (vocational)	
Year 3: 2 teachers	Homeroom 3 (academic)	
	Homeroom 4 (academic)	
	Homeroom 5 (academic)	
	Homeroom 6 (academic)	
	Homeroom 7 (academic)	
<i><u>L2 English teaching</u></i>	<i><u>Homeroom management</u></i>	<i><u>Administrative duties</u></i>
Homeroom 2 (vocational)	Homeroom 2 (vocational)	The youngest member
Homeroom 3 (academic)		
Homeroom 4 (academic)		
Homeroom 5 (academic)		
Homeroom 6 (academic)		
Homeroom 7 (academic)		

Figure 3.1: Paul's work positions in Greenfield

As shown in Figure 3.1, Paul taught L2 English to six homerooms in Year 2: five academic and one vocational. He was also appointed as the homeroom teacher of a vocational class. Other than his subject teaching and homeroom care duties, Paul was also assigned to the Dept. of Student Affairs, comprised of the head and three staff teachers. Paul perceived that he was assigned to easier administration duties due to his junior status. The other two staff teachers were both early career male teachers teaching vocational pupils.

3.4.2 Wendy

Wendy, 23 years old, passed the employment test at her second attempt after failing the year before. She was born into a devout Christian family. In her early teenage years, she lived abroad in India for two years as a participant of a missionary programme, where she spoke English for communication. In her high school days, she worked hard to study law, aspiring to enter one of the top universities in the country, but her university entrance exam results were not good enough. To enter teacher education was her second option, which her mother recommended. She accepted daily happenings in her life as God's plan for her, seeing herself as a means of God's work. She also reasoned out that her landing teaching was the career path that God had prepared for her. To live a good life was to fulfil God's wishes for her; as long as she could act as a God's delegate, it did not matter where. She understood her purpose of getting into teaching was on behalf of God to help and support troubled teenagers struggling with all the pressures the society imposed on them. Figure 3.2 shows Wendy's work positions at Greenfield. She was initially appointed as a staff teacher in the administrative division of Cultures, Environment and Public relations, where her main duty was to publish the school's quarterly newsletters with a group of students. Apart from the head of department and Wendy, the other two staff teachers were temporary. She taught L2 English to Year 1 pupils with other two teachers. As the national curriculum mandated ability grouping for L2 English, Year 1 pupils were regrouped based on their L2 English abilities. Wendy happened to teach two

classes of lower level academic and two classes of vocational pupils. At the start of the second term, Wendy was suddenly appointed as the homeroom teacher to a vocational class.

<i>Department of L2 English</i>	<i>Department of Year 1</i>	<i>Department of Cultures, Environment & Public relations</i>
Head & <u>6 L2 English teachers</u>	Head & <u>7 homeroom teachers</u>	Head & <u>3 staff teachers</u>
Year 1: 3 teachers Year 2: 2 teachers Year 3: 2 teachers	Homeroom 1 (vocational) <u>Homeroom 2 (vocational)</u> Homeroom 3 (academic) Homeroom 4 (academic) Homeroom 5 (academic) Homeroom 6 (academic) Homeroom 7 (academic)	
<u><i>L2 English teaching</i></u> Homeroom 1 (vocational) Homeroom 2 (vocational) Homeroom 4 (academic) Homeroom 7 (academic)	<u><i>Homeroom management</i></u> Homeroom 2 (vocational)	<u><i>Administrative duties</i></u> The youngest member

Figure 3.2: Wendy's work positions in Greenfield

3.4.3 Emma

Emma, who was 23 years old, also graduated from the Korea National University of Education the same year as Paul and passed the employment test at her first attempt. Becoming a public school teacher was her family's dream as much as hers. Her mother's wish was to be addressed as the mother of Miss Emma. When Emma was preparing to sit the university entrance exam, her father drove her on university tours to motivate her and she decided to apply for her future alma mater. In the university entrance exam, she did not achieve high enough scores to be admitted to the Department of L2 English education, one of the most popular subject departments. So she opted for the Department of German education and worked hard to be allowed to double major in L2 English education from the second year. She recalled making every effort to overcome the stigma of a double major student as second-class and to prove herself to some unfriendly L2 English major students. Before the start of the school year, Emma already had some ideas about Springfield as her younger brother had just graduated from

the school, mostly not pleasing stories relating to such issues as pupils' low motivation and behavioural problems. Figure 3.3 shows Emma's work positions at Springfield. Emma was appointed as a homeroom teacher of a class of Year 2 girls. For subject teaching, she taught three classes of girls and a class of boys.

<i>Department of L2 English</i>	<i>Department of Year 2</i>
<u>Head & 9 L2 English teachers</u>	<u>Head & 10 homeroom teachers</u>
Year 1: 3 teachers	Homeroom 1 (academic)
Year 2: 3 teachers	Homeroom 2 (academic)
Year 3: 3 teachers	Homeroom 3 (academic)
	Homeroom 4 (academic)
	Homeroom 5 (academic)
	Homeroom 6 (academic)
	Homeroom 7 (academic)
	Homeroom 8 (academic)
	Homeroom 9 (academic)
	Homeroom 10 (academic)
<u>L2 English teaching</u>	<u>Homeroom management</u>
Homeroom 1 (academic/boys)	Homeroom 6 (academic/girls)
Homeroom 5 (academic/girls)	
Homeroom 6 (academic/girls)	
Homeroom 9 (academic/girls)	

Figure 3.3: Emma's work positions in Greenfield

3.4.4 Kate

It had taken her four years to pass the teacher selection test. She was, therefore, a mature beginning teacher compared to Paul, Wendy and Emma. Although Kate's desire for the world of teaching started early, as a middle school girl, the appeal of the world was at times lost. In high school, for example, teaching had not seemed good enough for her, one of the best performing students in school. In university, teaching felt like a boring and small world; she yearned to explore the world and entertained other career possibilities until her father's concerned voice warned against her desire. Figure 3.4 shows Kate's work positions in Springfield. She was appointed as a homeroom teacher of a class of Year 1 girls. The head of the department of Year 1 happened to be a senior L2 English teacher with whom Kate shared the responsibility of teaching Year I. Under the National Curriculum, L2 English for Year 1

was taught based on ability grouping. Kate taught four academic classes of advanced level: one boys' and three girls'; and the senior teacher taught the classes of low-level pupils. Kate also taught after-school supplementary L2 English classes.

<i>Department of L2 English</i>	<i>Department of Year 1</i>
<u>Head & 9 L2 English teachers</u>	<u>Head & 10 homeroom teachers</u>
Year 1: 3 teachers	Homeroom 1 (academic)
Year 2: 3 teachers	Homeroom 2 (academic)
Year 3: 3 teachers	Homeroom 3 (academic)
	Homeroom 4 (academic)
	Homeroom 5 (academic)
	Homeroom 6 (academic)
	Homeroom 7 (academic)
	Homeroom 8 (academic)
	Homeroom 9 (academic)
	Homeroom 10 (academic)
<u>L2 English teaching</u>	<u>Homeroom management</u>
Homeroom 2 (academic/boys)	Homeroom 10 (academic/girls)
Homeroom 4 (academic/boys)	
Homeroom 6 (academic/girls)	
Homeroom 8 (academic/girls)	
Homeroom 10 (academic/girls)	

Figure 3.4: Kate's work positions in Springfield

3.5 Data generation

The initial contact was made in September 2012, when I started to gather background information of seven potential participants via informal conversations and interviews. These initial interviews covered the following themes: 1) motives for undertaking ITE; 2) experiences and reflections on the university's ITE provision; and 3) perceptions and expectations about getting into real world teaching in the state system. From the seven potential participants, only Emma made into the final cohort of participants. After the announcement of the final results in mid-February, Paul was picked up as a new participant. Before the start of the school year 2013 I interviewed Emma and Paul in order to learn about: 1) their experiences in the mandatory orientations programmes by their applied provincial offices of Education; 2) their respective placement schools and first school visits, and 3) their assigned year groups and responsibilities.

3.5.1 Overview

The main data generation took place over the school year 2013 from multiple school visits for classroom observations and interviews. The data from each preceding school visit informed the subsequent visit. Initially, school visits were scheduled monthly starting from March. We drew up the basic plan for school visits, where the 3rd week of every month was allocated for Paul and Wendy in Greenfield and the 4th week for Emma and Kate in Springfield, and agreed that if any unexpected circumstances arose we would reschedule the dates. When contacted for the first visits, however, the participants asked to postpone them, saying they were extremely busy. As a result, the first school visits were delayed until April. Over the course of the fieldwork, some of the arranged school visits were rescheduled or even cancelled at their requests. During the busy weeks around school exams and events my visits were not allowed. With time, each of the participants also showed different levels of commitment. In particular, Wendy and Kate became reluctant to open their classes for my observation, and Kate became difficult to reach as reflected in the low number of interviews and the length of the intervals between them.

The routines during school visits were classroom observations followed by interviews, and informal conversations between classes, over lunch and after school hours. Initial data interpretation took place as a part of the data generation process for ‘progressive focusing’ (Stake, 1995, p. 9). When time allowed I also conducted theory-informed interviews on site, but otherwise via Skype either on the evenings of the school visits or the dates the participants chose. After each school visit, I transcribed the day’s interview recordings and reviewed the field notes and tried to pick up significant events and happenings which appeared critical to grasp the beginning teachers’ negotiations of identity in practices at that time. To plot ‘coherent developmental account[s]’ (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 15) I then linked those initial readings of the data back to the data from the preceding school visits to discover any significant developments and changes, which were then used as pointers to refine the foci of the subsequent school visits. Figure 3.5 shows the flow of data generation.

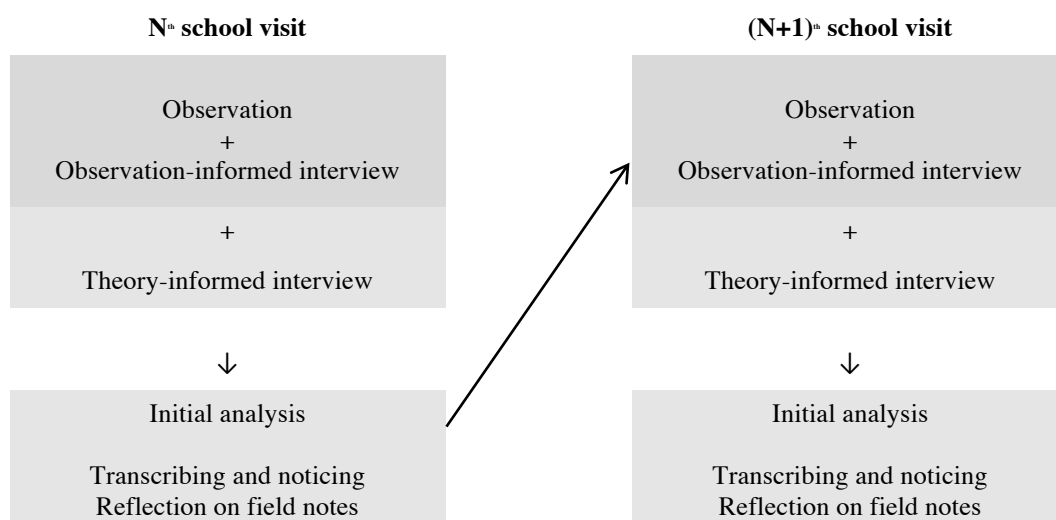


Figure 3.5: Course of data generation

3.5.2 Classroom observation

Simpson and Tuson (2003) argued that research observation is a process of transforming ‘the personal experience ... into a public event’ (p. 2) by systemic recording, analysis and interpretation. The nature of observation conducted in the study was qualitative in a sense that it valued ‘flexibility and minimum of prestructuring’ (Foster, 1996, p. 4) so as to capture the particularities of the activity settings of classrooms in which each of the beginning teachers negotiated their identity and agency and to appreciate the situatedness of their actions and the social meanings created against the unique contexts.

This study understands that classroom as a key site of the beginning teachers’ identity work. Silence would no longer be an available option or useful tool for their self-authoring as it was in their departments. It was also projected that in the classroom various demands and expectations for (L2 English) teaching would converge, prompting the beginning teachers to act in certain ways. Meanwhile, the new teachers also would bring in and try to enact their own values and beliefs about (L2 English) teaching. Therefore, the clash of identities would ensue, instantiating the dialectic of the beginning teachers’ emergent identity and practices and their respective activity settings of classrooms and, by extension, the institutional demands. It was

thus assumed that to observe how the beginning teachers coordinated their pedagogical choices and actions during classroom teaching would reveal how they orchestrated the diverse, often conflicting motives they faced, shaping and reshaping their senses of self. The observation concentrated on what (new) tools the beginning teachers introduced and how they used, refined or abandoned them over time. The motivation behind their actions was to be further probed in post-observation interviews. Any noticeable changes in their patterns of tool-use were then understood as their transforming identity, that is, reworking their relationships with the activity settings of classrooms. Meanwhile, the classroom observation reduced my dependence on the participants' accounts for data generation (Foster, 1996; Simpson & Tuson, 2003). For instance, I was able to capture not only non-verbal communication which interviews could not fulfil such as their hesitation and long silence but also the aspects of their classroom teaching which they took for granted and took no heed to. When discussed later, these observations often led me to discover their theories of (language) teaching and the concerns and conflicts they were grappling with at the moment.

3.5.3 Observation-informed interview

Observing the beginning teachers' classroom teaching, I synchronously processed what was observed and generated a list of questions for post-observation interviews to probe and clarify the motives behind their introduction and use of the observed pedagogical tools. For example, from my first observation of Paul's classroom teaching I drew out a set of questions which included the following:

- a. I observed you are using honorifics to pupils. Tell me about it.
- b. How did you start 'I Reserve'?
- c. How did you start using flashcards?

Through the post-observation interview afterwards, I learnt that Paul was using honorifics out of habit—his personal belief in the power of communication based on respect. In fact, he was

advised by a senior teacher to “speak bluntly [to show pupils who is the boss here]”. This single question raised a series of interesting threads to pursue. For one, it certainly raised an issue of power relations; that particular way of speech instantiated how Paul was working out his relational identity in relation to his pupils as well as his senior colleague. At the same time, it instantiated the kind of world of teaching he envisioned to be ideal. To answer the questions above, he also talked about his upbringing, his father, in particular, an ethics teacher, and how he had influenced his dispositions and decision to become a teacher. Also, Paul’s introduction of ‘I Reserve’, a classroom activity whereby pupils reserve their slots for storying telling in the next lesson using the list of vocabulary items to be learnt, was his desperate measure to entice his literally close-mouthed pupils into talking by promising them extra reward points for their classroom participation. From his answer, I was able to tease out the importance of ‘exam talk’ in organising his actions in the classroom, which evinced that how the privileged motive of teaching to the test is played out in the activity settings of his classrooms. Meanwhile, I learnt that his use of flashcards was triggered by a piece of advice from a temporary teacher, whose voice proved to be critical to Paul’s identity work throughout the year. What also became evident from post-observation interviews was the importance of allowing time and space for the beginning teachers to develop narratives. To answer my questions, the new teachers referred back and forth in time and described how events and happenings came to be, revealing other critical anecdotes and characters at play.

On every school visit, I asked the participants whether they felt comfortable with my presence in their classes that day. I sat in the back corner of the classroom taking notes. For each observation, I sat for a full period 50 minutes. I stopped the observation of classroom teaching around the end of the first term when it appeared that ‘theoretical saturation’ (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 408) had been achieved. Another reason for doing so was that I sensed that, except Paul, the participants became self-conscious teaching in my presence when as far as they could see the novelty of their teaching had worn off.

3.5.4 Theory-informed interview

The theory-driven interview schedule was drawn up based on the four contexts of practised identity developed by Holland et al. (1998): *figured worlds*, *positionality*, *self-authoring*, and *making worlds*. When writing up the interview questions, I assumed that the world of teaching the participants was to face would materialise in two realms of activities: administration departments and classrooms. The first interviews were critical as I wanted to obtain detailed understanding of the settings in which the new teachers' day-to-day participation were situated in practices in order to establish the material settings of practices that the new teachers were situated as members of the teaching community. Each interview started with an open-ended question, e.g. 'Are there any incidents in the staffroom/ with colleagues you want to talk about?', to invite the new teachers to bring up for themselves what mattered to them. Also, I probed any developments of the incidents which we discussed in the preceding interviews. The interview schedule to probe how the new teachers experienced their departments reads:

- a. Are there any incidents in the staffroom/ with colleagues you want to talk about?
- b. We talked about [...] in the last interview. Any development afterwards?
- c. What do you come to learn about the department?
- d. How do you feel about senior managers/heads/colleagues? Why?
- e. Who do you interact with most closely? What do you do with them?
- f. How do you interact with L2 English teachers?
- g. Is there anything that you expect from colleagues?
- h. How do you think colleagues might see you?
- i. How do you think you might be different from colleagues?
- j. What difficulties are you dealing with in the staffroom?
- k. How do you get help when needed?

The interview schedule to probe how the novice teachers experienced their classrooms reads:

- a. Are there any incidents in classrooms/ with pupils you want to talk about?
- b. We talked about [...] in the last interview. Any developments afterwards?
- c. How is your subject teaching/homeroom care going?
- d. What difficulties are you dealing with in subject/homeroom pupils?
- e. Do you feel yourself changing? In which ways?
- f. What do you think are important qualities as an L2 English/homeroom teacher?
- g. Are there any knowledge and skills you want to improve? Why?
- h. What advice would you give to new teachers next year? Why?

A critical concern in theory-informed interviews was to capture the historical development of the participant's actions and interactions as well as emotions, that is, to make sense of their participation as trajectories that would represent their identity (trans)formation.

Using a theory-informed interview strategy allowed me to pursue a qualitative approach to data generation that is in-depth and flexible in nature (Rubin & Rubin, 1995), seeing it as spontaneous co-construction of meaning through building intersubjectivity (Kvale, 1996). The choice of a semi-structured interview format was to ensure leeway to capture the uniqueness of each of the participants by allowing them space and time to develop narratives (Cohen et al., 2007; Fontana & Frey, 1998; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The interviewees were conceptualised to engage in an activity of sense-making of self, or 'narrating the self' (Ochs & Capps, 1996, p. 19). The participants' answers were viewed as their identifying stories told by themselves, 'reifying, endorsable, and significant' (Sfard & Prusak, 2005, p. 16) for their senses of self. During interviewing, I tried to achieve the kind of interviews that are 'self-communicating' (Kvale, 1996, p. 145) by hearing and responding to '*the meaning*' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 7) of what was being verbalised.

Initially, the interviews were to be conducted during the school visits on site. However, this principle had to be compromised due to the participants' tight teaching schedules and heavy workload. As a result, some of the interviews were rescheduled and conducted via Skype. Each interview recording was transcribed verbatim in Korean in its entirety as quickly as possible and I perused the transcripts for progressive focusing. This rudimentary analysis informed the subsequent school visits. Over time I was able to gather 'diachronic data [containing] temporal information about the sequential relationship of events' (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 12). Each of the participant showed different levels of commitment over time, so the number of interviews conducted and the intervals between them varied between them. I also conducted interviews with some of the participants' colleagues, L2 English teachers and their departments' head. In the end, the fieldwork generated the data set shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Data set

	<i>Greenfield High School</i>				<i>Springfield High School</i>			
	Paul		Wendy		Emma		Kate	
Interviews	Date	Length	Date	Length	Date	Length	Date	Length
1st semester	26/02	40:35	10/05	01:15:02	20/02	*	01/05	01:01:20
	25/04	01:15:41	20/05	53:58	10/03	21:29	17/06	01:04:01
	27/05	01:19:59	25/06	01:15:23	25/04	01:14:26	23/07	01:11:50
	23/06	01:24:52	25/07	01:03:44	18/05	01:05:36		
	10/07	39:37	08/08	52:35	16/06	01:08:18		
	07/08	01:10:05			10/08	59:46		
2nd semester	22/08	33:51	10/09	49:34	05/10	01:03:03	17/12	01:13:27
	08/10	53:10	08/10	43:46	02/11	49:53	21/12	01:06:58
	30/10	01:08:06	15/11	01:07:14	08/12	01:05:27		
	08/12	01:01:21	12/12	01:14:59				
Observations of L2 English classrooms	24/04	2-3	16/05	1-7	01/05	2-6 (Homeroom)	01/05	1-10 (Homeroom)
	24/04	2-5	16/05	1-4	01/05	2-1	01/05	1-6
	16/05	Club (TOEIC)	23/05	1-7	28/05	2-5	03/06	1-10 (Homeroom)
	23/05	2-5	23/05	1-4	28/05	2-6 (Homeroom)	04/06	1-4 (Boys)
	23/05	2-2 (Homeroom)	23/05	1-4	28/05	2-1	25/07	1-1
	10/07	2-7	23/07	1-4	03/06	2-9	05/11	1-6
	10/07	2-4			03/06	2-5		
					03/06	2-6 (Homeroom)		
	10/07	2-5						
	23/07	2-4			04/06	2-5		
	23/07	2-4			16/07	2-5		
					16/07	2-6 (Homeroom)		
					16/07	2-6 (Homeroom)		
					25/07	2-1		
					25/07	2-6 (Homeroom)		
	10 lessons		6 lessons		14 lessons		6 lessons	
Informal observations of staffrooms and homerooms	His staffroom and homeroom during lunch breaks and cleaning periods		Her staffroom		Her staffroom and homeroom during lunch breaks and cleaning periods		Her staffroom and homeroom during lunch breaks and cleaning periods	
Interviews with colleagues	The Head of L2 English Dept.		- The Head of L2 English Dept. - The Head of Dept. of culture, environment, Public Relations - 2 Year 1 L2 English teachers		- The Head of Year 2 Dept. - 1 Year 2 L2 English teacher			

To answer RQ 1, *How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their participation in the institutional practices of school?*, I mainly drew on the interviews with the participants about

their daily lives in their respective departments. Yet, the interviews were also informed by my informal observations of their staffrooms. Based on my observations, I asked extra questions, which revealed some critical aspects of the departmental settings. For instance, I noticed that the head of Paul's department was always absent from the staffroom whenever I visited. When I asked about this point, Paul poured out his disappointments about the manager and the way in which his senior's irresponsibility was seriously damaging the team's morale. My interviews with the participants' colleagues also helped me to better understand departmental practices and their priorities and, by extension, what mattered in their respective schools. As shown in Table 3.1, however, I was not able to interview the immediate colleagues of Paul and Kate who shared the same staffrooms. In relation to Kate, I did ask the Head of the Year 1 Department for an interview, and she also happened to be Kate's L2 English teaching senior colleague. She initially agreed to be interviewed but kept postponing; and eventually it did not happen. As for Paul, I also asked the other Head (of Vocational Education) and his younger colleagues in his staffroom to be interviewed, but they all refused on the spot. For this reason, the analysis of the kind of departmental practices that Paul and Kate experienced largely relied on the interviews with them.

To answer RQ 2, *How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their actions in the classroom?*, I firstly observed the teachers' L2 English classroom teaching, in particular, their choices of particular pedagogical tools and how they were used and refined over time, which was then further discussed in post-observation interviews to delve into their (changing) intentions. Also, critical to answer RQ 2 was to understand their actions as homeroom teachers. The analysis mainly drew on the interview data. Yet, I also carefully observed the L2 English lessons which took place in the teachers' respective homerooms. When observing those lessons, I also tried to capture how their identity as homeroom teachers transpired. For instance, the observation of Paul's L2 English lessons with his homeroom pupils revealed the kind of problem situations that he was dealing with in his homeroom. I also followed and

informally observed the beginning teachers in their homerooms during lunch breaks and overseeing the day's cleaning period. These observations, which included the physical spaces of their homerooms, were also fed into the interviews which revealed some critical aspects of their homeroom lives. For instance, when I followed Kate heading to her homeroom during a lunch break I was surprised by the warmth of the welcome she received from her homeroom pupils. As for Wendy who was suddenly appointed as a homeroom teacher at the start of the second term, I was unable to observe her interaction with her homeroom pupils. Therefore, the analysis of her actions in the classroom largely drew on the data from interviews.

RQ 3, *To what extent do beginning teachers become agentic?* was a round-up question which would generate a nuanced summary of the analyses for RQ 1 and 2 in terms of how their agency was negotiated and achieved as newcomers to the materialised worlds of teaching. What was critical in answering RQ 3 was to reintegrate the themes generated in the analyses for RQ 1 and RQ 2 in a manner that would show how they are interconnected to reveal the nature of their agency in practice.

3.6 Data interpretation

The aim of analysis was to generate a set of retrospective accounts describing the beginning teachers' identification trajectories as they navigated, made sense of and acted in and on practices. My supervisors read some of the translated interview transcripts and had discussions with me during the analysis. For each teacher, a pair of narratives was to be constructed storying their participation in their departments and classrooms to answer the following research questions:

- 1) How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their participation in the institutional practices of school?
- 2) How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their actions in the classroom?
- 3) To what extent do beginning teachers become agentic?

3.6.1 Building individual trajectories

To create the beginning teachers' trajectories of participation, I followed Polkinghorne's (1995) elaboration of *narrative analysis*. He drew on Bruner's (1985, 1990) notion of *narrative cognition*, 'an instrument of mind in the construction of reality' (1991, p. 6) and explained narrative analysis as the configuration of data into a coherent whole by relating concrete events and actions to each other to achieve relational significance and build an emplotted narrative.

The analytic task [of narrative analysis] requires the researcher to develop or discover a plot that displays the linkage among the data elements as parts of an unfolding temporal development culminating in the denouement. (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 15)

He described the procedures of narrative analysis as follows:

After the denouement is identified, the researcher can work directly with the data elements. A first step in configuring the data into a story is to arrange the data elements chronologically. The next step is to identify which elements are contributors to the outcome. Then the researcher looks for connections of cause and influence among the events and begins to identify action elements by providing the "because of" and "in order to" reasons (Schutz & Luckmann, 1973) for which they were undertaken. Often these connections are not simply one to one but are combinations and accumulations of events that influence a response or provide sufficient reason for an action. The final step is the writing of the story. (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 18)

The analysis at its core was, therefore, a recursive movement for emplotment, a process of building a thematic plot, testing the tentative plot idea and revising the plot. Those activities were continuous, interactive and synchronous rather than linear, and their progress towards coherent narratives was at times evolutionary but at others revolutionary. Therefore, the data sorting following each school visit was critical for continuous sense-making and progressive focusing (Simons, 2009; Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009). In what follows, I walk through the analysis process, and where necessary I will be referring to Paul's case to provide examples.

To construct the individual trajectories, firstly, I concentrated on establishing the settings of stage and key players in action, that is, constructing the detailed profiles of critical others and the specific locales which the beginning teachers occupied in their schools, where

their day-to-day participation in practices would be negotiated. For instance, to map out the activity settings in which Paul's identity work as a staff member of his administration department was to be negotiated, I tried to have the answers to the following questions:

- a. Why is the head of Paul's department nowhere to be seen?
- b. Who is the early career male teacher Paul often talks to?
- c. What are the piles of hand-outs on Paul's desk for?

This initial map of the multiple social relationships which Paul engaged with then set the background against which I probed and made sense of the unfolding of future events, or my (re)construction of his trajectories of participation.

My readings of the interview transcripts were guided by a simple data display matrix shown in Figure 3.6.

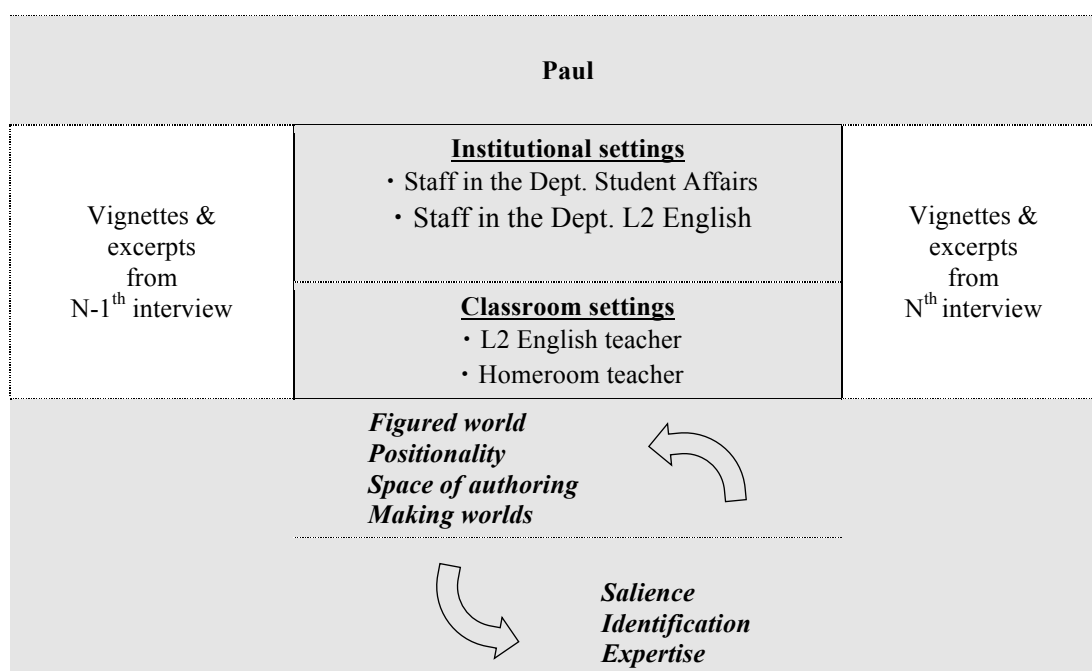


Figure 3.6: Data display matrix

It was loosely structured to maintain openness and scepticism (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In the centre were the novice teachers' positions in school, representing their developmental couplings—comprised of artefact, object, and roles (Beach, 1999)—with activities in practices. For instance, I constructed Paul's trajectories of participation as a staff member of two

administration departments. For his participation in the classroom, I followed him as an L2 English and homeroom teacher. The adjacent two columns were filled with data extracts instantiating the novice teachers' identity in action, such as their pedagogical tool use, changing relationships with critical others, emotionally upsetting incidents and so on.

The data was then perused with reference to Holland et al.'s (1998) four contexts of identity: *figured world*, *positionality*, *self-authoring*, and *making worlds*. By way of illustration, the following is a set of questions regarding Paul's use of an exam workbook which played a critical role in my narrating of his trajectories as a subject teacher.

- a. What is this exam workbook telling me about?
- b. How is it relevant to Paul's envisioned world of teaching? How does it fit (or not fit) in realising his imagined classroom teaching?
- c. How does the workbook relate to the materialised world of teaching he faced in Greenfield?
- d. What are the demands at work here? Whose motives are being enacted through this workbook?
- e. How is he (re)positioning himself to/through the workbook?
- f. What are the changes the workbook brings about to the activity settings of classrooms?
- g. How are the ways in which he is using the workbook changing? Why is it happening?

From the first school visit, I observed that Paul's classroom teaching centred on an exam workbook, commercially marketed for the national university entrance test, which represented the leading motive of L2 English classroom teaching was teaching to the test. Paul had to learn to live by it. Meanwhile, he was anxious to find out the best possible coordination of classroom activities to assist his pupils' meaningful and effective learning of the workbook. In fact, he had been experimenting with various instructional tools to realise his envisioned classroom teaching, such as participatory learning, whilst teaching to the test. In the subsequent visit, for instance, I observed that Paul had changed the classroom seating arrangement to a cluster formation for group work. He explained that he was trying to induce his pupils to collaborate to learn the practice book. Though confused by the mixed responses from his pupils, Paul seemed content to live by his envisioned classroom teaching. In the following visit after the summer

break, that is, the beginning of the second semester, I found the seating arrangement was back to the traditional rows/columns format. There had been some growing disapproval from his pupils so that he had to step back. Paul's experimentation also appeared to come to a halt in the early second semester. At the start of the second term, he announced his plan to use English as a medium of instruction to his pupils, whilst reducing the day's coverage of the exam workbook; the plan was never enacted due to his pupils' strong rejection. Afterwards, he no longer introduced any other new ideas and tools, and his teaching to the test routines settled down, which left him feeling that he had not been conscientious enough.

This particular trajectory was then incorporated into other narratives to construct an overarching trend of Paul's movement as an L2 English teacher. That is, Paul was so smitten with his envisioned ideals of subject teaching that he found the realised world of teaching in Greenfield simply lacking validity. Paul tried to rework and transform his personal practices to approximate his envisioned teaching, only to feel defeated and let down repeatedly. Gradually, he came to terms with what was possible and not; and finally, when he decided not to change his teaching routines any more he felt half content and half complacent. This tentative narrative was then projected into Holland et al.'s (1998) assertion that one's perceived salience of, identification with and expertise on a cultural world codevelop as indicated at the bottom of the matrix in order to monitor and validate the flow and coherence of my emplotted narratives for each of the novice teachers.

To a degree, there was an overlap between data generation and analysis. For instance, when I was gathering data I was already building and testing my ideas for tentative emplotment, moving back and forth between the data elements and relevant literature, envisioning the kind of dramatic arc for each participant: exposition, rising action, climax, falling action, and denouement. Nearing the end of data generation, I worked out the finale of each of the beginning teacher's participation as one of the three basic plot types: 'the "tragic" in which the protagonist does not achieve the goal, and the "comedy", in which the protagonist does achieve

the goal' (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 16) and a tragic-comic. Both Paul and Wendy's trajectories I decided to emplot as tragic. For example, Paul in the first interview articulated that his goal was to be remembered as a meaningful person to his pupils; yet in the last interview at the end of the school year, he was utterly dispirited, already anticipating the next year to redeem himself for not living up to his ideals of teaching this year. Wendy, in the beginning, hoped to connect with troubled pupils and aspired to heal them, but in the last interview, she was reminiscing about the year before when she was studying for the STST, a time when she could lead a self-contained and religiously content life focusing on God and herself.

The analysis after data collection centred on selecting and synthesising the events and actions that would feature in the final narratives, the kind that would contribute to achieving a coherent story leading to the identified denouement of each beginning teacher (Polkinghorne, 1995). Again Paul's case serves as an illustration. As discussed, from the very first interview I was impressed by his strong determination to realise his envisioned teaching. However, nearing the end of the school year he appeared quite demoralised, almost feeling that he had failed. My task was thus to grasp how Paul's disappointing finale came about; what had happened to his envisioned teaching over time. Through multiple readings of the data, I was able to tease out that the more he experienced the materialised world of teaching, the more it represented the antithesis of his envisioned teaching. What was even more demoralising for Paul was that the majority of his subject pupils were disinterested in his lessons and his delinquent homeroom pupils simply rejected him. Given that they were the reason why he chose to enter teaching in the first place, Paul's perseverance to realise his imagined world only reminded him of the unbridgeable gap between the two worlds. When his ideals seemed unachievable, he felt lost.

When the selection of excerpts that would appear in the final report was completed, the original transcripts in Korean needed to be translated into English. I first translated them into English trying to ensure faithfulness to the meaning of the source texts. I then invited two

Koreans, both reading for doctorates in Education at leading universities in the UK⁵ to validate my interpretations. I first sent them a copy of the final set of the original excerpts (in Korean) with their translation (in English) and asked them to comment freely on any aspects about which they had doubts or questions. Then we had a meeting where we discussed for correction and where necessary we listened to the corresponding interview recordings. The following symbols are used to transcribe the experts: I for Interviewee; R for Researcher; ... for ellipsis for brevity; and [] for the interviewer's comment.

3.6.2 Reading across trajectories

The purpose of cross-case reading of the individual teachers' identification trajectories to be discussed in Chapter 5 was for 'more general understanding of generic processes that occur across cases' (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 173) and eventually to answer the three RQs. To a degree, the cross-case reading was concurrent with the construction of the individual teachers' trajectories, since I simultaneously tested a set of tentative hypotheses to tease out some recurrent patterns across the four beginning teachers' identification trajectories. A prerequisite for the cross-case analysis was to project my emplotment of the individual teachers' trajectories in terms of the degrees of *salience*, *identification* and *expertise* (Holland et al., 1998) with respect to their participation in their departmental practices as junior staff members and their actions in the classroom as L2 English teachers and homeroom teachers. For each of the three narrative threads, I devised a rating scale: for *identification* three responses of Strong (+), Ambivalent (0) and Disengaged (-); for *salience* two of High (+) and Weak (-); and for *expertise* three of Content (+), Ambivalent (0) and Discontent (-) and gave my ratings to each of the categories, drawing on my sense-making of the novice teachers' individual trajectories. The final ratings for the teachers are shown in Table 3.2.

⁵One was studying at the University of Oxford and the other at the Institute of Education, University of London. Both of them had their first degree in English and also had many years of teaching experience with secondary pupils.

Table 3.2: Matrix of identification, salience and expertise

	Administration staff	Homeroom teacher	Subject teacher
Salience (+): High (-): Weak	Paul: (-)	Paul: (+)	Paul: (+)
	Wendy: (-)	Wendy: (+)	Wendy: (+)
	Emma: (-)	Emma: (+)	Emma: (+)
	Kate: (-)	Kate: (+)	Kate: (+)
Identification (+): Strong (0): Ambivalent (-): Disengaged	Paul: (-)	Paul: (-)	Paul: (+)
	Wendy: (-)	Wendy: (-)	Wendy: (0)
	Emma: (0)	Emma: (+)	Emma: (+)
	Kate: (+)	Kate: (+)	Kate: (+)
Expertise (+): Content (0): Ambivalent (-): Discontent	Paul: (+)	Paul: (-)	Paul: (+)
	Wendy: (-)	Wendy: (-)	Wendy: (0)
	Emma: (+)	Emma: (0)	Emma: (+)
	Kate: (+)	Kate: (0)	Kate: (+)

To understand the new teachers' perceived degree of *salience* of their roles as a staff member, an L2 English teacher, and a homeroom teacher I tried to capture their 'emotional involvement and a sense of responsibility' (Holland et al., 1998, p. 118) in relation to each of their assigned roles. I gave all the novice teachers (-) ratings in terms of the salience of their role as a staff member to their senses of self and (+) rating to their roles as a subject teacher and homeroom teacher as a reflection of their turbulent emotional rollercoasters and struggles with their subject and homeroom pupils. Second, I tried to understand the novice teachers' developing *identification* with their assigned roles in terms of whether they endorsed what mattered in performing their assigned roles in their schools and how they more or less proactively committed themselves to take forward the leading motives over time. Concomitantly, I also tried to factor in any signs of distancing or disengagement from the expected school identities of their assigned roles. For instance, as a reflection of the individual trajectories discussed in Chapter 4, Emma and Kate's identification with what mattered in their school was rated as strong (+) overall. However, I noted Emma's opposition to her Year 2 Departmental culture, in particular, how seniority was practised, thus rating her identification with the department as ambivalent (0). For Paul and Wendy, I rated their identification with their expected identities in their departments and as homeroom teachers as not strong; as discussed in Chapter 4 Paul

struggled to identify with what happened in his department as a whole and he also grew rather distant from his role as a homeroom teacher over time. Nonetheless, Paul and Wendy's identification with what mattered in their subject teaching was relatively strong. Yet, Wendy who continued to struggle to devise the kind of actions that would work with her vocational subject pupils was given the rating of ambivalent (0). Lastly, in terms of the beginning teachers' perceived level of *expertise* in relation to their assigned roles and their satisfaction with their performance, with the exception of Wendy who continuously struggled to complete her assigned administrative duties, the teachers were given Content (+) rating. Given the difficulties and uncertainties that the novice teachers expressed about their competence and performance as homeroom teachers, I rated Emma and Kate Ambivalent (0) and Paul and Wendy Discontent (-). In terms of L2 classroom teaching, all except Wendy who became increasingly uncertain of her capability as a language teacher were given Content (+). The ratings represented my interpretations of their relative positions compared with each other and provided useful pointers in identifying certain clustering patterns. Then, I tried to work out the contributing elements attributable to such familial patterns and used them as clues to generate more general explanations for the different outcomes of the novice teachers' identification trajectories in their departments and classrooms. In doing so, I asked why a certain pattern was present in the experience of a teacher (or a group of teachers) but was weaker or absent in the experience of others. By way of illustration, with respect to the beginning teachers' identification with their departmental norms, I noted that Paul and Wendy's identification with what mattered in their respective departments was relatively weaker and slower than that of Emma and Kate. The difference was attributed to their respective schools' different institutional practices of work allocation and space management. That is, in their staffrooms, unlike Emma and Kate, Paul and Wendy not only had no authoritarian seniors explicitly demanding certain things of them in performing their assigned roles but also had no colleagues who were either homeroom teachers or L2 English teachers, which meant that there were few

resources for them to learn what mattered in their departments. Furthermore, I also noted the differences in how Emma and Kate responded to their senior colleagues in their respective staffrooms. I was able to tease out that, whereas Kate respected the leadership of her department head and the rest of her seniors in general, Emma was somewhat disapproving about her head's leadership and about some of her seniors in the staffroom. These observations were further refined and eventually featured as the two key dynamics that summarised how the novice teachers' identity mediated their participation in their departmental practices: *negotiating their access to resources in the staffroom* (Section 5.1.1) and *according persuasive power to senior voices* (Section 5.1.2).

In terms of the novice teachers' actions in the classroom, I could discern their strong identification with what mattered in L2 English teaching, i.e. teaching to the test in general and their overall satisfaction with their competence as a subject teacher, which implied that they eventually managed to develop the kind of language teacher identity which enabled them to meet the test-driven demands in practices more or less responsibly. This observation was further refined as an overarching trend in understanding their actions in the classroom as subject teachers, *negotiating possible forms of teaching to the test* (Section 5.2.1).

I also noted that the homeroom space was salient for Paul and Wendy's senses of self and, as shown in Chapter 4, they went through some difficult times in their respective homerooms. Eventually, they could not develop any meaningful identification with the kind of identities expected of them in their homeroom settings and at the same time they both became rather sceptical about their competence as a homeroom teacher. What they had in common was that their homeroom pupils were non-identifiers with the institution of schooling, in the extreme. My effort to grasp how this shared characteristic was negotiated and how it affected their identity work eventually led to another embracing trend in how the novice teachers' identity mediated their identity work in the classroom: *self-empowering for virtuous common interests* (Section 5.2.2). This trend also resonated strongly with Emma and Kate's struggle

with their problem homeroom pupils. Meanwhile, I was intrigued by how Kate was able to develop such a close affinity with her homeroom pupils compared to the other teachers and wanted to figure out what was present in her homeroom but absent in the others. What I was able to discern in Kate's homeroom was the group dynamic, capable of evoking strong positive reciprocity and rapport, whereas the other homerooms were characterised by varying degrees of communication breakdown and alienation between the teachers and their homeroom pupils. This observation was finalised as one of three key dynamics that revealed how the novice teachers' identity mediated their actions in the classroom, *negotiating adulthood and affinity in the homeroom* (Section 5.2.3). In the end, I discerned five encompassing trends in total from the cross-case analysis: the first two in terms of RQ 1, their participation in the institutional practices of their schools, 1) negotiating their access to resources in the staffroom and 2) according persuasive power to senior voices; and the remaining three in terms of RQ 2, their actions in the classroom, 1) negotiating possible forms of teaching to the test; 2) self-empowering for virtuous common interests; and 3) negotiating adulthood and affinity in the homeroom. By synthesising the five trends discussed, I was able to explore how the beginning teachers' agency was achieved in practice (RQ 3).

3.7 Ethical considerations

To structure my contemplation on the ethical issues of the research, I drew on Guillemin and Gillam's (2004) proposal of two dimensions of research ethics, *procedural ethics* and *ethics in practice*. When I first learnt that it was a requirement to fill out the application for CUREC⁶ approval, the procedural obligation came across as a disconcerting formality to surmount to continue my research. Such initial thoughts reflected that I was then unaware of the importance of asking a rather critical question as a social researcher: how do I know what I know? In

⁶ CUREC is the acronym of The Central University Research Ethics Committee, University of Oxford.

retrospect, however, as undergoing the procedural ethics, the seriousness of my role as a primary investigator of this project was beginning to dawn on me. For example, the first section of the ethics application form led me to consider my integrity and, by extension, how I was to objectify myself as a researcher. The first paragraph of CUREC 1/A reads:

[The research ethics clearance procedures] start from the presumption that all members of the University will take their responsibilities and obligations seriously and will ensure ...

Also, the approval form suggested a list of professional guidelines to familiarise myself with the language of ethics in educational research. I was the primary instrument of the process of knowledge construction. The ultimate responsibility to uphold ethical integrity of this research fell on me. I drew on the ethics guidelines adopted by BERA published in 2011 as a primary reference point to inspect the entire research process.

The recruitment was conducted based on voluntary informed consent. After sending out invitation emails to potential participants, I visited the university for recruitment to make a presentation about the project with a Q&A session, and also made my contact details available for further contact. The participants were also informed of their right to withdraw without consequence at any time. All the data collected remained anonymous in all research reports and when necessary the participants were identified with pseudonyms. The data was kept strictly confidential and available only to me and my supervisors on request. All the recordings are kept in my password-protected laptop and will be deleted upon the completion of the project.

Meanwhile, to act as ethically competent out in the field was not an easy task, that is, 'to actually recognize this ethical dimension when it comes into play, and his or her ability to think through ethical issues and respond appropriately' (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 269). Here are my reflections on some of 'ethically important moments' in the course of my fieldwork. This project by design required a close, conversational interaction with participants for a prolonged time. The challenge for me was to build and maintain deeply interactive

relationships with them throughout the study whilst respecting their agency and autonomy. I constantly reminded the participants that we were collaborators in the project, asking for their active involvement. One of the beginning teachers welcomed the empowerment and contacted me first asking for extra interviews. Yet, I did experience some difficulties in sustaining the participants' commitment in general. The issue at its core was the principle of beneficence and power relations. I could not order them about as the clear beneficiary of the research was me. My only remedy for their dwindling commitment was to articulate and justify why the end of the project was worth pursuing, and for the rest I had no choice but to respect their moral compasses. Between the choices of losing participants midway and compromising the qualities of data my choice had to be the latter.

Some participants asked for my advice on the issues they were grappling with. I did not offer any advice but apparently, they were seeing me as an experienced teacher. Other participants also treated me like a close confidant, as the main outlet for their emotions. As Daly (2007) argued, how to negotiate my identity was an integral part of the reflexive task.

We may present or be seen to be presenting ourselves in a variety of ways: in family roles and identities; as the passionate listener; as friend; or as an advocate for a shared cause. To be reflexive is to monitor how we are presenting ourselves and how we are perceived in these social research settings. (Daly, 2007, p. 190)

How we, I and the participants, experienced each other, and how that particular intersubjectivity had shaped our positional identity to one another throughout the research process are imbued in how the present study unfolded and what it has achieved. Through the complex dynamic, I only hope that the path I managed to negotiate was the kind which 'best ... [exploited] the reflexive potential' (Finlay, 2002, p. 227) of the research.

3.8 Limitations and biases

The claims and conclusions that this study puts forward should be considered in relation to its sampling bias and the limitations that ensued from it. First of all, it should be noted that the

participants and their colleagues when interviewed all identified their respective schools as low performing; and the leadership of their headteachers as not direct or overly intrusive. I recall the last conversations I had with the two of the initial cohort of participants, who opted out after the first couple of weeks in school, from which I learnt that the schools in which they were placed schools were high performing and the popular choices in their catchment areas. I also sensed that they were already quite overwhelmed by their head teachers' authoritarian leadership and direct oversight. In this light, the kind of school practices examined in the study can be viewed as inadvertently pre-screened.

As the initial recruitment did not go as planned, two of the participants, Wendy and Kate, were picked up after the start of the school year 2013. As a result, the initial interviews with them, originally scheduled to be conducted before the school year started to probe into their motivation to undertake ITE training, overall experiences during ITE, their projections of school lives and so on had to be delayed. That I had to conduct the overdue interviews later with Wendy and Kate after the start of the school year meant that their accounts during the interviews were reliant on their recollections. As a result, I could not gain such full insights into their particular social situations that had led to their entry into the materialised world of teaching; for instance, the data could not allow me to capture how Wendy and Kate felt just before they started the school year as I had with Paul and Emma. Moreover, due to time constraints, I could often not probe further and had to omit some questions, thus compromising the scope and depth of analysis within and across the case(s).

Another consideration related to one of the methodological ambitions of the study, that of generating empirical data anchored to practices by observing what happens in practices, complemented by access through interviews to the participants' own sense-making in relation to those observed practices. It was therefore critical for me to access the scenes of practices, such as the participants' L2 English classrooms, homerooms and staffrooms. To answer RQ 1, for example, it was crucial for me to stay in their staffrooms and observe what was happening

and, if possible, have conversations and interviews with the new teachers' colleagues.

However, some of the new teachers' colleagues were reluctant to cooperate. For instance, the head of Kate's Year 1 Department, when asked to be interviewed, agreed to do so when she had time, but eventually did not make time to do it. Therefore, the data about the institutional practices of Kate's Year 1 Department was largely drawn from Kate's accounts and my observations. The same was true in Paul's case. His colleagues refused to have casual conversations with me, not to mention interviews, from the very beginning. Similarly, to answer RQ 2 it was essential for me to observe what happened in the beginning teachers' classrooms. Initially they all agreed to open their classrooms for my observation, but some of them had a change of heart and only granted me partial access. For instance, Wendy refused to open up her L2 English lessons with her vocational pupils and so did Kate with her classes with boys. Kate, in particular, also grew highly conscious of my presence in her classes and hard to reach for interviews as reflected in the number and length of the intervals between the school visits and interviews with her. Meanwhile, unlike Paul, Emma and Kate whose appointments as homeroom teachers all took place at the start of the school year, that of Wendy was sudden, at the beginning of the second term after all my school visits had been made. Therefore, the analysis of what happens in Wendy's homeroom was based on the interviews with her. That I had to rely on self-report data for these unavoidable reasons not only constrained the generation of high-quality evidence grounded in practices but also consequently limited the scope of my analysis to find trends within and across the four teachers' trajectories.

Chapter 4: The beginning teachers' trajectories

The chapter introduces four beginning L2 English teachers, Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate by recounting their trajectories of participation in school practices. The analytic foci are: their negotiations of identity as a mediating tool for making sense of, and engaging with, the public meanings embedded in the institutional practices; and their creating and recreating of social situations of development in response to what matters in practices. The analysis is guided by the following research questions:

- 1) How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their participation in the institutional practices of school?
- 2) How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their actions in the classroom?
- 3) To what extent do beginning teachers become agentic?

For each beginning teacher, I first overview the overall trajectories, then recount their participation in their departments and classrooms, followed by a summary.

4.1 Paul

For Paul, the salience of the figured world of teaching had developed over a long time; at 14 he made his career choice and never side-tracked. Even from the very first interview, just before the start of the school year, Paul's strong identification with teaching was evident, as shown in his ambitious projections of himself as a change agent: "... but I want to take the initiative and try new things." (Paul, 1st interview Feb. 2013). Paul almost immediately sensed that his motives of teaching were at odds with those within the practices, such as "making pupils to study in silence" (Paul, 1st interview Feb. 2013), and yet expressed his reluctance to accede to them. Already, Paul's initial identity, his objectified self-images as a teacher, was mediating his assessment of possible actions in the yet to be experienced social world. Although Paul had

reservations about possible setbacks in pursuing his motives of teaching, such as dealing with heavy workload and potential objections from his colleagues, he started filled with visions and some strong self-determination. However, Paul's transition into the realised world of teaching in Greenfield was not as smooth as he had hoped. His struggle was, at its core, to close the gap between his objectified self-images and actual performance; and between his ideal world of teaching and the materialised world of teaching in Greenfield. Whilst contriving to live as the kind of person who he aspired to be as a teacher and member of the community, Paul found it difficult to relate to and act by the privileged values and motives in practices. He often became frustrated and even angry watching his visions turning into illusions, subdued by the established practices amongst his, at least to his eyes, uninterested and complacent colleagues. When finding himself becoming more like his colleagues whom he regarded as the antithesis of his theory of teaching, Paul felt disconcerted, but not for long. Nearing the end of the academic year, his self-determination revived; he was already anticipating the next year, an opportunity for a fresh start to reclaim his envisioned world of teaching.

4.1.1 Participation in institutional practices

Paul's initiation into the materialised world of teaching in Greenfield was via institutional categorisation, that is, his appointment as an L2 English teacher to Year 2 pupils, homeroom teacher of a Year 2 vocational class, and a staff member of the Department of Student Affairs. Although the labelling process was critical to set the boundaries of practices directly relevant to Paul's day-to-day institutional living, there was almost no room to have his say. For instance, he was explicitly denied access to certain categories, such as Year 3. Here, he recalls a meeting with his colleague L2 English teachers on his very first visit to school.

I went to the departmental meeting and met the other L2 English teachers and the department head. Then, we were told to apply for which year group we would like to teach this year. I went for Year 3, but I was told that is not to happen. So, I settled for Year 2. (Paul, 1st interview Feb. 2013)

In South Korea the category of Year 3 in academic high schools is considered inappropriate for novice teachers as the demand of teaching to the test, especially the national university entrance exam, reaches to new heights. For being a beginning teacher, Paul was classified as not fit to handle the kind of tasks intrinsically bounded in the high-stakes category. Urged to position himself according to the implicit rules of staff assignment, Paul had to settle for Year 2.

Meanwhile, Paul had high hopes for his younger L2 English teaching colleagues. In his imagined world of teaching the quality of youthfulness typified willing partners in achieving his envisioned teaching: “The oldest L2 English teacher is 34 years old ... so if I encourage them [L2 English teachers] and they cooperate, then I think it could work” (Paul, 1st interview Feb. 2013), only to be repeatedly let down. During the first couple of months in school Paul tried to avail himself of his colleagues as resources to improve his classroom teaching. For instance, he persistently invited them for peer feedback: “I proposed that we [novice L2 English teachers] buy a video recorder, record our lessons and feedback to each other. I also asked the senior teachers many times to come and observe my lessons” (Paul, 2nd interview April 2013). Paul was actively reworking his social situations to fulfil his envisioned self-images as an agentic teacher learner. However, his invitation attracted no responses except from one colleague, a temporary teacher from Year 1. Her voice and sympathetic ear continued to be significant as a main outlet for Paul’s outpourings, whereas the voices of other L2 English teachers were almost mute. Apparently, Paul had seen it coming, the cold-shouldering from his colleagues: “But in fact that is the kind of images I have got about teachers. They are stubborn, try not to show each other, and individualistic ... messy and disorganised” (Paul, 2nd interview April 2013). Paul’s description below captures individualism in his subject department.

I did not learn much from [experienced L2 English teachers] anyway. As a department we don’t do much together. We teach individually, each makes half of the school exam questions and later we put them together. For editing we take turns. And there was this event, the English Quiz contest in the second term. We individually made quiz questions and we [new L2 English teachers] were made to be the quizmasters, so I did it with another new teacher. So in fact I learnt nothing from the seniors. (Paul, 10th interview Dec. 2013)

Paul was prescribed with the institutional priorities of L2 English teaching, that is, explicit outcomes that he needed to produce, such as making school exam papers, test administration, and writing up report cards; but how to arrive at those ends, for example, how Paul taught what in the classroom, was completely left to him. This pervading individualism in the subject department was the backdrop against which Paul's construction of identity as a beginning L2 English teacher was negotiated. Paul's experiencing of the subject department appeared to only intensify his sense of alienation. Here he recalls how upset he was when observing a Year 3 L2 English teacher's lesson as a part of the government-driven, peer assessment scheme for CPD.

It [the lesson] was as expected. To begin, she [Year 3 L2 English teacher] did not seem caring and enthusiastic about the pupils. It was not interesting, just the same ... the PowerPoint material was just a copy-paste of the textbook ... I saw them [the other L2 English teachers] ticking the "excellent" box [on the evaluation form] to that kind of teaching, so it [the peer assessment scheme] felt like all prearranged. (Paul, 4th interview June 2013)

To Paul's eyes, the opportunity for professional development was lost again by his colleagues' routine practices of puffery, pre-empting any critical comments. The intended purpose of the peer feedback programme was conveniently forgotten to serve the interests of the apathetic users, while the tool itself was degraded to a mere formality. By the measure of the symbolic capital highly valued in Paul's ideal world of teaching, such as enthusiasm and creativeness, the observed L2 English teacher and the observing teachers alike were substandard, which led Paul to see himself to have gained the upper hand over his colleagues. In fact, he did not hesitate to take his intentions forward, such as making a proposal for a lunchtime L2 English listening practice. Here he recounts the aftermath of his proposal.

One teacher said the pupils have the right to take a break in lunch recess. Obviously she did not want to do it. The other said the kids would not listen anyway. Seeing their responses, I just walked away emotionally and was angry. So ... I said to the department head that I would run it by myself. But she said that is not the way it works ... so we hold a departmental meeting ... already I was quite emotional before the meeting started and in the meeting I said to them in an accusing tone that the pupils are so important but they are not caring for them enough ... (Paul, 4th interview June 2013)

Paul's proposal embodied his strong sense of responsibility and commitment as a teacher. When his colleagues were lukewarm about, and even questioned the purpose and practicality of his idea, he felt the legitimacy of his identity was unjustly damaged. Paul's commitment to his ideals of teaching was such that he dared to publicly accuse his seniors of a lack of professional ethics, defying his implicit positioning as a junior. His emotionally charged reaction to the practical rejection of his envisioned world of teaching appeared as a barometer of his antipathy to those inhabiting the realised world of teaching as well as of his staunch adherence to his imagined world of teaching. Paul could not submit himself to the instructions of practices just as his colleagues did. After the upsetting incident, he became estranged even further from his colleagues, the antithesis of his theory of being a teacher.

Paul's repeated encounters in the early days in school with the unenthusiastic collegial atmosphere and the near absent dialogues in the L2 English department appeared to further drive him to act as a lone navigator. Whilst his colleagues became almost invisible, the main protagonists in his world of teaching were consistently his pupils. For example, when asked to reflect on his new title as a teacher in Greenfield at the end of the first term, he rejected to relate himself beyond what mattered to him, such as building meaningful relationships with his pupils.

It [being a teacher] is about me and pupils ... I do not feel any sense of belonging or attachment to this school. I just care about teaching and want to be meaningful to my pupils. I do not care about being nice to other teachers and getting promoted ... (Paul, 5th interview July 2013)

Paul's commitment to his objectified self-images as a teacher was so strong that not only did he feel them intrinsic to his senses of self but relied on them as the pivot of his sense making, interpreting and evaluating his colleagues' actions. Without many intervening and convincing voices, Paul's strong attachment to his envisioned world of teaching appeared to be further reinforced so that he considered himself as a living embodiment of how a model teacher should be like, hence the norm for other teachers to follow.

I: It's not like that now I'm a schoolteacher so I should do like this ... but rather it feels already I have been living as a teacher, so it seems I do not really need to think about it.

R: It feels like a part of who you are?

I: I think my ways of doing are what teachers should be doing.

(Paul, 5th interview July 2013)

Paul's effort to live by his objectified self-images was also illustrated in his continuous self-authoring throughout the year to be recognised as a hard-working teacher. Here, Paul explains his dedication to achieve that particular identity.

I: That you are working for this particular school, does that affect how you have been working on your images? What if you worked for some other schools?

R: It would not change much. I mean whichever school I work I will be trying hard to be recognised as a hard-working teacher. If my pupils are not acknowledging that, then I will try even harder until they do. At this school their level is low, so it might have been easier for me to get that recognition. Here it is so easy just to settle down into the ways things are.

(Paul, 9th interview Oct. 2013)

Paul's desire for the image of a hard-working teacher seemed context-independent. However, the actual achievement of the identity proved to be a joint endeavour. That is, the overall relaxed attitudes towards academic achievement in Greenfield made light of Paul's identity work to achieve the recognition as a hard-working teacher.

Another window for Paul to navigate the practices of Greenfield was his role as a junior staff member in the Department of Student Affairs, an administration division which traditionally favours male teachers for challenging tasks, such as school discipline and pupil behaviour policies. In the administration department Paul landed on a position with easier duties, which he attributed to his novice status. Contrary to his confidence as a subject teacher and member of the subject department, Paul regarded himself unqualified for his administrative tasks and tended to keep his silence: "I cannot easily offer to help him [a colleague with heavy workload], I am not capable, in fact I am afraid to help..." (Paul, 3rd interview May 2013).

Also, observing his senior colleagues in his staffroom, Paul became increasingly self-conscious of his junior status and felt obliged to remain silent for the sake of seniority. For instance, Paul

overheard a senior teacher in his staffroom verbally harassing a pupil, but he could not bring himself to intervene: “I could see that the student did wrong. But still I think he [senior teacher] should not have talked to him like that, in a really hurtful way, but he was old enough to be my father so...” (Paul, 2nd interview April 2013). Paul’s distaste for his Greenfield colleagues was often instantiated in his remarks whereby he placed himself as opposed to the rest—in his words “that kind of teachers” (Paul, 6th interview August 2013). He was denying attaching the attributes of other teachers to himself, reaffirming his allegiance to the factitious I of himself in his ideal world of teaching. Yet, Paul’s seniors were experienced participants in practices, whose actions were endorsed as legitimate in the realm of action. Paul’s disapproval of them was therefore no other than the disapproval of the materialised world itself. However, just as no one really questioned the ethics of the experienced teachers’ normative behaviours, Paul’s rejection of the routine practices was neither commended nor reprimanded. The lack of intervening voices in practices only strengthened Paul’s attraction to his envisioned identity.

In his last interview Paul expressed a strong aversion to his colleagues. He recalls his utter disappointment when the work allotment for the next year became the talk of the town.

I: ... I just cannot see them [colleagues] favourably at the moment because of this work allotment for the next year. I do not care which year group and department I will be assigned next year. But other teachers seem to think otherwise.

R: So there are some big talks going on.

I: Yes. Even when just two teachers gather, they are asking each other, which year group or department they are applying for, and sharing information like, this teacher is applying this year group or ... And a lot of them are also applying for transferring to other schools as well. So I just dislike all the teachers around me. I do not talk to them.

(Paul, 10th interview Dec. 2013)

As far as he could see Greenfield teachers were driven only by selfish motives, such as bidding for an easier work position next school year or leaving Greenfield for good for better schools. Paul found the weak sense of community and the lack of shared purpose amongst Greenfield teachers quite disheartening. The abyss of the generational gap between younger and older teachers in Greenfield was never made an issue of, but only deepened. Individualism amongst

his younger colleagues left Paul even more demoralised, since his first year experience in school was telling him that the kind of transformation he envisioned could not be achieved by himself alone but required concerted effort between colleagues. Paul's experiencing of practices over the year only propelled him to drift further apart and become an independent navigator, pursuing his ideals of teaching on his own terms. In other words, his participation in Greenfield practices itself became a tool for reinforcing his envisioned world of teaching.

4.1.2 Actions in the classroom

Paul was assigned to perform two institutional categories in the classroom: Year 2 L2 English teacher and homeroom teacher of a Year 2 vocational class. As a subject teacher Paul was tasked to teach an exam practice book whilst his colleague taught the official textbook. Here he recounts how conflicting demands had impinged on and shaped the practices of L2 English teaching in Greenfield into which he was inserted.

... It is a pity, I mean if [I and the other Year 2 English teacher] don't have a choice but to allocate two hours to the textbook and the other three hours to the exam practice book, then I wanted to say to her try teaching other language skills like listening, writing, speaking, but she just teaches reading comprehension just like me. ... You know because of the Intensive Course Complete System [of National Curriculum], she needs to finish the whole textbook *English 1* in this term and next term another textbook, *Practical English*. I see the difficulties she is having. She needs to finish the textbook on time, so really has no time for these relatively unimportant skills like listening, speaking and writing. I just have to teach this exam work book this term and the second term as well, but officially on the record, I am teaching the same textbook just like her. But, in fact, I teach this exam workbook the whole year. (Paul, 2nd interview April 2013)

Year 2 L2 English teachers in Greenfield faced two different demands: on the one hand, they needed to comply with the National Curriculum, i.e. the Intensive Course Complete System, and on the other, they had to meet the single most important societal expectation of preparing Year 2 pupils for the university entrance exam the following year. Evidently, test-driven motive prevailed as the need to meet both of the demands invented and sanctioned an unorthodox category which Paul was appointed to, whose actual job was to coach an exam

practice book hidden behind the façade of the official curriculum. Paul indeed faced his subject pupils who were brought up as fervent supporters of teaching to the test. Only the kind of teaching which would assist them in achieving high performance on high-stakes tests, e.g. coaching an exam practice book, would be welcomed.

I: Personally, I do not think the university entrance exam is really that important, but the pupils think otherwise. So I think I am kind of taking advantage of that.

R: That your students are taking it seriously?

I: Yes. So I teach the EBS exam practice book. And in classroom I say to them like, this is the way the entrance exam tests you.

(Paul, 4th interview June 2013)

The exam practice book that Paul was teaching had been widely regarded as the most effective means amongst South Korean high school pupils for achieving high marks in the university entrance exam. Therefore, his choice of the teaching material was not entirely self-reliant but in fact to a great degree preselected. The exam workbook allowed Paul to start off with the kind of identity that was not inappropriate in the activity settings. Then gradually Paul availed himself of the authority that the practice book carried in order to craft the kind of actions that would allow him to put forward his intentions, such as to build his authority as a subject teacher. That is, he drew out the map of possible actions afforded in the activity settings in the classroom and reworked his relationship with the mandated tool to realise his intention.

Apart from his reinventing of the exam practice book, a critical resource which mediated Paul's actions in the classroom was his dispositions, which at times proved effective, but other times backfired. What was noticeable from the first observation of Paul's classroom teaching was his introduction of tools which relayed who he was; for example, he used honorifics to his pupils: "Even when I am upset and argue for personal matters I use honorifics" (Paul, 2nd interview April 2013). Also, what he considered to be the norms of the figured world of teaching played a critical role in laying down some ground rules in his interaction with his pupils. In the very first lessons to each of his assigned classes, for example, Paul introduced

his subject pupils to an imaginary student to who embodied his envisioning of a model student.

In the first classes, I said that I like a pupil who behaves like one, and told them that a proper pupil follows three rules: warmly greet one another, use honorifics, and actively participate in class. And I declared that as long as they are following these three rules, I would not care whether they dye their hair or shorten their skirts. They seemed to take it all right. (Paul, 2nd interview Apr. 2013)

In the introduction Paul openly disregarded some of the school rules, for example, forbidding pupils from dying hair and shortening skirts. He was in fact invalidating the privileged values in practices and reshaped the activity settings to embody his personal motives. This rule-bending evinced Paul's commitment to his imagined world of teaching and his determination to evoke his pupils' consent to participate in and realise his envisioned world of teaching.

Whilst living by the institutional motive of teaching to the test, Paul also experimented with an array of pedagogical tools on a trial-and-error basis which embodied his personal theory of teaching. That is, Paul created opportunities to act out his objectified self-images, such as a facilitator of meaningful learning, where he hoped that his underachieving pupils could also participate in and learn for real changes in their lives. Paul also spared no effort to listen his pupils' voices as well as have his voice heard. For instance, during the first term, not only did he invite his pupils to feedback on his teaching but reflect together on the comments collected. Perhaps at first Paul's intended purpose of having the feedback session was more diagnostic to create an opportunity to review his professional competence as a novice teacher. However, when he placed the tool in the public space, its epistemic purpose was transformed. That is, it created a site of common knowledge building, where each other's respective motives, what mattered to Paul and his pupils were made explicit and realigned.

Some students were saying my pacing is too slow. Obviously, they were worried about the mid-term exam, academically motivated pupils. But, the thing is, here is an irony. I mean they say it is difficult [to understand grammar] so I give them more examples and explanations, then it takes more time so then naturally it gets slow. I told them I do not think it is right to do just brief explanation on grammar points in order to do more translation. They seemed to agree and the complaints about my pacing seem have gone now. (Paul, 2nd interview April 2013)

When Paul learnt that his pupils felt let down by his slow pacing, he acted to persuade them to realign their motives and accept his. That is, he reinvented the feedback as a tool to not only justify his instructional actions but further propagate his pedagogical beliefs. Nearing the end of the first term, whilst becoming more comfortable in commanding the language of teaching to the test, Paul appeared to reside in an ‘intermediary zone’ (Zittoun, 2014) where he felt ambivalent towards what he was becoming, in his words, “teacher-like”.

- I: I do not know ... I mean before I was really excited when my class went well; pupils were responding well. Likewise, I felt really bad when they were not responding even when I taught the same way. So back to the office, I used to whine about it. ... But nowadays, after the school trip whether they respond or not, I do not feel bad about it.
- R: What do you think caused that?
- I: Well, maybe I have just given up, but I have not given up entirely yet. I just find it strange to see myself changing. ...
- R: What were you before this teacher-like status?
- I: A student trying to be a teacher?
- R: I see.
- I: What I mean by ‘teacher-like’ is I care less how students respond, and I have come to think it is impossible to satisfy every one of them. But then I am concerned over what I should do about it.
- R: How do you feel about the changes?
- I: I am worried.
- R: How so?
- I: ... Before, I was enthusiastic about both, my teaching and the pupils, but now I feel my enthusiasm for pupils is cooling down. ... I could not care less about how they respond. (Paul, 4th interview June 2013)

Paul was upset realising that his actions were assimilated to those of his seniors who he strongly disapproved, for instance, for their lack of care towards pupils. More crucially, it appeared Paul had a moment of epiphany when he feared that to achieve his ideals of teaching was not only a distant dream but in fact not welcomed much in the realised world of teaching. His conundrum was therefore whether to continue to invest himself to live by his envisioned identity even knowing he was not likely to succeed: “... yet I see no results. Their English ability is just the same, and those kids who are not coming to school still are not coming. I alone am busy doing this and that, but nothing changes so I feel demoted” (Paul, 5th interview July 2013). When the very identity which defined his aspired self and hence fed his self-respect appeared impossible

to achieve, Paul's motivation to negotiate his social situations and see those crisis moments through was dwindled; rather he became yielding and saw good reason to battle his way back to his initial enthusiasm. His senses of self seemed to have lost their centre.

In fact, Paul realised that he could have some considerable leeway in his classrooms, whilst still teaching to the test. Because, it was his call to decide what to teach for the school exams. More significantly, it was Paul who wrote the school exams questions. As long as he followed the school's protocols of writing exam questions, test administration, and eventually produced school report cards, no one really commented on Paul's choices and actions in classrooms. Over time being able to write exam questions more 'economically', that is, with less coverage of the exam practice book, Paul could reduce his teaching load, which gave him a glimpse of an opportunity to further experiment with his ideals of L2 English teaching. For instance, he decided to spend less time on teaching the exam practice book, but to try to use English as a medium of instruction. What appeared to trigger the decision was that his teaching to the test was meaningful only to a handful of his pupils, those academically driven. Although his new plan was almost immediately rejected by his pupils, Paul once again interrogated the taken for granted purposes and values of L2 English teaching in order to fulfil his envisioned world of teaching, e.g. meaningful learning for all pupils. Yet, Paul's experimental attitudes meant that he rendered himself more susceptible to criticism. For instance, in the end of year teacher evaluation a pupil questioned his intention of trying new ideas which deviated from the common practices of teaching to the test. The negative comment was a serious blow to Paul as it was none other than a direct objection to the legitimacy of his identity which he toiled to live by for the entire year and, more significantly, was determined to pursue in future.

Nearing the end of the school year, Paul seemed almost to have relinquished at least a part of whom he aspired to be. Indeed, he appeared to have altered his expectations of himself as well as of his pupils. For example, he was no longer trying new ideas in order to facilitate his pupils' meaningful learning. Here Paul justifies his changed self.

R: So was it okay you become somewhat slack?

I: If I had prepared more, then I might have done more in class. But I came to think that even if I prepare things, anyway they [students] could not do it so there is no point in preparing. So I just settled down into the way things are. And that is bad.

R: So you feel more settled down?

I: Yes, you are right. Let me be honest with you. Compared to the first term, I am not really trying new things as much. A few days ago, I attended an in-service teacher training workshop. I did not volunteer to go, but an opportunity arose so I went happily. What they were saying were either what I had tried already [but didn't work] or things that would not work anyway even if I tried.

(Paul, 9th interview Oct. 2013)

Paul seemed resigned to his pupils' lack of ability and support, and his changed self, e.g. his "slackness" became the lens through which he interpreted his social situation as a dead end.

Once significant his pupils' voices which forged the reasons and motives of Paul's proactivity were losing their persuasive power over him. Paul even projected failures even before trying new ideas; for instance, he dismissed some tips from a teacher educator in a workshop for being the usual worn-out clichés. Still, he took pride in himself for being a fighter all along to realise his envisioned L2 English teaching, though not entirely convinced by what he achieved.

Meanwhile, he had some testing times with his vocational homeroom pupils. He recalls his first two lessons with them.

They could not even read, so I started with alphabets and pronunciations but they did not even give it a go ... in the second class still they did not do it ... I was so angry ... so I had to leave the classroom and walked about the hallway for a bit [to cool off my anger]" (Paul, 3rd interview May 2013).

In the first term, however daunting, Paul's actions were oriented to fulfil his envisioned role as a L2 English teacher by trying various activities in English, though not relevant to the official textbook. Paul's learning of being a teacher instructed that his job in the classroom was to organise opportunities of learning no matter what the circumstances were. He found that other vocational subject teachers had given up teaching but only "let them [vocational pupils] play, doing nothing ... All they care about is whether they are staying in the classroom" (Paul, 3rd interview May 2013). He could not validate those teachers who "[brought] their laptop to take

care of their personal stuff in class” (Paul, 7th interview Aug. 2013). In classroom teaching with his homeroom pupils, Paul often found himself making announcements, taking care of other administrative duties and disciplining students. As a result, his subject classes with his homeroom pupils often turned into a space of another confrontation. The conflated boundaries between the two roles, academic and pastoral, confused him. After the school trip near the end of the first term he became further estranged from his homeroom pupils. There were no more high-fives between them when the pupils left for home, a little ceremony between them to celebrate the end of a school day without any accidents. Paul’s growing sense of detachment from his homeroom pupils was such that he was in fact reprimanded by the head of Vocational Division: “She [the head] said, as much as I care for my subject teaching, I should take care of my homeroom class” (Paul, 5th interview July 2013). Having undergone an array of upsetting incidents in his homeroom, Paul became self-critical of his inability as a pastoral leader.

I: ... I am not sure whether I am a teacher yet.

R: Then, whom do you call a teacher?

I: It is not subject knowledge. Someone good at things like discipline, then they are teachers. But I cannot do it.

R: Why do you think you cannot do it?

I: ... For me, everything is the first time so I ask for advice. They [senior teachers] do not need help but just do fine by themselves ... They know how to handle, but I do not. I guess that makes me feel not like a teacher. But I feel like a teacher when it comes to subject teaching.

(Paul, 6th interview Aug. 2013)

Paul realised that he did not have the kind of competence needed to discipline his homeroom pupils, which seemed a simple enough task to his senior colleagues. He was beginning to recognise the school’s view of what being a teacher was, which led him to question his legitimacy as a teacher; by that standard he was only a half teacher.

I: I failed completely with every one of them. I could not really relate to them. It does not seem they take me as a meaningful person.

R: Why do you think that was? You feel you have not done enough?

I: There is nothing I have not done, but did not go extra mile either. Well, basically I do not like them. I cannot like them.

R: You cannot?

I: To begin, they have no goals, no motivation. I am quite the opposite kind.

When I see them, I ask myself what is the purpose of their life? Maybe, I am not that broad minded to accept that. No, I must not let it happen. Still I believe that if pupils do not have goals it is my job to help them to set one; if they are not motivated then it is my job to motivate them. I think just to accept the way they are is not right. From the beginning, I knew it would be difficult. And I tried over and over but nothing really worked ...

(Paul, 10th interview Dec. 2013)

Initially, he saw himself as an agentic actor in his homeroom, but after his repeated failed attempts to relate to his unruly homeroom pupils Paul detached himself from his role as a homeroom teacher. It appeared that he could not allow himself to further compromise his theory of being a teacher, the backbone of his long-cherished aspiration. It was as though he walked away from the possibility of becoming a failure, determined to protect the integrity of his envisioned identity, the most valued tool of preserving his moral ethical senses of being.

4.1.3 Agency

As illustrated in Section 4.1.1, Paul's agency—his intentional actions that were being taken and completed—as a junior staff member in his department was largely limited to completing his assigned administrative tasks, thus contributing to reinforcing the status quo practices. In his staffroom Paul had no colleagues who explicitly inducted him into the kind of motives and competence that mattered in the social space and prompted him to act proactively in completing his assigned administrative duties. Moreover, he could not relate to his senior colleagues' voices in the staffroom, as their envisioned worlds of teaching were almost the antithesis of his. This lack of explicit and endorsable voices in the staffroom made it even more difficult for Paul to negotiate and achieve the kind of agency that would lead him to identify with and take forward the departmental norms and priorities.

In the classroom, however, his agency was played out rather differently as discussed in Section 4.1.2. In reflection of his long-held, essentially concrete images of himself as a teacher and of what the world of teaching should be, Paul proactively sought out opportunities to enact his personal theories of teaching. Therefore, his fight for agency as an L2 English teacher and

homeroom teacher was more tenacious and persistent as he longed to enact the kind of actions that would approximate to his envisioned world of teaching. Teaching to the test was the expected norm for him to live by in his L2 English classrooms. His pupils' voices demanding teaching to the test were clearly present, perhaps not as imposing and homogeneous as he anticipated. Still, he had to act to meet the demand. However, his agency to take forward the test-driven pedagogy did not develop as a defining quality of his identity work as a language teacher. First of all, he had no senior teachers explicitly forcing him to push the performance-driven pedagogy. Also, the more he experienced the realised L2 English teaching in his classrooms, the more he became convinced of the virtuousness of his long-cherished ideas of L2 English teaching; that is, his intention to enact his imagined world of teaching was reinforced by his experiencing of the realised world of teaching which, to his eyes, simply lacked validity. His agency as a language teacher was conspicuous in his continuous efforts to devise and enact the kind of actions that would bridge the gap between his envisioned teaching and what was possible in his classrooms.

However, Paul's fight for agency as a homeroom teacher was least satisfactory, and actually proved to be demeaning (Section 4.2.2). That his vocational homeroom pupils were non-identifiers with the institution of schooling in the extreme proved to be an insurmountable problem. They took no notice of the school rules and discipline. Meanwhile, Paul had no colleagues in his staffroom who were also homeroom teachers, to whose voices he could listen. With their intervention, he might have learnt the kind of new intentions that could help him deal with his delinquent homeroom pupils. As a result, the only readily available resource on which to base his actions as a homeroom teacher was his own theory of being a teacher; the kind of student/teacher relationship which he had idealised for long. Yet, Paul's actions, motivated by his ideals for homeroom management, were not reciprocated. First of all, his ideals did not match the other teachers' priorities in vocational homeroom management. For instance, their priority was simply to keep the disinterested pupils' attendance rates high enough to qualify

them for graduation, not the quality of time they spent in school nor their progress in learning and development through schooling. Also, however determined and committed Paul was to enact his envisioned world of teaching, his homeroom pupils gave him no support. That is, Paul could not be as agentic as he anticipated a homeroom teacher; first of all, he could not relate to, and thus commit himself in taking forward the shared homeroom management practices and when he met hardly any supporting voices in his homeroom, his actions, no matter how good the intentions carried in them were, could not bring about any meaningful interactions, not to mention changes, in his homeroom.

4.1.4 Summary

Paul entered Greenfield with some clear self-images as a teacher, and throughout the year he strove to practise and retain the ideal images of himself. Paul's experiencing of the school practices, however, repeatedly reminded him that the materialised world of teaching in Greenfield represented the very antithesis of his ideals. The pervading individualism and strong culture of seniority pre-empted opportunities for collective thinking and action for change. Paul had no choice but to act as a part of the machinery of the established institutional practices, grappling with his growing sense of alienation. Meanwhile, Paul's identity was also manifested through his pedagogical actions in classrooms, where the culture of individualism allowed him to gain a greater degree of autonomy. Although the privileged motive of teaching to the test was deeply ingrained in his pupils' figuring of the purpose of L2 English lessons, it was not impossible for Paul to try his envisioned L2 English teaching. Over time, however, his experimental teaching became more compliant with the much-demanded effective teaching to the test. Even though Paul felt disheartened by his gradual estrangement from his ideal subject teaching, he took comfort in that at least he did his best on his terms to assist his pupils' learning. Homeroom management was unexpectedly challenging and in fact disappointing to such a degree that Paul viewed himself as a failure. He could not see any meaningful demands

from his homeroom pupils to invest himself for. When his attempts to create virtuous common interests through shared activities were rejected repeatedly, Paul felt utterly incompetent.

4.2 Wendy

In the very first interview, I was struck by the authority of God in Wendy's conducting of her life. In fact, the year before when studying for the STST, she had given up the test preparation for a while, finding herself becoming distant from God, for not being able to spend as much time in worship. She reasoned, perhaps not surprisingly, that her entering into the world of teaching and her first placement at Greenfield was God's arrangement for her, and to her mind Greenfield was "the kind of school that truly needs God's hands" (Wendy, 1st interview May 2013). Her envisioning of teaching and of herself as a teacher appeared to much allude to the central teachings of Christianity. She viewed herself as a medium through which God could "touch" troubled young souls. Only when the connection between God and herself held fast, what she described as "the centre of her being", could she live the identity of a teacher. In her identity work as a teacher, to guard the integrity of her Christian faith was critical, though she felt compelled to hide her strong Christian identity in front of her pupils.

Wendy's idealised world of teaching and her self-images in it were soon disillusioned. She found it difficult to work as a staff member of her department as she could not attribute any Christian meanings to her assigned tasks, such as publishing the school's newspaper. She felt rather burdened for being held accountable for the consequences of her performance of these unwanted administrative duties. In the classroom, Wendy's initial projection of herself as a Christian teacher, for example, 'shepherding' pupils, proved to be only her fantasy when she already felt deluged by her teaching duties. The majority of her low-ability academic pupils were apathetic to what was happening in the classroom. Wendy's proficient command of L2 English and knack for learning languages were not as appreciated as she had anticipated. When suddenly appointed as a homeroom teacher in the second term, at first she recognised it as an

opportunity to finally enact and realise her Christian aspiration of entering teaching. At first, she indeed enjoyed building emotional connections with her homeroom pupils. However, she soon felt drained by the weight and scope of demands entailed in homeroom care, especially by the great degree of interpersonal and emotional commitment required of her. Wendy's day-to-day fight for survival fatigued her mentally and physically, which brought grave repercussions over time, during which she started to seriously doubt her ability to continue to do the job. By the end of the school year, she felt too enervated to perform the identity of a faithful Christian either. That was certainly a troubling development as her perceived failure as a devout Christian almost called a halt to her functioning as a teacher, in fact to her life as a whole. Her introvert disposition also made it difficult for her to ask for help. The expected school identity strongly contradicted her penchant for solitary life. In the last interview, Wendy confessed her longing to go back to the year before, when she could savour freedom and solitude as a fully faithful child of God, though not a credentialed school teacher.

4.2.1 Participation in institutional practices

In the first months in school, Wendy was uncertain of how to objectify herself in terms of the rules and procedures in the institutional practices of Greenfield. Therefore, she appeared in desperate need of external help and advice, but even did not even know where to look for them.

Help? I can get it when I ask, but I doubt I could get it unless I ask. That worries me. I mean I even do not know what to ask about, so I do not ask. But then because I do not ask, they do not teach me. So I have this fear that I might make mistakes. There is no manual for new teachers like what they should know. And no one really teaches [me] things before I ask. (Wendy, 2nd interview May 2013)

Wendy almost appeared fearful of the uncertainties she was facing. Unable to recognise what matters in practices by herself, she sought external help, such as explicit advice and manuals to compensate for her lack of knowledge about the realised world of teaching. However, as her remark above instantiated, the institution relied on implicit mediation, e.g. informal talks

between colleagues as a mechanism of inducting newcomers to the established practices.

Moreover, new teachers were expected to initiate such conversations. Wendy opted to remain silent and closely observe her colleagues to conceal her cluelessness on the world. Later in the fieldwork Wendy confessed that as an introvert who was used to and preferred working alone, she felt uncomfortable asking other teachers for help. Her disposition to introversion thus posed extra challenges in her learning to live by the leading motives in practices.

In the world of Christian life, however, Wendy was an agentic participant. The world itself was so familiar to and highly salient for her senses of self that it guided and directed her actions. From quite early days in school, she actively sought opportunities to go into retreat and enter the world of the religion and to practise her identity as a good Christian even during school hours. For example, she made time to study the Bible with other Christian teachers and sing hymns in the music room. After school, she went to church with other Christian teachers. Here Wendy describes how her relationship with God shapes her life in school.

... When I feel guilty to God, I want to let go of myself completely, thinking just live a prodigal life? Just give it all up? I am an all or nothing kind, so once I feel that centre of being is lost then I do not feel like preparing for lessons, asking myself, what is the point? (Wendy, 3rd interview June 2013)

When Wendy felt less faithful and connected to God, it appeared as though her centre of being was lost. When she felt drifted away from God, she became negligent of her teaching as well. To become a good teacher, she first had to be a good Christian. One of the recurring themes throughout the interviews with Wendy was her guilty conscience for not turning to God to relieve her fatigue and stress from the day's school work, but pursuing, in her words, "worldly pleasure" such as watching TV shows or reading webtoons. For Wendy going astray from the life path of a good Christian seemed a life not worth living; and not to follow the kind of life path ascribed to a devout Christian was synonymous with self-abandonment. Wendy viewed that to live the expected identity of her as a Greenfield teacher was wreaking havoc on her leading a life as a devout Christian which had been by far her most proactive identity. Whilst

struggling to keep herself afloat against her daily demands, Wendy also had to fight to protect the integrity of her religious self and to maintain the salience of the world of God. Wendy's envisioning of the world of teaching heavily imbued with Christian teachings was inadequate to assist her in processing the institutional demands on her. For instance, she could not grasp the connection between herself and her administrative duty of publishing the school's newspaper. The pressure was such that she even ended up procrastinating until the very last minute when she was told off by the department head.

Wendy was also struggling to figure out the entitlements and accesses granted to her.

I am worrying about whether it is okay to use the plotter printer when I want to, and whether I could try something new like him [Paul]. So how the other teachers do things becomes how I do things. But as I become more experienced, and learn this is how far I can go and do things, then I guess I can try things.

(Wendy, 5th interview Aug. 2013)

She appeared highly conscious of her rank in the relational hierarchy in practices and confused for not being able to work out her place in the team of working adults. Therefore, Wendy continued to act as a humble beginner who is willing to model her actions on senior colleagues. Here, Wendy recounts an incident early in the second term, where she was listening in to a conversation between senior colleagues discussing the school's point system for discipline.

... I was listening to him [a computer teacher] talking about giving students rewards points and penalty points. He was saying teachers tend to overuse penalty points. You know we punish students according to those points. He was saying we are cornering them too harshly. You see, it is really difficult to get rewards points whereas so easy to end up with penalty points. He said that was not the purpose of the point system. Before I was thinking how I could use the system to make them listen to me, but after listening to him I thought to myself that it should not be used as a means to push them into corners. Afterwards, I saw myself giving pupils more chances. (Wendy, 6th interview Sep. 2013)

The anecdote above illustrates that she borrowed the interpretative systems of, to her eyes, more powerful others in practices to affect her thought and actions to counterbalance her lack of understanding of the world, developing her senses of self as a teacher. Wendy appeared to

become even more certain that she indeed lacked the kind of abilities needed to perform the expected school identity as a department staff member, such as such as computer skills, social skills and meeting deadlines. In an interview nearing the end of the school year, Wendy recounts how voluntarily and habitually lowering herself has become her survival strategy.

- R: Have you thought about how you might be perceived by other teachers?
 I: ... and I know that I am lacking abilities, so I guess I have been acting somewhat stupid.
 R: Lacking abilities, in what ways? Acting stupid? In what ways?
 I: I am not quick especially on work related stuff. So I said to them, "Teach me, teach me" a lot, acting stupid and repeating like "Really? I did not know that."
 (Wendy, 8th interview Nov. 2013)

As far as she could see, due to her substandard command of the symbolic capital highly valued in practices, she needed to take measures to defend any self-worth left. Wendy's preventive strategy was to play up her vulnerability as a novice by acting humbly and actively bidding to be recognised as "stupid" even. Over time she appeared to be better aware of her entitlements. However, even when Wendy clearly felt unjustly denied to access to what was rightly hers, rather than fighting to earn it back, she chose to yield, putting up with the belittlement. In the last interview at the end of the school year, Wendy describes an incident where she wanted to confront a colleague, in fact another new L2 English teacher, but decided to remain silent.

- I: She is saying she will teacher the supplementary L2 English course this winter vacation as well. We had agreed that she would do the summer one and me the winter one. But she did not even bother to discuss it with me, she just informed me she will do it because that is what the head of Year 1 said. It was almost like giving me a notice.
 R: Right.
 I: But then if I am affected by such a thing, then that will only hurt my feelings and be no good for my relationships with her. So I just think, okay let her earn extra money whilst I am enjoying more free time. But it seems I cannot help feeling somewhat disappointed with her.
 (Wendy, 9th interview Dec. 2013)

Her unwillingness to claim her right appeared in part to be her submission to the voices of authority, e.g. the head of Year 1. Also, her priority seemed to protect the current peace and ward off any possibilities of conflict. Wendy perhaps felt that she was yet to develop enough

authorial power to challenge and defeat other voices. In fact, she was struggling to relate to Greenfield teachers as a whole as the actual figures who populated the real-world teaching were so different from those who occupied her envisioned world. Here, she recollects the teachers she encountered in university through workshops for Christian student teachers.

Those teachers I met when I was in university were really respectable. You know there are lots of workshops for prospective teachers in the university. ... I attended these workshops for Christian student teachers. Those speakers, they almost looked like they were willing to risk their lives for their students. Then I thought there are so many teachers like them in schools. Those were the kind of teachers I met so I thought there are still hopes in schools even though the societal view is so grim. But now I know by experience that kind of teacher is so hard to come by in real world schools. (Wendy, 9th interview Dec. 2013)

The images of teaching represented by those Christian teachers seemed to have enchanted Wendy and became her resources to create her version of imagined world of teaching, which she later then used as the frame of references to evaluate Greenfield teachers as well as herself. She found that the very qualities that attracted her into the world of teaching, such as devotion, were missing amongst her current colleagues. In fact, in the last interview, Wendy expressed sadness for herself becoming more like Greenfield teachers, hoping to go back in time.

- I: My goal was healing at first but now I'm just busy getting through moment to moment.
 R: Getting through?
 I: Yes. I manage what I have to do only just, but can't do more than that. So my initial goal, healing, it feels so distant ... I think it is my mannerism talking. Early this year, I told myself that I should not become like a salaried person. But now I think I have become that. I found my life here in school not interesting. Even it feels like my life is not fun. Nothing really makes my heart to beat. I just look back to how happy I was last year.
 R: How is your religious life?
 I: Come to think of it, that seems also a problem.
 R: How do you mean?
 I: I used to be more faithful to God, but these days often I forget about him and just get on with my life.
 R: Then what are you focusing instead?
 I: Getting some rest.
 R: So you feel tired?
 I: Mentally I guess. If it is my body, I can lie down and take rest but I tend to read webtoons and watch TV. Afterwards I feel emptier.

(Wendy, 9th interview Dec. 2013)

Wendy found herself to have become what she had much feared, “a salaried person”. Her initial motives of entering teaching, e.g. to heal pupils had long been replaced by ticking off a list of administrative tasks in order to survive day after day. She was highly conscious of her lack of the knowledge and skills necessary to complete those administrative duties. Meanwhile, her attachment to God, by far her most proactive identity, became markedly less visible. When she felt distant from God, her participation in the world of teaching became less conscientious in turn; she invested less time and effort in performing herself as a teacher. She felt trapped in the vicious circle of vulnerability. Wendy yearned to retreat to her old self, where she was confident and competent and above all could lead a solitary life with content. She needed to connect herself with practices, invest herself to learn to act by the motives of the world, but she did not appear to feel that she belonged or was even attracted enough to carry out the mission.

4.2.2 Actions in the classroom

Until Wendy was suddenly appointed as a homeroom teacher at the start of the second term the locus of her activity in classrooms was teaching L2 English to some difficult Year 1 pupils, a mix of vocational and low-level academic. Wendy describes her vocational pupils:

... I do not want you to observe my classes with them [Year 1 vocational pupils] because I shout a lot. It could upset you. They cannot read English at all. Quite a few of them cannot even read and write Korean either. Some even barely write their names. (Wendy, 1st interview May 2013)

Still, her pupils had to be taught the same materials as their higher attaining peers for the school exams. The demand left Wendy in utter perplexity. Her pupils’ understanding of the space of the classroom and the kind of activities possible in it was radically deviant from Wendy’s figuring; for example, some of the pupils were even “running around, throwing things at each other and screaming out during class” (Wendy, 1st interview May 2013). Their behaviours were telling Wendy that she was not to have the luxury of the common-sense teacher-pupil relationship. She in fact gave up subject teaching to her vocational pupils scornful of any

learning activities. Hence, her L2 English teaching focused on her low-level academic pupils. The majority of her low ability academic pupils found it hard to concentrate on teaching to the test or rather were uninterested in learning at all. She had to spend a good deal of time to subdue their off-task discussions and literally overtake her pupils in talk time. She faced a rather taxing challenge to persuade them to see why participating and finishing the tasks she prepared was relevant and beneficial to them. Practically, her only resort was to appeal to their desire for higher marks in the school exams. Wendy's desire to prove to her pupils that if they pay attention to her classroom teaching they would achieve higher marks in the school exams was so strong that at times she ended up putting herself in a difficult position. Here, she recounts the aftermath of her giving away an excessive number of exam hints only to her pupils.

I felt I still have a long way to go. They [her low-ability academic pupils] have just no motivation at all, so I gave them some tips for the exam. I wanted them to feel this sense of satisfaction when they get exam questions right after studying for it. So I gave them some hints. But the words spread out to other pupils and teachers. I felt shocked when I was told about it through someone else. I felt I still have a lot to learn and I was stupid. (Wendy, 1st interview May 2013)

Wendy did not project that her action would inadvertently disadvantage the pupils taught by other L2 English teachers. The episode, on the one hand, reminded Wendy of how strong the internal competition was amongst Greenfield pupils and in that battlefield her low-level pupils had been positioned as no-hopers who should not be successful. On the other, it was a reminder of her incompetence, a novice who could not live up to the expected images of a Greenfield L2 English teacher. Not until was Wendy confronted by the critical commentaries from other L2 English teachers and their pupils, was she able to perceive that her action of giving away the exam hints was counted as misconduct. Clearly, in the early days in school Wendy was yet to project broader ramifications of her actions beyond her own classrooms. Her leading motive was only to resolve her immediate difficulties at hand. Under the circumstances, it appeared almost inevitable that Wendy unwittingly violated the implicit rules of practices.

Wendy's struggle continued. Her initial envisioning of herself as a God's delegate who was to do his work through teaching become secondary. She had a more urgent need to survive her day-to-day classroom teaching. Here, Wendy discusses how her motive has changed.

R: ... so now what are the purposes of your lessons?

I: ... what I am caring about is not God any more, whether or not it pleases him. It seems I am just focusing on whether my lessons go without any problems. It is not even to improve the pupils' English either.

R: Without any problems?

I: Yes. You know this ideal lesson in this country. The teacher does lectures and students listen. They learn things from the teachers' declared knowledge and ask questions, like that.

R: Why do you want that kind of lesson? Are you worried or something?

I: ... it is not that I am worried, but it just feels I ought to do it like that. Well, that was how I was taught, and as a student I took it as how a lesson should be like. So now as a teacher, it seems I am forcing the idea to my students.

(Wendy, 3rd interview June 2013)

Wendy's classes with her low-ability pupils were never short of distractions and interruptions. Her longing for orderliness and control in the classroom was such that the traditional teacher-centred lecture format became her idea of an ideal lesson. It was perhaps the only practical solution she could work out as she felt familiar with the well-worn path. However, with her majority disruptive pupils with short attention span, it was still a huge challenge.

With the start of the second term Wendy was appointed as the homeroom teacher of a vocational class. After learning the possibility that she might be appointed as a homeroom teacher from the second term, she expressed her strong fear: "Just thinking about it, I am losing my marbles. I dread to think of things like being summoned to police stations and hospitals and talking with parents" (Wendy, 4th interview July 2013). However, her life as a homeroom teacher did not appear as woeful as she had anticipated, at least in the beginning. Here, she reflects on her new title as a homeroom teacher and how it transformed her relationship with the same vocational pupils with whom before she had been interacting as a subject teacher, but for whom she was now the homeroom teacher.

It feels really different. [My homeroom pupils] open up themselves. Before when I was their subject teacher, we talked about casual things. But now especially the girls tell me things, you know, the difficult things to talk about, things like their

parents got divorced, they separated, the father doesn't go to work. They come to me and talk and openly to me, so it helps me to relate to them. It [doing a homeroom teacher] is definitely more difficult but more rewarding. It feels that now I am a teacher. It feels good. (Wendy, 6th interview Sep. 2013)

Wendy's new institutional category mediated the ways in which she presented herself to her pupils as much as how they experienced her. She welcomed the relational changes with the pupils, now her homeroom pupils, and the sense of fulfilment accompanied. In a sense, the new appointment seemed to present her with an opportunity where her initial aspirations in entering teaching could be tried and quite possibly realised, that is, assisting and healing pupils in difficult life situations through connecting and communicating with them.

However, her new title meant increased administrative duties and interpersonal and emotional commitment. The new demands changed how Wendy acted as a subject teacher.

I: I am feeling more attached to myself being a homeroom teacher. My subject teaching has not changed much. Before I deliberated how I could help them [her subject pupils] so that they could learn more, but this term hardly thought about it. I guess it shows through my lessons. ... I think there is a difference between teaching without much thought going in and teaching where I keep telling myself that I should do more to help their learning.

R: So, now, it is about your homeroom pupils.

I: Yes, my mind is working that way.

R: You're paying less attention to subject teaching?

I: Yes, that is almost like something to fill the time.

(Wendy, 6th interview Sep. 2013)

Wendy found herself withdrawing from investing time and energy on preparing for subject teaching whilst becoming more proactive and committed to her homeroom care duties. It was almost as though she saw herself not having the capacity to multi-task and fulfil both of the roles. Perhaps she had to choose one to survive. Most of the time teaching her low-ability pupils went just fine even without any preparation. Therefore, her identity as a competent L2 English teacher remained intact, however precarious. Then there came a crisis point where her unpreparedness for classroom teaching was caught red-handed.

That day I hardly prepared for the class. I was busy. So I ended up teaching what was grammatically right as wrong. It was awfully embarrassing. Before I was so confident, but that day I just mumbled and mumbled. If that had not happened, I

could have continued as being a confident teacher ... but now after that incident, when I see the pupils sleeping in my lessons, I cannot help but think that they go to sleep because my teaching is no good. (Wendy, 8th interview Nov. 2013)

As noted, Wendy was highly consciousness of the voices of others, those of her colleagues and pupils alike. Their critical commentaries had almost immediate impacts on her thought and actions. This time again, Wendy's devaluation of her self-worth was represented in her self-humbling actions. Guilt-ridden, she could not bring herself to tell off sleeping pupils in her lessons but decided to put up with it. The incident above completely discredited her authority in her pupils' eyes as well as in her own. It was her L2 English competence that enabled her to keep a modicum of pride in herself. It was practically the only self-sustaining source of her sense of security and certainty. After the event, a rather uncomfortable truth was beginning to dawn on her that she might not even have the very symbolic capital which she was certain of possessing after all. Her sense of security as a L2 English teacher was critically at risk.

Meanwhile, Wendy was trying to make peace with herself as a homeroom teacher. Though yet to be convinced by her performance, she sought her legitimacy as a homeroom teacher. For instance, Wendy no longer saw the fact that she could not discipline her pupils as authoritatively as her experienced colleagues did as a marker of her incompetence.

I: ... At first, I thought, "No, this is not the way how teachers do things". Still I don't think my ways are what proper teachers do things. But at the same time I think there are certain roles according to where you stand.

R: Where you stand?

I: I mean those experienced teachers, they have this generation gap with students so they are trying to understand them, but tend to focus more on disciplines ... But for me just to copy their [senior teachers] ways, it feels uncomfortable, too pushy to my liking. It feels like I am excusing myself here.

(Wendy, 8th interview Nov. 2013)

Rather she started to see that perhaps there were no prescribed and correct ways of acting a teacher after all, and that it was down to her to negotiate the kind of identity which she could put into action, rather than just dreaming about them. However, the more she experienced and

learnt about what homeroom care demanded, the more overwhelmed she became. In the very last interview, she describes her frustration as a homeroom teacher.

As a student, it was okay for me to work alone and be brilliant. But as a teacher I have learnt that just me being clever alone does not help. I need to know how to work together with colleagues and be able to explain things in a way that pupils can understand. ... And as a student, I did not need to care about things like school violence unless I was a victim. But now I cannot just sit and look when I sense something is going on in my homeroom class. That gives me a headache. I do not really want to be part of those kind of relationship problems. But as a homeroom teacher I must do so. (Wendy, 9th interview Dec. 2013)

As discussed, at first the title of a homeroom teacher seemed to help her to develop a more engaged vision of herself as a teacher, reviving her sense of purpose in getting into teaching in the first place. However, Wendy appeared on the verge of the breaking point when she felt that the scope and extent of duties entailed in homeroom care was beyond her capabilities. Not knowing how to handle the complex problems at hand, she constantly felt enmeshed in the sense of failure and inadequacy. In fact, Wendy was doubting whether she was cut out for the job at all. She feared that she might not have the very quality critical for anyone who aspires to be a teacher. She was losing her grip on the world.

4.2.3 Agency

As discussed in Section 4.2.1, Wendy's participation in her department as a staff member was characterised by her passiveness. Her envisioned world of teaching and purpose in getting into teaching were impregnated with realising Christian teachings. Therefore, she found it hard to identify with her assigned administration duties, or to see their relevance for her in seeking to achieve Christian ideals through being a teacher. Rather than acting on her initiative to navigate and learn how she could complete her assigned duties in her department, that is, to respond proactively to acquire the leading motives and the kind of competence that mattered in her department, she waited for orders and directions. However, she encountered neither pressuring voices explicitly prescribing what she should to, nor reproaching voices when she

was not delivering her responsibilities on schedule. In fact, she could procrastinate about publishing the second issue of the school's quarterly newsletter right up until its third issue was almost due. This lack of any imposing voices in Wendy's department which might have compelled her to commit and take forward what mattered in it, coupled with her strong desire for the Christian world, made it difficult for her to participate as an agentic staff member.

Unlike in her department, where her passiveness was sanctioned and kept her going more or less, in the classroom she was expected to be authoritative and take practical actions. In her L2 English classrooms Wendy faced generally apathetic and low-achieving pupils, and her vocational subject pupils, especially, were non-identifiers in the extreme who habitually and persistently interrupted the flow of her classroom teaching. Facing such pupils who blatantly disregarded also the school's authority, she dared not try to be agentic in experimenting with and realising her initial ideas of authentic L2 English lessons. Instead, she held on to delivering teaching to the test; as far as she could see, pushing the test-driven pedagogy, the institutionally sanctioned priority, was the only possible way for her to achieve a modicum of authority and control in the classroom. Moreover, although her majority non-identifier subject pupils did not subscribe to the leading motive of teaching to the test, there still were a handful of pupils who actively wanted her to deliver teaching to the test. For these reasons, she tried hard to identify with and think and act in terms of taking forward teaching to the test. However, she had to enact the test-driven pedagogy on her own terms since she had practically no teaching colleagues with whom to confer, whose voices might have encouraged and assisted her to try to learn different ways of delivering teaching to the test. Furthermore, her academically interested pupils were too timid to ask her for particular actions in her teaching. As a result, her agency as a subject teacher was unintentionally monocratic, and thus rather vulnerable. One day she taught something grammatically wrong as right. This one mistake was all it took to topple her perceived authority in the classroom and, by extension, her self-worth and legitimacy in the world.

Wendy's fight for agency as a homeroom teacher was filled with day-to-day struggles. At first, she welcomed her sudden appointment as a homeroom teacher because she expected that the new title would allow her to realise her identity as a devout Christian teacher. She saw the homeroom as a space where she could be more agentic in taking forward her initial intentions in getting into teaching, such as shepherding and healing troubled teenagers. To a degree she was content with the fact that her new role changed the ways in which she and her pupils experienced each other. For instance, the new title enabled her to develop a bond of care and trust with her now homeroom pupils, which she could not do as their L2 English teacher. However, the more she faced what was entailed in homeroom management in reality, the more she felt incompetent. She could not sustain her effort to be agentic in taking forward her Christian self-image as a teacher as the students did not respond as she expected. Moreover, she had no colleagues to turn to for guidance and support, whose voices might have helped her to learn and respond more proactively to what was expected of her and to reflect and devise different ways of realising her Christian ideals in her homeroom. Overwhelmed by the sheer number of responsibilities entailed in homeroom management which she had to deal with without much help, she did not feel in charge in her homeroom at all. All she could manage was to complete her administrative duties as a homeroom teacher, but only just.

4.2.4 Summary

Wendy entered teaching with some specific Christian envisioning. The proactivity of her Christian identity was such that quite wilfully she changed the school into a space for worship. To commit herself to living her new identity as a teacher, it was a prerequisite for her to lead a stable and satisfactory life as a devout Christian. Meanwhile, Wendy found that her envisioned world of teaching and self-images in it were far-fetched and almost impossible in Greenfield. Her imagined world of teaching figured by Christian texts and rituals was mismatched with the collectively supported values and motives in practices, which fed her growing sense of self as

an incompetent misfit. She tried to author herself as an agentic actor in the world on her terms. However, the expected school identity of her was too unwieldy for her to pull off. Wendy's fatigue and distress from managing her day-to-day duties in school were such that she could no longer inhabit her identity as a faithful Christian. She tried hard not to lose her attachment to God, continually seeking for spiritual care and guidance to save herself from drifting away from the life path of a good Christian. Yet, she was out of luck. Coupled with her fear that she might be dispositionally not fit for the job, she dreamt of retreat to an alternative world.

4.3 Emma

In her first interview, then a student teacher, Emma's envisioning of teaching, her purpose, was optimistic and hopeful. For example, she accorded teaching the power to impact the lives of pupils and eventually change the world.

Some might say that I am a dreamer but I think teaching is a profession that can change the world. ... My pupils can become medical doctors, teachers or artists who can change the world. My small words could change their lives.

(Emma, 1st interview Dec. 2012)

Although Emma's reservation towards her idealistic vision of teaching was apparent when calling herself a dreamer, she was already projecting herself as a change agent of the world. Yet in the last interview nearing the end of the school year, Emma reflected on herself in her early days in school as "[I was] naïve and knew nothing" (Emma, 10th interview Dec. 2013). As we shall see, Emma's first year of teaching was freighted with her fight against and reconciliation with the privileged values and motives of practices.

In the classroom Emma's allegiance to her envisioning of herself as a moral actor was continuously put to the test. The imperative of L2 English teaching in Springfield was teaching to the test incontrovertibly. The strong demand of test-driven pedagogy compelled Emma to deliver her expected identity as an exam coach. To prove herself, what mattered in L2 English

teaching became her self-knowledge, and concomitantly she refigured her understanding of subject teaching and her role in it. Meanwhile, she found herself joining in the customary practices where the voices of academically motivated, high performing pupils were attentively heard, whereas those of uninterested pupils were systemically neglected. As a homeroom teacher, Emma at first tried to reach those marginalised pupils who were apathetic to academic work and even dismissed the entire idea of schooling, only to fail many times over. Her effort to communicate and understand with them was casually scoffed at. The unaccustomed feelings of helplessness, incompetence and plummeting self-esteem exacerbated Emma's sense of vulnerability in her homeroom class. Initially Emma felt lost, almost drowning in a serious emotional crisis; she cried in the toilet in the middle of school day or was in tears in front of her homeroom pupils. Over time Emma came to the conclusion that her repeated failed attempts were an outright rejection of the very identity which she aspired to achieve, what she had been taught and learnt as the cultural model of the professional morals of a teacher. To persevere, Emma gradually displaced, or perhaps discredited, her ambitions of living by the moral standards which she had attributed to herself for so long. In so doing, she came to terms with the kind of identity prescribed by the matter-of-fact demands in practices. Emma, once a dreamer chose to be wise to practices.

4.3.1 Participation in institutional practices

From the very beginning, Emma's day-to-day participation was dominated by performing the routine practices of her Year 2 Department. From the very first week in school, for example, as a homeroom teacher, Emma set off back home after 10 p.m., having sent her homeroom pupils home after the day's night-time self-study. Emma was in fact explicitly instructed not to exempt her homeroom pupils from the night-time self-study without good reasons. As an academic high school in Springfield it was imperative for the Year 2 Department to create the right atmosphere from the very start of the new term so that the pupils in their penultimate year

could settle promptly into the routines of school day and focus on their academic progress in preparation for their university admission test next year.

Whilst learning to live by her expected identity serving to achieve the departmental priorities, Emma also practised her carried-over identity when positioning herself in relation to the institutional demands. For instance, she expressed her discomfort towards the manner in which the deputy head teacher oversaw Springfield teachers' classroom teaching: "But he [deputy head teacher] walks around the hallways a lot when we are in the middle of classroom teaching. Then I feel, as a teacher, burdened and I wonder why he doesn't trust teachers" (Emma, 4th interview April 2013). She was clearly beginning to develop her personal stance towards the realised world of teaching in Springfield through the lens of her envisioning of how a school leader supports teachers. In Emma's eyes, the deputy head teacher 'on the beat' was seen as undermining the professionalism of teachers and she realised that the kind of support and guidance she desired from her senior managers might be a stretch at least in Springfield.

In the organogram of Springfield, Emma's place was a staff teacher in the Department of Year 2, which consisted of the departmental head and 9 homeroom teachers. The running of the Department of L2 English in Springfield was strictly year group-based; in practice, the L2 English teachers who taught the same year group were in effect a unit of decision-making and action. For the Year 2 pupils, there was Emma, a senior teacher who happened to be also a Year 2 homeroom teacher and a temporary teacher on a one-year contract. As the non-permanent position teacher was excluded from any decision-making process, Emma and the senior teacher functioned as a de facto department. Their discussions were dominated by assessment talk to deliver the much demanded teaching to the test. Here Emma recalls their first meeting to discuss about the upcoming mid-term school exam.

We were deciding the coverage for the upcoming exam and the specific grammar points to teach [for the test]. And we also decided to what depth we would teach certain grammar points ... If one teacher goes too deep whilst the others don't, pupils will complain, like "My teacher did not teach this, but the other teachers did". Then it only stirs up confusion amongst pupils, so we made sure to reach an agreement beforehand. (Emma, 5th interview May 2013)

In Springfield, what was to be taught and its depth were all predetermined to ensure the fairness of the school exams' administration process. The school exams' results played a critical role in Springfield pupils' university admission. Therefore, to take such preventive measures to fend off any possible disputes over test administration process was imperative. It almost appeared as though testing was the sole mechanism and purpose which sustained the entire practices of L2 English teaching and learning. Emma's possible actions in classroom teaching were severely limited by the coercive power of the demand. Nearing the end of the school year when the year's university entrance exam was fast approaching, Emma and her colleague decided to stop covering the official textbook to concentrate solely on teaching to the university entrance exam by covering more advanced vocabulary items and grammar points. Their Year 2 pupils were none other than the very next batch of candidates for the high-stakes exam.

They [pupils] say it [revising the CSAT past papers rather than learning the official textbook] is better for them. [It is true that] they feel sleepier and get bored more easily, but they know this [learning the CSAT past papers] is what they need to do, so ... we [Emma and her senior colleague] are doing it for them, what they really need. (Emma, 8th interview Oct. 2013)

When they gave up the official textbook, Emma and her colleague were not expected to seek clearance from their senior managers. That their pupils endorsed the decision was enough. The episode instantiates the force of test-driven pedagogy in L2 English lessons and the scope of leeway afforded to Emma and her colleague as long as their actions served the hegemonic motive. Emma's positioning of herself in accordance with the expected identity of an exam coach was therefore relatively prompt.

Meanwhile, in the first months Emma tended to follow how her senior interpreted and enacted test-driven practices of L2 English teaching even though she strongly disapproved of her senior's approach. For instance, she reluctantly followed an evaluation method of pupils' class participation which her senior colleague insisted on.

Based on their [pupils] completion of those assigned tasks, I mark their participation. But I do this not because I want to, but because the other L2 English teacher has insisted on it. I don't know, but maybe because she taught in a middle school before [she prefers this way]. Somehow she is quite obsessed with checking pupils' official textbooks and hand-outs to see whether they have done note taking properly [and marks them based on it]. I just follow her, but I'm sceptical about it. (Emma, 4th interview April 2013)

Emma was clearly disenchanted with her practically only teaching colleague's envisioning of what works in classroom settings. The senior L2 English teacher certainly deviated from the ideal types residing in Emma's initially envisioned world of subject teaching, or even perhaps manifested a problematic type whom she feared to face. However, in the early days in school Emma's dissenting voices remained as a submissive inner identity, as though she felt obliged to surrender herself as a junior to the imposition of her senior's voices. Had she voiced another opinion, she might have appeared to claim a higher standing than that afforded to her.

Over time, however, Emma appeared to ascribe herself a new relational identity, a more assertive one. She begun to raise her own voices in decision-making process. Here, Emma recalls an incident where she confronted the senior L2 English teacher's insistence on delaying informing their pupils about what to be covered in the first term's final exam.

I just couldn't understand why [the senior L2 English teacher] was pushing them [Year 2 pupils] so hard. If I just tell my pupils the exam coverage [without her consent], it would cause a problem, which I don't like either. But I got stressed [because my pupils kept asking what was to be covered in the final exam]. So I suggested her, "How about letting them know the exam coverage earlier?" But she's saying that we need to make them study. She was so stubborn, then I got angry and expressed my thought more strongly... So in the end we agreed to inform them the exam coverage from the mock CSAT papers earlier than planned... (Emma, 6th interview July 2013)

Apparently, the senior teacher was convinced that delaying the notification of the exam coverage to their pupils would make them work harder. Yet, Emma projected the opposite; as far as she could see, it would only put unreasonable demands on their pupils and further demotivate them. The majority of her pupils were academically disinclined and tended to just give up preparing for the school exam. Emma's desire to motivate her pupils by reducing the

amount for revision was such that she finally stood up to the senior colleague and made her voice heard to change the practices. Perhaps Emma realised that the discursive positioning of her as junior was not as strong as she initially projected, which enabled her to speak up for herself sooner rather than later. In doing so she was able to enact her envisioned teaching.

The lack of communication and collaboration between Springfield L2 English teachers was clearly illustrated when they were called to decide who would be teaching for the year's Consultation Supervision, that is, teaching observation conducted by a specialist consultant sent by the provincial office of Education that Springfield belonged to, hence a government official. Emma felt quite disheartened when the senior L2 English teachers' voices suddenly loomed up out of nowhere and conveniently passed the heavy responsibility to her and Kate, the beginning teachers in the year. Feeling powerless to say no to this demand, Emma and Kate ended up drawing lots to decide who was to do it. To her misfortune, Emma picked the wrong lot and had to see it through by herself. Soon afterwards, the deputy head teacher summoned her to instruct her in how to prepare for the big annual event. Basically, the brief was to put on an act that day, that is, to fake her classroom teaching to hide problems about which she might genuinely have valued consultation with an expert.

But frankly speaking, this lesson planning I am working on now for the Consultant Supervision, it is not the place where I can show my real problems in classroom teaching. Rather I have to hide them. And [thinking of the observation day when I will be teaching according to the lesson plan I am working on now] it makes me feel that I am lying out loud in front of pupils. I feel shameful as a teacher. I don't want my problems to go public, but still I wish it were okay for me just to teach as usual on the day... but the deputy head teacher, he is ambitious [he wants to show off to the observing high official] so he is asking me to teach that day in English. I'm lost for words... (Emma, 8th interview Oct. 2013)

The deputy teacher demanded that Emma should use English as a medium of instruction for the consultation lesson. Yet, Emma found the senior manager's demand nonsensical given that her low performing pupils were already found it difficult to follow her everyday teaching conducted in Korean. She appealed quite strongly to the deputy head teacher face-to-face in defence of

her envisioned moral obligations as a teacher; still, it did not change the situation much.

As much as Emma's voice as a member of the subject department was gaining power, so was her voice as a junior staff member in the organisational hierarchy. Here Emma reflects on her changed attitude towards the deputy head teacher.

I'm not sure whether I tell you this, but at first when the deputy head teacher was saying things, I just thought that is how things should be done. But with time I find myself becoming rebellious against his leadership. I keep thinking his way is not rational. It is not just me who thinks like that. Most of teachers think so too. Before, I was just listening when they were talking ill of him. They don't say it directly, but make sarcastic jokes like, "The deputy head teacher will be waiting to watch, so let's hurry to the classrooms". Now I am taking part in it ... That was unconceivable at the very beginning. (Emma, 7th interview August 2013)

The senior manager was recognised as "too eager and meddlesome". During the first term Emma's experience of him was though the weekly meetings he held with the year's beginning teachers, where, to Emma's disappointment, he held the stage and preached his pedagogical doctrine. Emma recalled that at first, she was more compliant than critical, but over time she found herself joining in her senior teachers mocking the deputy head teacher, expressing her objection to the deputy head's leadership. Emma availed herself of the shared ritual amongst her Year 2 homeroom teacher colleagues in order to let out her inner feelings.

Meanwhile, Emma also had to learn that the realms of the grown-ups in professional teaching were heavily infused with the pervading cultural values of the society, e.g. seniority as a code of conduct. She was continuously categorised as a junior by the Year 2 homeroom teachers in her staffroom. Here she expresses her ambivalence towards the treatment. She was apparently afraid of being reprimanded as a disrespectful youth by her immediate colleagues but at the same time she was unsure of how to behave herself.

After that [hiking] we [Year 2 homeroom teachers] were having a meal together ... They [senior homeroom teachers] were saying, "You're cute so cute". I was [once again] reminded that I'm the youngest. Then I was thinking to myself, "Right, I should be doing some more chores [in the staffroom] and be polite and amiable". But my personality is not really like that, so I don't know how I should behave myself yet. (Emma, 4th interview April 2013)

She was satisfied with the departmental culture more or less where individual homeroom teachers' autonomy was respected, which suited her proclivity for independence: "I hate, I hate being told to do this and that" (Emma, 4th interview April 2013). In fact, even from the quite early days in school, Emma's Year 2 colleagues praised her as "not at all like a newbie" (Emma, 5th interview May 2013) for her skilful handling of the administrative tasks as a homeroom teacher. Despite her recognised competence as a homeroom teacher, the culture of seniority often put her on the spot. Here, she recollects a dinner gathering which she left early, swallowing the accusation of being impudent.

I couldn't see why I was sitting there and listening to their not really interesting stories. I just wanted to leave. [The head of the Department of Student Affairs] went on and on. I was thinking that I didn't study hard and pass that difficult employment exam to sit here and please them. It is not like I am going to be sacked for not being nice to them, so I left. (Emma, 10th interview Dec. 2013)

Apparently, to the senior teachers from another departments Emma was less submissive. As far as Emma could see, she was on equal terms with the senior teachers. Those who claimed more entitlements based on age and seniority clearly had no places in her figuring of the world of teaching: "The senior teachers, they want to be respected. I can see that. But I think they are being funny" (Emma, 10th interview Dec. 2013). After all, she had passed the fierce selection test to enter professional teaching and to her view, that was the most logical principle by which teachers, regardless of whether they were junior or senior, should treat each other.

4.3.2 Actions in the classroom

In the early days in the classroom Emma tried to enact her envisioning of L2 English teaching. For example, in the very first class she introduced in her words, a "natural" approach to teaching sentence structures. Here she reflects how poorly it was received.

I wrote an example sentence [on the blackboard] ... and said usually other L2 English teachers explain it in a formal way by classifying it as Type 5 sentence structure and that I myself don't know such terms well and they are never necessary. I told them I would teach by taking it naturally, in a more informal way. Some pupils seemed intrigued, but others were more concerned. They were saying there are exams to think about, and insisted that they needed to know those Type 2, Type 3 sentence structures... (Emma, 3rd interview March 2013)

In proposing the new idea, she was announcing her refusal to follow the traditional approach of grammar instruction relying on the terminologies such as Type 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 sentence structures. Emma presented herself as the grounds on which to justify her devaluation of the traditional approach; in a sense, she was an icon of the success of her unconventional approach. After all, Emma herself, ignorant of such grammatical terminologies, still earned her way into professional teaching, a position which required a good command of L2 English amongst other qualities. However, it was not for long before Emma realised that her disregard for using the language of traditional grammar teaching was only to be short-lived, defeated by the coercive leading motive of L2 English teaching, that is, test-driven, product over process pedagogy. In fact, it was her pupils with their explicit and outspoken demands for teaching to the test that constantly reminded of her what mattered in classroom teaching. Their voices, especially those of the girls, were becoming even more distinct around the school exams' periods.

Specially girls, you know, they are really sensitive to exam marks. So once they know that I've written up the exam questions, they ask things like "will this be on the exam?" or "how this will be tested on this exam?". School exams are their greatest concern and it almost feels as though they listen to my lessons so that they will perform well on the exams. So what if I didn't fully cover the material needed for the exams, and what if they were made to sit for the exams even when I hadn't fully explained some grammar points, then they would talk afterwards, so I cannot help but care about the exams. (Emma, 4th interview April 2013)

Her pupils' overwhelming sensitivity to the school exams was indeed a revealing snapshot of how the institutional priority of teaching to the test distorted the activity of L2 English teaching in classroom settings. The assessment itself became the end. Emma's teaching was seen as nothing other than the source materials for the school exams' questions. The urgings of her pupils were so vehement that her possible actions were greatly limited. Therefore, Emma quite

soon not only withdrew her dismissive attitudes towards the traditional mode of grammar instruction but decided to deliver what was expected of her, even if that meant in her words, “nothing special” lessons. After the mid-term school exam, Emma received an unexpected criticism from some of her high performing pupils.

There were quite a few pupils who were saying the mid-term exam was so easy, worrying that it might not reflect an appropriate standard for admitting pupils into the first rank band [the top 4 % of the Year 2 cohort]. They were complaining that the exam was too easy. (Emma, 5th interview May 2013)

Those academically driven, high performers aiming to enter the first rank group, the top 4% of the year group, were questioning Emma’s professionalism. In their eyes, she had failed them by writing a scandalously easy exam paper which, as far as they saw, could not deliver a fair competition to decide who to admit to the first rank group. In their eyes, it had to be only those top of the league pupils who should be deservedly allowed to enter the high-stakes category, not some random peers riding sheer luck such as Emma’s easy exam questions. Sometimes, her authority as a L2 English teacher was more directly challenged by her high performing pupils and she had to put up with belittlement. One day, she caught the class captain of a boys’ class who was solving math problems in her afterschool L2 English complementary class.

... I was telling him [the class captain], “Unless your L2 English mark is 100%, put away the math practice book”. He was talking back, “I will get 100% mark this exam then”. I was dumbfounded. You see, he is a too clever one. He knows that what I teach in the afterschool classes will not appear on the school exams. In regular class hours, he listens really hard, taking notes of every details [of what I am saying] because he knows that will be on the school exams.

(Emma, 6th interview June 2013)

Emma became quite self-conscious about her performance and her novice status and the negative connotations culturally accorded to it, that is, as one who just cannot deliver.

That I am a novice, so what if by my fault the pacing of my classes is lagging behind [that of other teachers] so they [pupils] are disadvantaged in some ways. Then, it is not good, so I became sensitive ... (Emma, 5th interview May 2013)

It appeared that Emma alerted herself even more and acted sensitively in response to the voices of her academically motivated pupils so that she could prove herself. That way she could stand a chance in their comparison with her senior colleagues.

In the meantime, Emma also tried to enact her cultural learning of professional morals, which instructed her to spare no effort in helping her apathetic pupils. She did walk around in the classroom to wake up her sleeping pupils and opened the textbooks of the pupils busy with off-task conversations. She was trying to conduct and identify herself as a moral practitioner. However, she constantly felt under pressure to finish the day's coverage. Also facing her high performing pupils' complaints, Emma found it increasingly onerous to spare time to deal with the sullen silence of her unwilling and underperforming pupils: "If there's a lot to cover that day, or I feel too tired, then I just ignore them [sleeping pupils] and just get on with teaching, but then I feel ill at ease (Emma, 5th interview May 2013). What was more disheartening for Emma was that those uninterested students did not protest against their exclusion; indeed, they even appeared to opt for the customary marginalisation, almost wilfully pushing themselves to the fringes of ongoing classroom activities. Over time, whilst the cultural precepts which undergirded Emma's envisioning of classroom interaction lost its power, her desire to achieve professional excellence in teaching to the test was growing stronger. For example, when she was categorised as incompetent for the simple fact that she belonged to the state education system, Emma decided to repudiate this suggestion.

... I counted the number of items of vocabulary that I taught, both in my regular and afterschool classes ... It counted in total 71 words. I thought that's it. To every classes, I told, "Why do you disregard school L2 English classes?" and went on "If you think that without private tutoring and cram schools you are destined to poor marks on the university entrance exam, then you're mistaken". Then, I asked them "Guess how many words we've studied together appeared on this mock exam?". Then I gave the number, 71... (Emma, 6th interview June 2013)

She clearly sensed amongst her pupils a pervading distrust of the state education system and the societal accreditation of its private counterparts, e.g. private tutoring and cram schools. In the

episode above, Emma appeared to develop a more panoramic vision of herself, beyond her immediate positioning in Springfield, but of what she represented at the macro level, that is, the nation's public education system. Her pupils' mockery of the state education was taken up as a personal attack upon her authority. She decided to act against the mistreatment with which the state system had been putting up. It became her fight to prove that how capable she was and that she could outperform her private counterparts. In fact, whilst making effort to hone her command of teaching to the test, Emma found ways to live her envisioned identity of a moral teacher, who could assist those pupils with disadvantaged backgrounds.

I felt so sorry for the pupils who think that it takes private tutors to do well on the university entrance exam. I want to be an icon of hope for [those underprivileged pupils]. I also couldn't afford private tutoring in my high school. I want to make them see that they can do it if they work hard, they can do well on the CSAT. So the CSAT became important to me as well. (Emma, 10th interview Dec. 2013)

Perhaps at first teaching to the test was felt as subjugation. Yet, Emma began to see herself in terms of what mattered to her pupils and started to rethink test-driven pedagogy as a tool to enact her moral envisioning of self as a teacher who could actually help disadvantaged pupils.

Before I was complaining about why L2 English classes have to be the same all the time, but now I see that's what pupils want, and now I think how I can teach less boring and more effective lessons so they learn more. If teaching to the test is what I have to do, then I should think how I can teach vocabulary words in more memorable ways that stick for longer. That's what I think now.

(Emma, 10th interview Dec. 2013)

That is, teaching to the test was appropriated to carry her personal intention, that is, to break the algorithm of the English Divide and improve social mobility. As her motives to classroom teaching were realigned, the weight she attributed to the conventional ways of L2 English teaching became even more important. Her new-found purpose and meaning propelled Emma to further hone her knowledge and skills for teaching to the test.

Meanwhile, her homeroom class proved a difficult space from the very beginning. At first, she tried to live by her envisioning of good teacher-student relationships. For example,

Emma pronounced that she would respect the personalities of even the unruly homeroom pupils and that she would not discriminate them on the grounds of their academic performance. In these early days in school for a novice, Emma found dealing with her difficult homeroom pupils was the most daunting task in the homeroom. She felt guilt-ridden for allocating most of her time and attention to taking care of few problem pupils, specifically four homeroom pupils with absenteeism, whilst neglecting the majority of well-behaving homeroom pupils. When she noticed that her homeroom pupils deviated in any ways from what she perceived to be normal, Emma appeared to interpret it as her failure. For example, unlike other homeroom classes, in Emma's homeroom, in her words, "Not a single day goes by with the attendance book all clean" (Emma, 4th interview April 2013). One day, as soon as she saw me waiting in the hallway to observe her class, she burst into tears. After the lesson, she confided her distress from not being able to control those truanting homeroom pupils. Her homeroom teacher position obliged her to strictly enforce the school rules, for example, every pupil should stay for the day's night-time self-study. In doing so, Emma had to confront disobedient homeroom pupils day after day and bear any resulting pain, all alone and stoically.

... Now that I am a teacher I can really see that those respectable teachers I met [as a student] they really excelled at it. One week when I had few too many confrontations with my homeroom pupils I was crying in the toilet, thinking, 'Was I studying that hard to deserve this?' and 'Maybe I am not good enough to be a teacher'. I am a novice, so I don't really know how to deal with them. If they use bad language, I did too. I felt regretful, thinking really I'm not cut out for this. I hoped to become like those teachers I revered ... (Emma, 5th interview May 2013)

Her inexperience as a homeroom teacher was taking its toll on her senses of self. Just as her pupils did, she became confrontational and used bad language. Emma's desire to enter teaching was in part her fascination for a particular type of teacher in the world, e.g. those virtuous teachers she met and admired as a student. They became a model figure of Emma's envisioning of self-images as a teacher. However, the kind of responsibilities and emotional commitment expected of her turned out to be far weightier than she bargained for. Her identity was in crisis;

Emma feared she might not make it in the world. Emma had to find a way to survive such emotional abuse. She found herself increasingly resorting to more coercive measures. For example, at first she made disorderly homeroom pupils write a letter of apology. When it ended up being a waiting game, she opted for a quick and easy approach, e.g. corporal punishment, and finally she announced that she would record their bad behaviours on their school report cards, that would negatively influence on their university admission.

In the middle of the second term, it appeared that Emma reconfigured her envisioning of the teacher-student relationship. She lowered her expectations, not only for her pupils but for herself. For instance, for a long time she aspired to be a charismatic teacher and was frustrated when she seemed incapable of performing the kind of actions she attributed to the category. Gradually she managed her expectation to become a “nice” teacher. Nearing the end of the school year Emma seemed to realise that what she once thought to be the inherent qualities of a charismatic teacher, such as a strict face and oppressive manner of speech in fact were not the only way of achieving the recognition. For example, when she caught a truant pupil on the run, her mix of friendly warning and smile was enough to send the pupil back to the homeroom without a single word of retaliation. Then the category of a charismatic teacher became finally her own; it carried her intentions. Emma also revised how she dealt with her problem pupils.

Before I thought a homeroom teacher is a person who cares about personality development, but now I don't know. I think most of it is now gone. If it's absolutely necessary, then I will try to discipline. But I don't think it's worth it, bearing all the hostility, there's no point. (Emma, 8th interview Oct. 2013)

Emma accepted that she could not achieve her purpose, such as changing pupils' behaviours for the better, which had agonised her for long. By lowering her expectations, Emma wanted to secure peace of mind. However, she was still ambivalent about her newly figured identity: “I'm not sure whether this [not expecting much of homeroom pupils] is a good thing” (Emma, 8th interview Oct. 2013). Nearing the end of the school year Emma's envisioned identity in the figured world of teaching was indeed a reformed one. Emma seemed to come to terms with her

powerlessness; otherwise, she knew her life would become unmanageable.

I've let things go to a certain extent. I mean, once I realised that what I do for [my homeroom pupils] doesn't really change them for better. Now I think it depends on them. I feel I've done enough. If that's the way they want to live their life, then I'll just let them... Before I hoped that I could do many things. And I felt that's my duty. But over time, I learnt that I just cannot achieve all of it and that it is unnecessary to feel bad about and be miserable for that I could not live up to the expectations that I put up for myself. (Emma, 10th interview Dec. 2013)

4.3.3 Agency

Emma's participation in her Year 2 Department was characterised by her swift learning and competent delivery of her assigned administration duties as a homeroom teacher. The head of Emma's department expected her staff to complete their assigned tasks on their own initiative rather than in response to her orders. This suited Emma's proclivity for independence and self-reliance. By actively engaging in learning the kind of skills and knowledge valued and thus needed to complete her assigned duties in the department she could not only take forward what mattered in the departmental practices but could allow herself a degree of independence and scope to be herself. However, she could not figure out how to respond to her senior colleagues' continuous positioning of her as the youngest in the staffroom, a categorisation which she found neither helpful nor appropriate for her identity work as a novice teacher. Yet she could not bring herself to speak up against the imposition but acted as though she endorsed, or at least did not mind, the positional identity ascribed to her. That is, her fight for agency as a staff member was to a degree constrained by how the macro-culture of seniority was negotiated and materialised in her department.

In her L2 English classrooms Emma at first tried to enact her vision of what authentic L2 English teaching should be. Soon, however, her intention to be agentic in taking forward her envisioned classroom teaching had to be abandoned when she was faced with the forceful demand for teaching to the test; especially the demand from her pupils, which was plain-spoken and detailed. She reluctantly acceded to the demand, demoralised and disheartened at first.

Over time, however, the test-driven motive grew on her and became her primary intention in organising her classroom teaching. What led the transformation was her realisation that teaching to the test could be in fact the most practicable way to achieve her envisioned self-image in the world of teaching, that is, a teacher who actually helps to improve pupils' life opportunities and mobility. This realisation led her to more proactively invest herself in honing her competence in teaching to the test. Moreover, her motivation to be agentic in promoting the test-driven pedagogy was further reinforced by her pupils' positive responses to her exam coaching. What mattered in L2 English teaching in practices was thus internalised as the most persuasive voice that motivated Emma's actions as a language teacher.

Emma's negotiation of agency as a homeroom teacher was rather complicated and at times even traumatic. She was dumbfounded by the sheer number of responsibilities that fell on her in the homeroom, which she found too much to handle as a novice teacher. She also felt quite intimidated by the shared idea that homeroom is a private space and a homeroom teacher should act almost as a monocratic manager. To handle the considerable latitude given to her without much structured support and guidance available on-site in terms of how she might organise her actions as a homeroom teacher, Emma initially tried to promote what she envisioned to be ideal student/teacher relationships in her homeroom and what it means to be a good pupil. Whilst pushing her initial beliefs, however, she suffered from numerous emotional confrontations with her homeroom pupils; her intention to be agentic in realising her imagined homeroom management only left her drained mentally and physically. Over time she instead developed new intentions for her actions. Above all, tired of waiting in vain for changes in her homeroom pupils' attitudes and behaviours, she decided to avoid further futile confrontations for the sake of securing some peace of mind. This led her to manage her expectations not only of her homeroom pupils but also of herself. She also more actively sought out any available external sources so that she could better assert her authority and gain more control in her homeroom in order to sustain the heavy burdens of being a homeroom teacher.

4.3.4 Summary

Emma entered teaching as an optimist. Her romantic vision of the world and herself within it was however almost immediately challenged. Her dreamt L2 English teaching could not hold against the fierce demands for teaching to the test. Emma was quick to accommodate to the test-oriented practices. In fact, she saw the openings within those practices where she could become a change agent, the very identity she ideated for long. By becoming fluent in the language of teaching to the test, she could dispel the myth amongst her pupils that state school L2 English classes could not compete with their private counterparts. Also, she could actually help those motivated but underprivileged pupils who felt they could never earn the head-start despite their hard work for not being able to afford private education. She reworked the institutional priority of teaching to the test to achieve her imagined identity.

In the homeroom, Emma strove to act by what she envisioned as a moral teacher. But she felt increasingly overwhelmed by the sense of hopelessness and distress. However hard she tried, she could not put a stop to the aberrant behaviours of her problem homeroom pupils. The daily disputes with her homeroom pupils over matters of common sense were well beyond what she had prepared herself for. Gradually Emma realised that if she continued to act by the moral professional standards she set for herself it would only cause herself more suffering, whilst not bringing out any desired educative outcomes. Emma also learnt that she needed to learn to let things go. She chose to manage by lowering her expectations not only of her pupils but also of herself. Her fight with her homeroom pupils was in fact against her allegiance to the idealised vision of herself as a teacher. As she needed to relinquish her deeply held vision of herself, her journey to adapt to what was possible in practices was more turbulent and prolonged. However, when she finally managed to reinstate herself in repose, she seemed resolute not to look back. Emma was projecting herself in the coming year as more hard-headed.

4.4 Kate

It had cost Kate four years, four sittings of the employment test to be finally cleared to enter professional teaching in the state system. She recalled herself as being overwhelmed with apprehension: “I was worried, what if I don’t make it this time again? How my life will turn out? It was just on the verge of plummeting into uncertainty.” (Kate, 3rd interview June 2013). By finally making her entry into teaching in the public system, Kate came of age, into a position where she could finally liberate herself from the status of a failed student and make her long-overdue entrance into adult life, for example, by obtaining financial independence and pursuing her desire for other worlds without being guilt-ridden. Quite understandably Kate celebrated her first year in school more as the much-anticipated escape from the last four years of stress and uncertainty. The bitter past seemed to aid Kate in remaining composed and positive when confronted with day-to-day hurdles in school.

As we shall see, the key to understand Kate’s trajectories of participation in practices is to follow how she gradually developed an identification with her teacher colleagues and the institutional priorities, and how she came to accept and use them to reconfigure her identity for self-direction. In the beginning Kate strongly identified with her pupils and tried to author herself as a congenial type, an empathetic and friendly young teacher. Especially, she invested a considerable amount of time and energy in her homeroom management. In order to act as an empathetic homeroom teacher and maintain the strong affinity with her homeroom pupils, she often needed to bend rules, which contradicted her institutionally prescribed role as an enforcer of the school rules. Unable to defy openly, Kate sought room for manoeuvre. As there was no direct oversight of her actions in her department Kate could afford herself flexibility in applying the school rules, acting as a buffer between her pupils and the institutional demands on them. Over time, however, Kate learnt that the identity she aspired to live was in fact harmful to her pupils and her, and their relationship. Her inconsistent interpretation and application of the school rules left her pupils confused and distrustful whilst she was unwittingly undermining the

hard work of her colleagues who faithfully enforced the school norms. Gradually her outlook on the world of teaching, once accordant more with that of her pupils was changing. She came to see the values of her colleagues' actions, their envisioning of teaching and decided to try their readings of the world. However, she did not linger on, nor was she grieved by those occasional mishaps and setbacks from her lack of understanding of the world and her role in it. Rather she resorted to her novice status to vindicate herself. At the end of the school year, she seemed quite content: "I've tried what I could. I should do better in the future, but I guess it wasn't bad at all for the first year" (Kate, 5th interview, Dec. 2013).

4.4.1 Participation in institutional practices

The loci of Kate's participation in practices were her institutionally imposed categories as a homeroom teacher and L2 English teacher of Year 1 pupils. As a staff member of Year 1 Department, Kate appeared highly conscious of her positional standing as a novice. What was noticeable was that she chose to remain as a listener; to intentionally author herself as a conformist to the voices of her senior colleagues. To understand Kate's engagement with, and coordination of her actions in the sphere of working adults, it was critical to trace the changing motives and orientations behind her silent, voiceless participation. Quite early on Kate was confounded by the gulf between her figuring of what is possible in the social world and that of her senior colleagues in the Year 1 Department. For example, she could not approve of a senior homeroom teacher's critical comments towards pupils, "kids these days".

The teacher's point was how they [pupils] don't remember their parents' mobile numbers. But in fact I don't either. So I just said, "I don't remember either". ... Then, another teacher said to me, "You are one of them then, the new generation."
(Kate, 2nd interview May 2013)

The senior's figuring of the world of teaching, where pupils who cannot memorise parents' mobile numbers were considered as not fulfilling their filial duty and meeting friends in coffee shops was seen as squandering parents' money, was foreign to Kate. Her response that she also

could not recite her parents' mobile numbers offhand was interpreted as her being "one of them [kids these days]"—a new generational teacher. At times, her liberal views were invalidated by more authoritative voices. For instance, one evening she was a duty teacher for overseeing the day's night-time self-study and she was caught by the deputy head teacher chatting with a class of pupils whom she was supposed to quieten down and make study. Here she describes how the infuriated senior manager beckoned her out to the hallway and reprimanded her.

[The deputy head teacher] was saying, even teachers with 30 years of experience don't act like me. He went on, I have been in only six-months and how I could handle it this way. He was mentioning professional pride... well a bit of his criticism, I can get it. But frankly speaking I thought it wasn't such a big deal. I told him that it was not me being played by the pupils, but I was just trying to be understanding [by listening to them]. Then he was saying what's the point of him staying this late hour of the day in school... I thought it is case by case, but he is a strict principled person. (Kate, 4th interview July 2013)

As discussed in Emma's stories, the deputy head teacher of Springfield was recognised as being 'too eager' and 'meddlesome' by teachers in Springfield. He tended to be dogmatic about what he believed, which often occasioned some strong protestation amongst the teachers. Apparently, to his eyes Kate's action was to sabotage the privileged motive in practices. He interpreted her empathy towards the pupils as something that required correction, or even a disgrace of teacher professionalism, clearly implying her rule-bending and protesting voice were inappropriate for her position as a novice. Such intolerance and belittling remarks from the deputy head teacher seemed to fuel Kate's sense of alienation from the established order of the practices; hence silence became her tool to fend off any disheartening confrontations. On other occasions, Kate's silence was a more proactive form of self-serving which carried her intention of protecting her identity. Here Kate explains that she tends to keep silence to pre-empt her senior colleagues bombarding her with unwanted words of advice.

I don't feel like talking about my concerns about my homeroom to [my seniors]. They tend to give me advice when I am saying things like "I can't get over this" and "I want to be good at this". But, I'm not really seeking their advice, but I'm just talking it out. But they just give me advice from their point of view,

backgrounds and beliefs. It would be nice if their ideas work for me, but more often than not they don't. Then it gets rather uncomfortable, I mean I just can't say to their faces, "That isn't going to work" ... but I am new so I have to listen and nod. So I'd rather not open my mouth. (Kate, 4th interview July 2013)

Here Kate's silence carried her intention to reject any impractical interventions by her seniors, simultaneously protecting her identity intact. By silencing herself, Kate covertly avoided the situations where she was positioned as a novice and had to nod to her seniors out of politeness. Kate's self-understanding as the odd one out was the vantage point from which she positioned and experienced the others in her department.

At times, Kate took advantage of the implicit assumptions of her being a novice as unknowledgeable about the world, thus providing herself with an excuse for not putting in enough efforts to rectify problematic situations. For example, Kate decided to turn a blind eye to the flaws she noticed in the assessment criteria which she copied from the last academic year.

Only later I realised the assessment criteria for pupils' class participation was somewhat vague. I didn't know back then, so I just accepted it because that was how it was done in the previous year. Actually, I felt lucky to have it as I could copy it to write this year's assessment criteria. Then when marking, I started to see [wrong] things like, things are missing there [in the assessment criteria] ... I also thought certain things should have been written in different ways. I guess I could try to amend it a bit next time. ... when I know things more, then I could try my ways, though it would be tiring. ... but for now I just do it [the ways things are here]. (Kate, 5th interview July 2013)

When asked to draft the assessment criteria for students' class participation for the year, Kate and her colleagues unreflectively copied those used the year before. Her senior colleague, who also happened to be the head of the Year 1 Department apparently had no intention of rewriting it. Kate just followed her. Apparently, it took Kate some time to realise the limitations in the assessment criteria, which she felt remorseful for. She was developing her own understanding and stance towards the assessment rules. She projected herself as a change agent who would rewrite the criteria, but did not act out her new envisioning of self right away as she felt not ready just yet; she lacked her understanding of the world with no much power to see it through.

In the last interview, nearing the end of the school year, Kate appeared to have developed an identification with her homeroom teacher colleagues whom she once felt too foreign to relate to: “Now I kind of understand those experienced homeroom teachers. They act authoritatively no more than necessary. I could try that, just that level of authority” (Kate, 6th interview Dec. 2013). Once Kate consistently denied to be identified with a teacher who acted strictly with a straight face, but now the particular type of a teacher was making its way into Kate’s figuring of herself as a real world teacher. Although it was yet to be seen how Kate would manage the yet unfamiliar self-understanding, it certainly affected the ways in which she was projecting her future actions. Her growing identification with her senior colleagues appeared to be attributable to the hospitable staffroom atmosphere, which well matched her figuring of an ideal workplace. For example, unlike the other departments, such as Emma’s Year 2 Department which still had drinking games and enforced drinking, Kate’s department staff not only rarely held after-work socials but also did not engage in socially obligatory drinking. Kate also appreciated that the leadership of her head who was not imposing but motherly, setting a good example for others. Those positive experiences in the staffroom strengthened her identification with the professional world of teaching.

4.4.2 Actions in the classroom

At the beginning of the term, Kate tried to realise her envisioned L2 English teaching, only to be discouraged and eventually give in. She found her classroom settings far more limiting than anticipated. Here she discusses her failed attempt to use English as the medium of instruction.

At first, [pupils] seemed to follow, but gradually I sensed they were actually not. Also, I got worried about pacing, my classes were lagging behind. Then I got busy covering for the mid-term school exam. When explaining grammar points, I had to use Korean and then I couldn’t come back to use English. So these days, almost no English. And they are really poor at English. (Kate, 2nd interview May 2013)

Teaching English Through English (TETE) was an icon of her cultural learning, what she was taught and believed to be the model image of a competent L2 English teacher. Therefore, TETE was a natural way of objectifying herself as a L2 English teacher. She realised, however, that pursuing her idealised envisioning of classroom teaching was incompatible with living by her expected identity in Springfield. For one, she needed to ensure that she did not lag behind in terms of pacing compared to her L2 English teacher colleagues so that her pupils would be ready for the school exams. Also, she felt compelled to teach grammar points in detail as they were the materials for writing ‘decider’ questions for school exam papers. To insist on TETE appeared unrealistic. Reluctantly Kate settled for the traditional teacher-centred lecture method. The year Kate started teaching coincided with the introduction of the new national curriculum for L2 English for Year 1 pupils in high schools. Here she recollects her bewilderment at the beginning of the academic year for not having much resource to refer to.

It was just a question mark. There’s nothing such as a tried-and-tested teaching materials from the teachers who taught before me. Even the teacher guide book for the new textbook wasn’t available, only the new textbook, that’s all. I wasn’t thinking like, I decide this is how I will do things, but rather I was overwhelmed and worried about how I will cope. (Kate, 3rd interview June 2013)

Although the institutional priority was clearly teaching to the test to be shared and achieved, it did not prescribe how Kate and her teaching colleagues should arrive at that end. For example, formal discussions between Year 1 L2 English teachers were limited only to the issues relevant to the school exam administration, such as deciding on exam coverage and who to write what questions. That their Year 1 pupils were taught based on ability grouping, a government-driven policy, also reduced the opportunities for collaboration between Kate and her colleagues. Due to the wide ability gaps between their assigned groups of pupils they did not see the point of collaboration. This individualism increased the uncertainties Kate had to deal with.

The established priority of teaching to the test was so pervasive that the new textbook, officially mandated by the revised national curriculum served a reduced role. For the sake of

manageability, Kate and her colleagues edited out the speaking and writing parts in the textbook, and only covered the listening and reading sections, that is, the two language skills tested in the school exams and the university entrance exam. Kate commented that the new textbook, *Practical English* meant nothing but just a different name for the same thing: “In fact, I think it is just giving a new name to the old textbook. We teach the same way. Regardless, the focus is to translate reading passages. You know, it is reading in the end, so...” (Kate, 3rd interview June 2013). The new textbook was interpreted as just a fresh set of reading passages to be finished in the given academic year. Kate was also expected to write the school exams’ questions in the same format as the university entrance exam. The school exams were treated almost like mocks for the high-stakes national test. In Springfield the national curriculum and its intended outcomes, such as improving communicative competence in L2 English were casually overwritten; and it ended up as a public stunt with no real changes to the nature of the activity of L2 English teaching subdued by test-driven pedagogy. Meanwhile, Kate preferred her interaction with her pupils to be relaxed and easy-going. She went along with what they preferred. Here she recalls an episode where she played along with her boy pupils for a laugh.

It was a boys’ class. A pupil asked me, “Do you fart?”. So I answered, “Sure.” Then he went on, “How?” and you know, other boys were joining in. So we had a good laugh. Then this boy was saying that I responded kindly, but other teachers told him off [when he asked the farting question to them]. They seem to think that I reciprocate, so they are more open to me, I guess. (Kate, 2nd interview May 2013)

She invested herself in bonding with pupils by allowing them to voice and be heard in expressing what they figured as important in their relationship with teachers. By sharing their perspectives, she apparently won them over and gained access to their figured world of schooling as an ideal type, e.g. an unconventional teacher, perhaps quite a privilege not many teachers would be able to achieve. Kate’s spontaneous and permissive ways of presenting herself in classes, for example by playing music videos unreservedly upon pupils’ demand in the middle of lesson, or agreeing to finish early on the spur of the moment, became the images

that were held of her, that is, as a cool teacher who would understand them. However, to pull off her perhaps overly empathic identity meant that Kate had to go the extra mile. For instance, after the final exam in the first term, Kate found it extremely difficult to persuade pupils to go back to their class routines. When the frenzy of school exam period was finally over, quite understandably her pupils' morals were not high. Moreover, the summer vacation was around the corner. Here she recounts how she coped through the difficult times.

... then I came up with an idea of doing games in English. That way we could review things learnt before, and at the same time we would be seen in the middle of regular class. At least we were not watching movies ... At the same time, I could still be on good terms with pupils... (Kate, 4th interview July 2013)

In fact, some teachers were caught showing movies during class hours by the deputy head teacher. Her resolution needed not only to be seen as legitimate in the senior manager's eyes but also not to harm her relationship with pupils. Kate used her initiative to devise the kind of actions, e.g. playing games in English, which would reconcile the conflicting demands.

An interesting point of note was that Kate was deeply committed to her role as a homeroom teacher, whereas she felt herself as only a dutiful subject teacher.

- I: Sense of responsibility [as a subject teacher]? I don't know. I guess not. I just do what I think I'm supposed to be doing.
 R: Things that you think of as your duties?
 I: Yes. Perhaps explain things easily so they [subject pupils] can understand... Other than that, nothing really. But I feel responsible for my homeroom. Frankly speaking, I don't know who are there in my subject classes. Other than those whose names I remembered at the start of the year. I haven't really learnt more new names [of subject pupils] and it feels all routinised.
 (Kate, 3rd interview June 2013)

Test-driven instruction was, of course, the expected norm; as discussed, however, she did not feel particularly pressurised to exert herself to deliver the institutional priority by some explicit and homogeneous voices. Her investment into subject teaching seemed rather spared. She even stopped learning new names of her subject pupils. However, her homeroom management was a different story. To deal with her assigned administrative duties as a homeroom teacher

was barely an issue. What was challenging was that the role called for her greater commitment to interpersonal and emotional transactions. The specific rules of how to interact with her homeroom pupils were not prescribed but tacit, which meant Kate needed to work out her own ways of fitting into the role by herself. Undergoing a pretty steep learning curve, her identity work as a homeroom teacher carried stronger emotional overtones and formative elements. From the early days in school, Kate found herself caught in some different expectations of her as a homeroom teacher. She was demanded to act as an enforcer of school laws, but she wanted to become an empathic teacher. In the end, she had to become an executor of the school rules, regardless of whether or not she endorsed it.

There's a girl in my homeroom who had her hair permed, and she was caught by another homeroom teacher who made her to undo her hair ... I actually thought she was prettier with the wave perm, but anyway I told her, "Now you look younger [with straightened hair]" ... I was thinking to myself, in fact they didn't do anything serious, making them not really student-like, but it felt as though I wasn't doing my job [if I didn't tell her off]. (Kate, 2th interview May 2013)

To Kate's mind, the established student dress code policy was rather strict. In fact, if her homeroom girl had not been caught by the other homeroom teacher, she might have just turned a blind eye. However, she knew that to enact her belief, that is, the kind of identity that were out of tune with the shared norms of practices, would undermine her colleagues' hard work, lending herself an undesirable reputation for being slack.

However, a homeroom in South Korea was culturally recognised as off limits to inspection and oversight, which meant Kate's liberal inclinations to pupil discipline could persist at large. Yet, in order for her permissive homeroom management to work, it needed her pupils' cooperation based on goodwill as she discusses here:

I don't much scold them [homeroom pupils]. So I think they could have just exploited that if they wanted to, but they haven't done so. On the contrary, they try to behave themselves in order to impress me. They say, "yes", when I propose things ... there are pupils going like "what's the point of doing that?", but no, not my homeroom pupils. They say yes... so I get carried away, so when I've just done something to help them, then I tend to think, what I could do next for them, to help them? ... (Kate, 3rd interview June 2013)

Kate called it the right chemistry. She and her homeroom pupils together created a positive relationship filled with nodding assents. As far as she could see, her naivety was even helping her: “That I haven’t got any pre-made, worked-out images of how to manage my homeroom seems to make [my homeroom pupils] more willing to get involved and use their initiative to make it work” (Kate, 3rd interview June 2013). Their like-mindedness was an asset, which turned Kate’s homeroom into an affinity group. Their support and trust charged Kate to act. She even gave up her entitlements such as her lunch-time break to come down to her homeroom to spend more time with her homeroom pupils. She was certainly authoring a more agentic self as a homeroom teacher. That was indeed a collective achievement with her homeroom pupils. However, Kate’s strong desire not to break her harmonious relationships with her homeroom pupils appeared to have instilled in her a rather protective attitude: “I am just a new teacher. So no one really listens to me. I guess if I do something wrong [the Year 1 homeroom teachers] would tell me off, so I don’t talk to them. I just take care of my homeroom business between ourselves” (Kate, 4th interview July 2013). By rejecting any dissenting voices, she was in effect evading possible situations of conflicts, turning down any opportunities to learn different approaches to homeroom management. As a result, her emergent identity as a homeroom teacher was vulnerable to uncertainties. Nearing the end of the first term, Kate got worried as her homeroom was going out of control. Actually, she began to see the limitations of her no rule-book management. When the frantic final exam period was over, the disorderliness of her homeroom was such that she felt compelled to take measures.

I was really stressed on Monday and Tuesday mornings after the final exam. The deputy head teacher was walking along the hallway. I can understand [my homeroom pupils] because there is nothing to study for [after the final exam]. But anyway they had to sit there. Then I couldn’t bear it anymore, so I suggested them to set some rules... so that is how we made the class rules [at the very end of the first term] ... just like that ... (Kate, 4th interview July 2013)

The senior manager’s oversight might further pressure her to act. Apparently, Kate felt less confident to manage her homeroom without explicit rules when she sensed that her permissive

policy appeared to be doomed to create anarchy. Kate began to reassess and question the kind of relationships she had built with her homeroom pupils. Her title of a homeroom teacher fulfilled her sense of professional satisfaction, but to commit herself to it also meant that she had to withdraw her investment to subject teaching: "... I can't care for [my subject pupils] whilst deserting my homeroom pupils. My homeroom pupils are my limit; in fact, come to think of it I am not really taking proper care of all of them either, only some of them, as a matter of fact" (Kate, 4th interview July 2013). She apparently felt that it was out of her depth to equally commit herself equally to her subject teaching and homeroom management. Over time Kate found that her no rule-book homeroom management was costing her dearly. For one, to make exceptions too often meant that she was recognised as not consistent and firm, thereby losing her credibility. Also, her leniency undermined her colleagues' hard work. She found it hard to come to terms with the fact that some of her homeroom pupils with whom she felt to have built a strong bond, had been betraying her trust. She believed that her goodwill in treating them with empathy and respecting them as individuals with their own fully-formed personality, would be reciprocated. Here Kate reflects that she was mistaken to suppose so.

It [her ways of interacting with people] worked with adults ... I thought we have built up enough trust between us, but ... I just don't know what is enough. Common sense doesn't work with them. I don't really know how much further I should stretch myself to understand them. It feels I have been at the giving end all along. I have always trusted them, but I am thinking I might change it next year. I have been too soft this year. (Kate, 5th interview Dec. 2013)

In truth, she wanted to revoke her self-authoring as a permissive teacher, the identity she had negotiated out of fear of being shunned by her homeroom pupils. However, she could not yet risk other well-functioning aspects of homeroom life. The final blow to her self-authoring as an indulgent homeroom teacher was her homeroom pupils' comments on the annual teacher assessment nearing the end of the school year. Here Kate recollects her embarrassment in reading through her homeroom pupils' comments.

For example, an item [of the feedback form] was asking, 'My homeroom teacher has done a lot of counselling', but I just managed once [with each student] ... and another item asking, 'My homeroom teacher checks on my daily behaviours', but I didn't say to my homeroom, "Do this and that". I never really nag them ... and there were items asking about [my handling of] bullying and other stuff, which I didn't really do much about ... so seriously, I didn't do any of the things [the school regards as what a teacher must do]. So ... (Kate, 6th interview Dec. 2013)

A section of the assessment form was a Likert-type questionnaire and the items profiled the institutionally approved model homeroom teacher's practices, which brought home to Kate the kind of identity expected of her. By the sum score of Likert ratings, she was clearly a "below average" teacher. However, she did not appear much disheartened by it. In fact, she could laugh it off, since in the other part of the feedback form, a blank section for free writing, her homeroom pupils gave her some positive comments. That is, by the standard of her homeroom pupils' figuring of a good homeroom teacher, she was not bad at all and perhaps even great.

4.4.3 Agency

Kate was highly conscious of her novice status in her Year 1 Department, seeing it as her being implicitly positioned as a listener and observer. In general, she waited for instructions and orders from her seniors to perform her assigned administrative duties, and justified her passivity as only natural for her as a newcomer within the world. That she largely delegated her agency to her senior colleagues, however, did not mean that she entirely endorsed the intentions carried in their actions. For instance, she could not approve how they defined the propriety of pupils' behaviours; yet, she did not proactively speak up for her different views, highly conscious of her junior status in the department and unsure of the legitimacy of her beliefs. Her agency was instead directed towards conforming and acquiring the kind of skills and knowledge needed to complete her assigned share of the collective's prescribed tasks. Over time, Emma's psychological distance from her department's senior colleagues narrowed. She strongly identified with the leadership of the department head and the staff members in general. Spurred by these growing emotional ties, nearing the end of the school year she was envisioning her

future actions in terms of her senior colleagues' theories of being a teacher. Outwardly perhaps the patterns of her participation, or the kind of agency that she negotiated and achieved might seem no different; that is, she may still have appeared to be a docile junior member of staff and attentive listener who more or less faithfully acquired and carried out the motives that mattered in sustaining her department's practices. However, the leading motives in her department were internalised and consolidated as a persuasive voice which directed how she was projecting her new self-images into the future.

As an L2 English teacher, from the very beginning of the school year she felt frustrated as the kind of L2 English lessons which she wanted to achieve was simply impossible in her classroom settings, where the expectation was for her to faithfully cover the given textbook for the school exams. Yet she also found it hard to sustain her effort to be agentic in taking forward the test-driven motive due to some discordant qualities inherent in her L2 classroom settings. For instance, her first-year students, who were yet to develop their identification with the exam-driven pedagogy, were not as vocal and proactive in asserting their expectations of Kate's classroom teaching. Also, the official textbook that she taught was originally written for developing communicative competence, and was thus not suitable for teaching high frequency grammar and vocabulary items, which were expected to be the core activity in her classroom teaching. Under the circumstances, Kate found it hard to maintain her interest and motivation to be agentic in taking forward the test-driven pedagogy. Moreover, she felt that she could not juggle her subject teaching with homeroom care. She regarded herself as a dutiful subject teacher but as a responsible and committed homeroom teacher.

In her homeroom Kate felt that she could be herself, or that she could conform to the kind of self-images that she had objectified as her goals, in getting into teaching. How she managed her homeroom was off limits to her senior colleagues as long as there were no serious incidents requiring disciplinary actions at the school level. For instance, her initial intentions such as a democratic approach to classroom management, were enacted and shaped the overall

dynamic in her homeroom. She could also more or less forge the kind of student/teacher relationship which she envisioned to be ideal. Her achievement appeared possible because her intentions were reciprocated by her homeroom pupils, with whom she could collectively work out a strong sense of empathy and teamwork. The positive outcomes that ensued from her actions then reinforced Kate's motivation to be agentic in devising and taking further actions that would enhance her responses to her homeroom pupils' needs. However, maintaining the virtuous cycle came at a price. She had to make numerous exceptions, bend the school rules and turn a blind eye to her pupils' lies and deceits in order not to upset the peace and harmony in her homeroom. Kate's priority in negotiating her agency as a novice homeroom teacher was to protect herself from losing the modicum of control she managed to achieve in the homeroom.

4.4.4 Summary

Kate was finally able to bid farewell to the last four years of toil by passing the STST, perhaps the greatest obstacle in her life by far. Now she was entitled to fully savour the long-anticipated identity as a public school teacher. Kate viewed teaching as a pursuit of noble causes carrying the sense of service and sacrifice for the good of the public. Now as an official member of the world she was able to unreservedly associate herself with the culturally attributed qualities to the nation's public school teachers, that is, highly moral and ethical, thus a reputable type. However, she was certainly not seized by some romantic views of the teacher as a healer of all the ills and difficulties pupils were undergoing. She was not unwilling to satisfice, alleviating the pressures she perceived as a novice teacher in Springfield. In her Year 1 Department, she chose to author herself as a conformist, calm and cool-headed. She followed the voices of her seniors, taking advantage of the fact that no one really promoted her to voice her own opinions. At times, she wanted to refute what they said, but eventually did not act.

In her L2 English classrooms, the privileged motive of teaching to the test did the talking for her. Moreover, Kate's Year 1 pupils were busy aligning themselves with their new

identity as high schoolers. They were yet to be fully aware of the significance of teaching to the test. Therefore, Kate did not perceive the demand for test-driven pedagogy as strongly as it might have been. In her homeroom, however, she was no longer able to enjoy the comfort of not having to speak out. Although there were both explicit and implicit cues for her reference, her day-to-day enforcement of the school rules proved to be not a matter of formula, but of continuous negotiations. Together with her homeroom pupils, Kate established her own rules, which often ended up her yielding to her homeroom pupils' demands, perhaps putting too much of herself in their shoes to keep the peace in her homeroom. Over time, Kate began to see the flaws of her no rule-book homeroom management, which inadvertently trivialised her seniors' hard work and, by extension, the school rules. Near the end of the school year, Kate was certainly tempted to try out the identity of a strict teacher. However, she once again delayed her action as she could not dare to break the peace she had worked out in her homeroom so far.

Chapter 5: Looking across trajectories

Looking across the beginning teachers' unique trajectories, some commonalities became evident. The analysis presented in this chapter juxtaposes the novice teachers' individual trajectories discussed in Chapter 4 to answer the three RQs. To do so it compares and contrasts: 1) how they engaged with particular settings and varying demands in the specific locales they occupied within the institutional settings of their schools as a staff member, L2 English teacher and homeroom teacher, creating and recreating their social situations of development; 2) in doing so, how they negotiated and enacted their identity against the tensions and contradictions which they faced in performing their roles; and 3) eventually how they acclimatised to the materialised worlds of teaching in different ways at different moments, refashioning their identity as well as personal practices. To answer RQ 1, *How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their participation in the institutional practices of school?* two trends are discussed: 1) negotiating access to resources in the staffroom and 2) according persuasive power to senior voices. To address RQ 2, *How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their actions in the classroom?* three themes are considered: 1) negotiating possible forms of teaching to the test 2) self-empowering for virtuous common interests and 3) negotiating adulthood and affinity in the homeroom. Based on the five trends discussed to answer RQ 1 and RQ 2, it is argued, in answering RQ 3: *To what extent do beginning teachers become agentic?*, that the degree of the novice teacher's agency in practice can be understood as their commitment to take forward their initial envisioning of what should matter in the world of teaching as well as what mattered in the materialised worlds of teaching which they faced in reality. It is also argued that the new teachers' agency was a relational achievement which required social efficacy amongst those who populated and are called to work together on what matters in practices.

5.1 Answering Research Question 1

Two broad trends are discussed to further elaborate the nature of how the beginning teachers' identity mediated their participation in their departments. The first trend concerns how the new teachers recognised and utilised the resources in their staffrooms for their identity work, which reflected their schools' institutional practices of staff allocation and space management. The second trend discerned is that the new teachers' identity also mediated the degree to which they endorsed their seniors' voices in their staffrooms.

5.1.1 Negotiating access to resources in the staffroom

For both the schools the practices of space management for staff positioning and work allocation not only delimited the kind of institutional priorities and demands that Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate were expected to identify with but also conditioned the manner in which they were inducted into and experienced them (Flores, 2004; Hedegaard, 2012). Hierarchical communication was the customary mode of relaying institutional tasks in their staffrooms. The new teachers were positioned implicitly and explicitly at the receiving end of orders. Yet, their departments exercised their delegated authority as a collective and devised their own unique ways of communicating and responding to what mattered in practices. That is, their respective staffrooms authored and enacted their own group identity which promoted a set of 'general, dispositional motives and acts and ways of faring well and faring poorly' (Holland et al., 1998, p. 279). The unwritten rules of their departments served as a frame of meaning by which the teachers gauged how to negotiate their positional identity as a staff member. When they developed affinity with, and hence organised their actions utilising their departments' norms, the collectively shared motives became the novice teachers' own motives and entered their senses of self. When they could not approve their departments' group identity, they still learnt to live by it, whereby they adopted an attitude of 'strategic compliance' (Flores, 2004, p. 310); that is, they complied with their department's shared values and motives through they were

misaligned with their own motives. In other words, the departmental norms and motives were experienced as a both empowering and constraining tool of their identity work (Holland & Lachicotte, 2007).

High school teachers in South Korea are usually assigned to a single administrative role, either homeroom care or general clerical duties. Homeroom teachers are assigned to one of three year divisions: Year 1, Year 2 or Year 3. Some high schools assign a staffroom to teachers of the same subject regardless of their teaching year groups, whereas the common practice is that the same year group's homeroom teachers share a staffroom adjacent to their assigned year's homeroom classes. Springfield followed the customary practice so that the staff of each year group division, the head and homeroom teachers, occupied a designated staffroom for their shared goal of homeroom care. Thus, Emma and Kate's self-authoring as homeroom teachers was forcefully mediated by the physical and cultural environment of their staffrooms interspersed with explicit and implicit cultural cues (Wertsch, 2007). These mediational means instructed them not only in the kind of identity expected of them but also in the ways to acquire it. The mediation of the staffroom was highly visible in Emma and Kate in particular as one of their staffroom colleagues was a senior L2 English teacher acting as the gatekeeper who constantly reminded of them to 'focus on commonalties and forget the differences' (Holland et al., 1998, p. 16). For instance, they often summoned Emma and Kate to make sure they knew what must be covered in their respective classes to prevent any inadvertent (dis)advantage for the pupils of one teacher over those of another in the school exams. As Edwards (2010a) observed, the newcomers really needed new mediational means to negotiate the kind of identity that would be legitimate in the materialised world. The presence and proximity of highly relevant voices in their staffrooms were their readily available resources for identity work. Unlike Emma and Kate who were each appointed to a single administrative role as a homeroom teacher, Paul and Wendy were assigned to two administrative roles: homeroom care as well as general administrative duties. In their identity work, they faced somewhat disjointed situations

as there were no L2 English teachers who also acted as homeroom teachers. Their staffroom colleagues were rather like a group of school administrators, each assigned to a particular number of general clerical duties, which did not overlap with those of the others. That is, the space management and staff allocation practices of Greenfield did not explicitly evoke ‘a given Discourse’ (Gee, 2000, p. 111) for Paul and Wendy to negotiate their core identity as a homeroom and L2 English teacher. Given the staffroom settings, there were few possibilities for shared interests and motives to arise (Edwards, 2010a) with their office colleagues. As a result, for Paul and Wendy the usefulness of interactions with their staffroom colleagues was limited only to their familiarity with the kind of operational skills and knowledge necessary to perform their routine paper work. That is, their staffroom settings were experienced as constraints rather than resources as they were inadequate to assist Paul and Wendy in developing their core identity as a subject and homeroom teacher.

Wendy, suddenly appointed as a homeroom teacher at the start of the second term, felt lost for not having any resources in her staffroom relevant to her new role. Here Wendy reflects:

In the first term I got lots of help from them [colleagues in her staffroom], but in the second term, the big part of my job was homeroom care. Then I felt somewhat awkward to ask them about it. Because they're not homeroom teachers. If I had been with other homeroom teachers [in the same staffroom], then I could have observed hints and got things done. (Wendy, 9th interview Dec. 2013).

Furthermore, the division of labour between Paul and Wendy's respective year group L2 English teachers was compartmentalised, either by different teaching materials for Paul or by ability grouping for Wendy, so that they both taught practically alone. That they were all placed in separate staffrooms also made it a rarity to have informal conversations over their classroom teaching. The kind of space of self-authoring which Paul and Wendy could work out in their staffrooms was therefore deficient in resources relevant to their most urgently demanded school identities for subject teaching and homeroom care. Rather than being clearly

guided to what mattered in their staffroom practices, they muddled through alone relying on their judgement and introspection. They by themselves had to ‘see possibilities and close gaps’ (Mäkitalo & Säljö, 2002, p. 175) which were inevitable as they had to work out their expected identity without much resource. Moreover, when the kind of professional knowledge valued in their staffrooms was deeply rooted in routines, impersonal and bureaucratised, as Edwards (2010a) observed, the beginning teachers’ personal practices which were shaped by these routines also easily became stagnated.

Meanwhile, there was a sinister aspect in Greenfield’s staff dynamics as a whole, which permeated Paul and Wendy’s staffrooms and eventually shaped their day-to-day lives as staff members (Hedegaard, 2012). The problem was a communication breakdown between two distinctive generations of teachers: the senior teachers in their 50s in management and the younger teachers in their 20s and early 30s. Paul here describes his department’s staff make-up, which reflected the unique demographic composition of the school’s teaching staff.

Everyone around me is like new teachers. This is my first year. The other two teachers in my division, they both are in their second year. Then the department head is what, 30 years senior to us. This is pretty much the same in the other staffrooms. It is like one band of first, second, third, and fourth year teachers and the other of over 20 to 30 years of experience. (Paul, 8th interview Oct. 2013)

The head of the L2 English Department in her early 30s remarked that the absence of mid-career teachers in Greenfield had led to her premature appointment to the managerial position: “I am never old enough to be appointed as a head”. She viewed that the absence of mid-career teachers limited the new teachers’ learning opportunities.

That [not having mid-career teachers] could be both good and bad. It could be good as new teachers can learn things on their own terms, whilst no [senior teachers] are giving them hard time. But the thing is there are no role models, like teachers with 10 to 15 years of experience. I think unlike professions like engineering or working for big companies where new employees can easily do better [than senior workers], here in schools it is about dealing with people. Things like word-processing new teachers can do way better, but things like interacting with students there is a lot to learn from experienced teachers.

(The head of the L2 English Department, Greenfield)

The voices of the senior teachers in Greenfield with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, carried almost autocratic power in making a series of far-reaching decisions, dictating what mattered in practices, whereas the younger teachers were excluded. The label of juniority in Greenfield was socially enacted to carry the connotation of a subordinate who should remain silent, which Paul was felt unfair and disappointing. He was also resentful of his younger colleagues, who seemed indifferent to the unjust treatment and just looked on, their imposed, unjust social positioning effectively becoming their disposition:

In this school, those in the top, the department heads, they do share something distinctive, some kind of territory which never allows the younger teachers to access. But the younger teachers at the bottom, they are just too individualistic. I think that is really lamentable. (Paul, 10th interview Dec. 2013)

To Paul's eyes, his individualistic younger colleagues were simply playing along, giving themselves up as 'a stable, even juridical or ritual, audience' (Holland et al., 1998, p. 309) that their seniors needed to reinforce their authoritarian management. Paul also felt uneasy that his younger staffroom colleagues were simply indifferent to the issues which he imagined should be taken seriously by any moral teachers: "Just hanging out with them is okay, fun because they are almost like the exact opposite of me. But when I try to discuss some serious things [about school and students], it gets nowhere" (Paul, 8th interview Oct. 2013). That there were hardly any overlaps between Paul and his younger staffroom colleagues' administrative duties certainly contributed to their lack of communication. However, what really pushed Paul further away and fuelled his antipathy towards his staffroom contemporaries was that they were not the kind of teacher legitimised by the terms of Paul's envisioned world of teaching; they could not be validated as a moral teacher, and thus became irrelevant to his self-authoring (Holland et al., 1998). Paul's emergent, largely negative, emotions as a staff member were indeed situated and collaboratively negotiated phenomena, used as a powerful tool in directing his identity work (Edwards, 2010a; 2010a; Zembylas, 2003). Amid the lack of *emotional affinities* (Zembylas, 2003, p. 233) with his staffroom colleagues, Paul could not really contest and subvert the

expected course of his identity work; he could only become philosophical about losing his faith in the materialised world of teaching.

Through their space management practices Springfield and Greenfield relayed their privileged motives and competences—what Holland et al. (1998) called *cultural logics*—to their staff members. Their different practices meant different ways of communicating what mattered in practices. Emma and Kate’s identity work as staff members in Springfield was more readily directed towards assimilating the dominant group identity as what mattered in their departmental practices was more explicitly communicated. The Springfield pair thus agreed more or less willingly to be ‘a bearer of culture’ (Holland et al., 1998, p. 14). Meanwhile in Greenfield, Paul and Wendy’s staffrooms were devoid of the kind of cultural cues which revealed what mattered in practices. Given the lack of practical resources relevant to their identity work Paul and Wend were left confused about how to be. The comparison between the four beginning teachers’ staffroom settings and how they mediated their identity work as an organisational person supports the proposition that one’s identity work in practices is indeed a social and relational achievement through the dialectic of the person and what matters in practices; it also indicates that to evoke one’s strong identification, and agentic engagement with a social world, needs clear communication of its shared goals and motives, or what matters in practices (Edwards, 2010a).

5.1.2 According persuasive power to senior voices

The novice teachers had varying degrees of access to highly relevant voices and cultural cues in their staffrooms through which they worked out the hegemonic values and motives in their departmental practices. In particular, it was the voices of their senior colleagues in their staffrooms that had the most reverberations on their negotiation of positional identity. In South Korea, traditionally one’s age is one of the key cultural logics that shapes a person’s negotiation of positionality in any social interactions. Meanwhile, the selection of teachers is founded on

meritocracy through the STST. Coupled with the fact that the competition is getting ever fiercer, this has created a folk assumption that new teachers can easily outplay their senior counterparts. This age-based stereotyping of teachers in South Korea, amongst other things, carries the potential to cause the antagonism between the two generations of teachers (Trent, 2011), as was observed in Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate's stories.

The new teachers attributed different degrees of persuasive power to their seniors, delegating their authorial power to those colleagues. They accorded a greater degree of authority to colleagues where they felt not only that it was practical for them to act in accordance with what mattered in their departments, but also that it was reconcilable with their dispositions and crucially with their envisioned self-images as a teacher. This supports the vision that one's identity work is 'not only "of" (about) themselves ... but also "for" themselves' (Holland et al., 1998, p. 4). In doing so, they developed personal stance towards the departmental norms and priorities relayed through their seniors' voices. Their understanding of departmental settings was then externalised with varying degrees of assertiveness; that is, their identity was a powerful tool for reworking their social situations of development by putting their intentional actions forward (Edwards, 2010a). For instance, Paul came to view his seniors as the antithesis of his theory of being a teacher, withdrawing his support for them over time. He found it hard to relate to their voices as they lacked the qualities which he envisioned as essential to any ethical and moral teacher. The more he learnt about his neighbouring senior teachers, the more the category of a senior teacher became a manifestation of what the teacher should not be like.

It's a large age gap... those teachers over 50, [I cannot understand] the ways they treat students ...; as far as I can see, they take a jaundiced view of them like, they will never make it ... they are just born like that. (Paul, 3rd interview May 2013)

Paul's department shared a staffroom with the Department of Vocational Education, which meant that he had contact with two senior heads on a daily basis. Paul categorised the head of

his division as a drone type: “He never does his job ... he is a PE teacher and always in the gym [not in the staffroom]”. His disappointment was such that it appeared that Paul did not even register his presence at all. The other head, that of the vocational division, was a highly relevant voice since Paul was a homeroom teacher of a vocational class. For instance, it was her watchful eyes that warned Paul of his growing distance from his homeroom pupils and she was the one who asked him to balance his investment between subject teaching and homeroom care. In the beginning her skilful handling of vocational pupils reminded him of his inexperience and incompetence: “She just knows. She just susses it out right away why they [vocational pupils] behave in certain ways...” (Paul, 6th interview Aug. 2013). At first he endorsed and conferred with her voice over his homeroom problems, but gradually he became unwilling to do so, as he was no longer convinced by her theory of discipline: “She was pushing her fixed ways of things [on me] from her strong hold ... saying that they [vocational pupils] are just always like that” (Paul, 8th interview Oct. 2013). In the end, he tried to stay away from or spend as little time as possible in the physical space of his staffroom filled with discordant voices, as though he was protecting his identity from further harm. The diverse voices in his staffroom could not be internalised as his inner voices, as *internally persuasive speech* (Holland et al., 1998) that would affect Paul’s senses of self, and thus his actions.

Wendy also grew indifferent to her seniors’ voices as they became irrelevant to her most urgent day-to-day tasks. At first, she was thankful for the hospitable attitude of her division head: “I’ve met such a nice divisional head. He is actually doing my job” (Wendy, 1st interview May 2013). Her head, one of the rarest mid-career teachers in Greenfield in his early 40s, was the most significant voice for Wendy’s authoring as a junior staff member. He did not appear to be authoritarian at all, but rather expected his staff to act on their own initiative. In an interview he directly expressed his concerns over Wendy’s passive authoring:

I often advise them [new teachers] that any university graduates can do administrative duties in school. To put it more directly, administrative tasks in school are not that difficult once you set your mind on doing them ... You know they [administrative tasks] have to be done, no matter what. So, I say, if you don’t

do it, someone else has to do it. If you give yourself an easy time [by pushing your duties onto others], then others are suffering. I want them to know that they have a responsibility to it. And Wendy is the type of new teacher who really needs this kind of advice. (The head of Department of Culture, Environment and Public Relations, Greenfield)

The head's comment implied that at the departmental level the idea of the school as a public organisation with a clear personnel policy was fundamental; without exception, beginning teachers were expected to carry their own share, regardless of their junior status and not to make a nuisance of themselves in upholding the bureaucratic substructures of the institution. The head did not see the label of junior as an excuse for tardiness and incompetence; yet, Wendy was just waiting for the senior manager's words instructing her how to be: "I am a new teacher, so I try to follow what the head says without reservations. Because I am new, he's not asking me to do unreasonable things" (Wendy, 4th interview July 2013). The divisional head just silently waited until Wendy would use her discretion in completing her duties rather than giving orders. In fact, he just kept on watching her procrastinating right up until the second edition of the school's newsletter (which was supposed to be issued before the summer break, that is mid-July) was eventually published at the end of September. Wendy attributed her tardiness to her dispositions as well as the lack of pressuring voices:

I have this very bad habit that if I don't feel like doing it and feel burdened by it, then I can't even think about starting at all. And no one really tells me to hurry, so it seems I keep procrastinating. (Wendy, 4th interview July 2013)

The kind of space of self-authoring she managed to work out had hardly any forcible voices. Her own voices were too intimidated and wary to propel her to devise her own motives to act in and on the demands that she faced. Furthermore, there were no external voices either in her staffroom urgently pressuring Wendy to act on the weight of demands upon her, which could have assisted her in devising her own proactive moves. As a result, she could gloss over her head's pointed silence as an approval and justification for her slacking. Wendy's defence for her endangered personhood indeed revealed much about herself, e.g. as a timid type as well as

about the cultural figuring of what mattered in her department and perhaps beyond (Holland et al., 1998). Eventually she came to terms with the fact that she had to operate in a sole-charge capacity in publishing the school's newsletters. Feeling swamped by her workload, she could make time and energy to interact with her staffroom colleagues.

[Staffroom colleagues] say that there's this line surrounding me saying don't cross. Maybe I'm not really a sociable type, so they seem to find me distant. Or perhaps I'm not quick to finish things; so always in the staffroom I'm in the middle of doing something when the other teachers are having tea after they're done. But [because I have work to finish] I can't join the tea.

(Wendy, 4th interview July 2013)

Over time she grew distant from her staffroom colleagues and gained the reputation of being an unapproachable type. She was not as successful in developing the 'micro-political literacy' (Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002, p. 117) needed to survive as an organisational person.

For both Paul and Wendy, the senior voices in their staffrooms lost their appeal over time and remained relatively peripheral on their identity work as they lacked validity, relevance and coerciveness. In contrast, Emma and Kate and their staffroom colleagues had a shared responsibility of homeroom care. The common project necessarily meant frequent interactions, through which they were continuously reminded of their junior status covertly and overtly. What forcefully reminded Emma of her junior status was that her staffroom culture was rather traditional, which contradicted her envisioned idea of being a professional. For instance, her year group still had obligatory drinking parties led by the head on CSAT mock exam days.

Here the head of Emma's Year 2 Department describes her own leadership style:

Say there are staff teachers shirking their duties. Then I talk to them directly pointing out their problems and asking for their collaboration with a smile but sternly. Afterwards, when we are having staff dinner or going for drinks, I try to talk it out with the teachers [I reprimanded]. I think a department head is someone who pays for the staff's socials and fights against the senior managers to protect staff teachers. (The head of Year 2, Springfield)

Although the head tried to be recognised as a charismatic, yet empathetic and caring leader, her leadership was perceived as almost authoritarian by her staff. Emma reflects:

She [The head] doesn't really say us [homeroom teachers] do this and that, rather wants us to get things done by ourselves. ... She is in a sense a bit moody, usually broad-minded and merry, but when she is in a bad temper, we can't even breathe.
(Emma, 5th interview May 2013)

Emma was often addressed as “the youngest” by her seniors in her staffroom, which made her highly self-conscious about how to behave: “It feels as though I have to behave as an amiable junior, but I am new to these kind of social relations, so I don't know really how to do it (Emma, 4th interview Apr. 2013). She was continuously positioned as a junior member whose extra duty was to run errands for her seniors or do staffroom chores and felt obliged to do so.

To the staffroom things like a fruit basket comes as a gift. [After the staff has eaten] I find myself asking myself, should I clean up? Then I hear them [other homeroom teachers] talking to me jokingly like, “Look! the youngest, what are you doing? I wasn't like you [just sitting tight] when I was the youngest in the office”. Then I answer like, “Oh, I didn't know!” and hurry to the table to clean up. Just like that, half joke and half serious, they pressure me. And I also think to myself that I should behave as one, but [I don't know how].
(Emma, 7th interview Aug. 2013)

Emma was recognised and self-identified as awkward in terms of the sociability scale. Yet, it appeared that her inclination to freedom and solitude outweighed her desire to be praised as an amicable junior staff member. She preferred to maintain a certain distance from her staffroom colleagues, which she attributed to her disposition for independence: “I expect nothing from them [colleagues] and I really hate being told to do this and that” (Emma, 4th interview Apr. 2013). She accepted the presence of her senior voices as a fact of life, yet opted not to engage with them unnecessarily; otherwise she would be constantly subjected to acting as a junior. Emma even appeared to work hard to pre-empt any situations where she would be reminded of how to act as a junior. In fact, from quite early on in the first term she amazed her staffroom colleagues by her skilful management of administrative duties as a homeroom teacher, defying the general assumption about first-time homeroom teachers.

[Senior homeroom teachers] say that I'm not like a novice teacher and that I'm so different from them when they were new. Other than a few occasional queries, they say, I get things done just fine by myself. (Emma, 5th interview May 2013)

Emma was also relatively quick to speak her mind as a subject teacher. Initially she felt obliged to follow her senior L2 English teacher out of politeness. Despite her doubts, Emma followed the senior's decisions, using such strategies as drill worksheets, checking pupils' notebooks frequently, and above all assigning pupils more work to revise than she knew would be included in the school exams. However, when she realised that the senior's pushy assessment policy was actually demotivating her pupils and making them hastily give up exam revision, she engaged in 'protective mediation' (Biesta, Priestley & Robinson, 2015), that is, to speak and act to protect her pupils' interests: "At first I just said yes to her because I am a new teacher. But these days, it's not like me confronting her, but I speak out" (Emma, 6th interview June 2013). Soon Emma placed herself on an equal footing with her senior:

When we [Year 2 L2 English teachers] meet, I feel we are just equal, L2 English teachers for Year 2 Springfield pupils. So when they suggest ideas, if they don't sound right to me, then I just feel I can just ask away like, "Don't you think there will be this kind of problem?" (Emma, 7th interview Aug. 2013)

Meanwhile, Kate found the seniors' voices in her staffroom growing on her so that she was lending more credence and authority to them. Her stories instantiated how departmental culture could assist in building constructive team dynamics, eventually shaping individual teachers' positive perceptions of their workplace (Lavian, 2012). For the first months in school Kate related mostly to the other beginning teacher in her staffroom, a fresh university graduate, who also freed her from the limelight for being the youngest in the office. Kate attributed their identification with each other to their junior status: "We are of similar age and both new. And the ways we think are similar and we make similar mistakes" (Kate, 2nd interview May 2013). Yet, Kate avoided sharing homeroom problems with her seniors as they neither offered her empathetic support nor viable advice for solving her problems, but made her feel lectured.

[Senior homeroom teachers] tend to give advice based on their points of view, which I can't agree. Then it gets uncomfortable as I can't say to their faces like, "I don't agree with you". But I am a new teacher so I feel obliged to listen and nod to them. So I'd rather not open my mouth. (Kate, 4th interview July 2013)

Kate's silence to fend off her seniors' interventions but take forward her theory of teaching strongly supports Biesta et al.'s (2015) assertion that teachers' 'personal qualities' (p. 636) are used as a critical means of teacher agency when they face practices fraught with competing ideas and interests without clearly set and shared goals. Her distancing strategy also enabled her to protect her vulnerable identity as a first-time homeroom teacher as she recounts here.

There are a couple of teachers telling me things [point out my mistakes and ask me to change]. ... I am only a beginning teacher after all, so it's not like, even if I say things, they would listen to my advice and change things [as I say]. Also, I fear that if I say something not quite right, then they would criticise me. So I don't really discuss [with seniors]. I tend to take care of things between ourselves [me and homeroom pupils]. (Kate, 4th interview July 2013)

With time, Kate identified more with her senior colleagues, which, in part, appeared to be due to be her growing social ties with them. Kate had an especially high regard for the leadership exercised by her year group head, revealing her growing affinity with her staffroom colleagues:

[The head] is a really nice person. At first, I didn't know because I couldn't compare her with other heads. She has an easy, unaffected manner ... and she's quick to get things done and knows how to carry things forwards. We had a staff retreat and she was just wonderful. She brought wine and wine glasses there. She was just like a mother, cooking meals for us and looking after us. I thought a department head just takes a seat [and get served], but she even did little things that didn't show, like washing vegetables. She is just awesome. I thought when I get to her position I would be like her. (Kate, 4th interview July 2013)

Throughout the year Kate's staffroom held an array of social activities, which she and her colleagues altogether thoroughly enjoyed. Kate described her department atmosphere as "just harmonious and cheerful" (Kate, 5th interview Dec. 2013). Clearly, the leadership of her head played a critical role in forging a close bond amongst the staff members (Flores, 2004). Kate also stumbled upon opportunities to be open with a staffroom colleague, which helped her to see that there is more to her seniors' seeming indifference than meets the eye.

Then one day some of us [younger teachers] went for a pint of beer and there we decided to get on first-name terms. ... [A Year 2 homeroom teacher] saying sorry to me [for not being really helpful]. She said she was worried whether I feel

uncomfortable if she gives me advice. She said when she was new, there were so many female seniors in her office acting like scary big sisters. She was so stressed then. And she didn't want that for me, so she decided to keep silence. She also said [without help] I'm doing just fine. Before I actually felt somewhat uneasy about that no one really is helping me any at all. I was thinking, "how are they just indifferent to me?" Now I know it's not that. (Kate, 5th interview Dec. 2013).

By the end of the school year, her staffroom colleagues had indeed grown on her: "At first, I didn't know. But objectively speaking the make-up of the Year 1 staff, they are really nice people" (Kate, 6th interview Dec. 2013). With her growing affinity with her staffroom colleagues, she also became willing to identify with their actions as a homeroom teacher which at first she found too strict and authoritarian. Here she describes her changed view.

Now I can relate to the senior homeroom teachers. As far as I can see there is no one really overly authoritarian, but they act authoritatively, just the right degree. So I think I should learn to act like them. (Kate, 5th interview Dec. 2013)

To participate in their departments meant that the beginning teachers needed to learn how to negotiate their positional identity as a junior against the culture of seniority, the frame of meaning which filtered what was acceptable or not in the social space. Therefore, how the cultural logic was practised in their respective departments played a critical role in their identity work as junior staff members. When their seniors' voices were highly relevant and practical to accomplishing the demands they faced, the new teachers readily availed themselves of them as a critical means of their identity work, crediting more persuasive power to them. In contrast, when their seniors' voices were not as compatible with their dispositions or their theory of being a teacher, they refused to engage with and even distanced themselves from them. Their authoring of relational identity was at bottom oscillating between according or withdrawing credence and authority to their seniors' voices as well as to their own (Holland et al., 1998). The new teachers did not simply accept their seniors' voices prescribing what mattered in the departmental settings and predetermining how they should be, but continually weighed and evaluated them in relation to their dispositions, personal interests and ideals. That is, the novice teachers' agency in practice was as, Emirbayer and Mische (1998) maintained, a 'temporally

constructed engagement' (p. 970), a careful calculation of possible forms of action informed through the dynamic of their habits, desire for alternative worlds, and reasoned judgement against the demands of the present. The novice teachers' negotiation of agency as staff members also instantiated the significance of school leadership and cultures in nurturing teachers' affective identity (Day & Gu, 2007; Zembylas, 2003). The beginning teachers' emotional commitment to sustain their proactive attitude in taking forward their departments' norms was highly susceptible to how they positioned themselves in relation to the group identity collectively negotiated and promoted through the staff dynamic.

5.1.3 Summary

- *RQ 1: How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their participation in the institutional practices of school?*

The first RQ considers the ways in which Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate's initial and emergent identities shaped and reshaped their actions as department staff members. In terms of acting as an organisational person, they all appeared as 'newbies'. It was as though they were oblivious to the fact that their entry into real world teaching would require them to face a professional world of working adults (Gavish & Friedman, 2010; Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002). Having hardly any self-images in that particular sphere of action in school, not only were they in urgent need of figuring out their expected identity but also they had to rely on some other aspects of selves as a stopgap identity. Their expected identity was clearly mediated by what mattered in their assigned departments (Edwards, 2010a). It was, in essence, a process of socialisation into the kinds of knowledge and skills necessary to perform their clerical duties allowing them to contribute their fair share in completing the collective's tasks to schedule, and by so doing maintain the status quo practices. Likewise, in their L2 English departments, the beginning teachers found that the division of labour was streamlined to efficiently manage the cycles of

teaching to the test and exam administration. For instance, their quarterly formal staff meetings kept discussion to a minimum, mainly going over pertinent issues to writing the school exam questions. As Mäkitalo and Säljö (2002) observed, as the beginning teachers experienced their staffroom colleagues as institutional actors and their collective actions—with ‘the multiple voices represented in (and through) it, and the micro-politics inherent in its use’ (p. 161), the institutional priorities and privileged motives in the realms of grown-ups in school were made visible to them. The process served to reinforce the current practices rather than interrogate them for new responses. Therefore, the novice teachers had to author themselves more or less as a compliant labourer acting on their given instructions.

The novice teachers’ process of learning to act out their imposed identity was compounded by the lack of official channels of assistance, which in part reflected the cultural conception of new teachers as able and competent for having passed the highly selective employment test. Implicit mediation (Wertsch, 2007), an oral tradition, operating essentially through informal conversation, was strong in relaying the rules and maxims in practices. Wertsch (2007) argued that ‘ephemeral and fleeting’ (p. 180) everyday conversation can be transformed into a space for intersubjectivity with potential to be expanded to other goal-directed projects. However, such an opportunity was lost as it was the beginning teachers who were expected to initiate the inquiry. Rather than bombarding their seniors with questions, the novice teachers tended to observe and reproduce their seniors’ actions in a haphazard fashion. This overdependence on implicit mediation as a means of communicating the institutional priorities added some complexity to the novice teachers’ already steep learning curve.

Perhaps to all outward appearances, the novice teachers’ emergent identity as staff members appeared almost identical: a docile junior operative busily ticking off a list of tasks in order to show that they were up to par, hence wittingly and unwittingly contributing to reinforce the status quo. However, the dynamic involved in each entrant’s day-to-day negotiation and refinement of identity against the specific locales they occupied in practices was much more

subtle and complex, filled with individual triumphs and disasters, all of which amounted to nothing less than unique and alternative trajectories of participation. A particular point of note was that their self-authoring as a staff member involved engagement with the dispositions of their staffroom colleagues (Edwards & D'arcy, 2004). They calculated the possibilities of their action against how their colleagues engaged—individually and collectively—with the departmental cultures, which each displayed a unique mix of individualism and seniority. The novice teachers' dispositions mediated their perceived degrees of coerciveness in the cultural and social voices, e.g. those of their authoritarian department heads and senior teachers, which then shaped their orchestration of positional identity, or their varying degrees of subscription to and investment in the departmental norms and priorities.

To summarise, the entrant teachers' self-images as a member of the teams of working adults were almost non-existent other than as arbitrary ideas of how to negotiate what was proper for them as a junior from their cultural learning through life. Therefore, busily acquiring and performing the institutionally imposed identity pre-objectified by their departments' priorities, the new teachers also called upon their dispositions to author their relational identity, contingent upon, and reflecting what was practicable given the particular local situations in their departments (Holland et al., 1998). The identity of a nonconformist was not an option, and yet what was unique was how the new teachers developed a personal stance, or emotional identity towards their departmental practices. When their departmental culture was such that it made their survival practicable and served their personal interests for self-affirmation (Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002), they authored themselves as willing conformists and over time developed a sense of belonging within the community; they became 'the satisficer' (Maistre & Paré, 2010, p. 562). In contrast, when they could not bring themselves to relate to the norms of their departments, they still performed themselves as conformists but remained seething within. This negative affective identity left them alienated whilst strengthening their attachment to and the salience of their idealised world of teaching (Holland et al., 1998).

5.2 Answering Research Question 2

To address RQ 2 three trends are discerned. First, the beginning teachers' identity strongly mediated how they negotiated teaching to the test in the specific context of their individual classrooms. Second, it was also apparent that their identity played a critical role when they were introducing new motives, that they found virtuous and thus to which they could relate, when they could find no such motives to direct their actions. Lastly, their identity also played a significant role when negotiating teacher/student relationships in their respective homerooms.

5.2.1 Negotiating possible forms of teaching to the test

The beginning teachers all faced the challenge of how to align their personal motives of subject teaching in relation to their expected identity as an exam coach. Yet, the uniformity and assertiveness of their pupils' voices in demanding teaching to the test varied greatly, which meant the possibilities of action afforded to them also varied greatly (Edwards, 2010a; Holland et al., 1998). Springfield enrolled exclusively academic pupils, whilst Greenfield included both vocational and academic pupils. The demographic profile clearly mediated the degrees to which they as a collective committed to and invested in test-driven pedagogy. In Springfield, pupils following an academic route were relatively outspoken in demanding teaching to the test. From the very outset both Emma and Kate's actions were closely inspected by the watchful eyes of their academically-motivated pupils, which deterred them from experimenting with their envisioned L2 English teaching as they were worth little in the realm of action. However, the visibility of their actions was relationally negotiated (Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002) against the particular activity settings of their subject teaching such as their assigned year groups and the implied degrees of intensity and homogeneity of the demand for test-driven pedagogy.

Emma, who taught the penultimate year pupils closer to the 'judgement day' of the university entrance exam, was explicitly pressured to teach for her pupils' exam performance. In particular, she was pressured to pay meticulous care when covering grammar points as her

pupils knew that it was grammar questions that would decide their ranks. Some of her really hard-working pupils just memorised the whole reading passages which would be included in the school exams in order to get the grammar questions right. Without detailed grammar coverage, her pupils complained, “we’ve learnt nothing, then how can we sit the school exams?” (Emma, 6th interview June 2013). Eventually, she and her colleagues gave up covering their official textbook but moved on to the past papers of the university entrance exam. Meanwhile, Emma’s pupils even condemned her teaching as second-rate compared with that of their private tutors. She felt obliged to defend school L2 English classes:

I told them [pupils], don’t depend too much on cram schools and private tutors but follow L2 English classes in school. I said we [school teachers] can teach as well and can send you to good universities. I asked them why they are so disrespecting of school L2 English classes? I really want to make them see that school L2 English classes are just as good. (Emma, 6th interview June 2013).

With her self-esteem plummeting, she decided to prove herself through more ‘marketable’ teaching which would prevail over so-called star tutors in the private education sector. That is, she proactively reinvented the visibility of her expected roles as a subject teacher as ‘a political strategy’ (Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002, p.113) to demonstrate her professional competence. She endorsed the power of exam coaching as the symbolic capital of the world and relied upon it as a powerful tool for devising her authority (Holland et al., 1998). This new-found purpose led her to respond more sensitively to what her pupils expected from her teaching, “the quickest and easiest ways” (Emma, 8th interview Oct. 2013) to good results in high-stakes exams. Emma at first was conscience-stricken for deserting her envisioned L2 English teaching; yet, when her teaching to the test was well received by her pupils, her guilt was alleviated and she recovered her self-esteem. Her new-found goal arose from what mattered in her classroom teaching settings and reshaped the motive of her identity work (Edwards, 2010a).

Meanwhile, Kate also faced the demand for teaching to the test; yet, in her experience its intensity was not as strong; as far as she could see. First of all, Kate’s freshmen pupils’

voices collectively pressuring her to teach to the test were not as forthright, since they were already overwhelmed by their arduous transition to high school life. For instance, the pupils found staying at school until 10 p.m. for the day's night-time self-study punishing. Kate was therefore tasked to support her dazed freshmen pupils in developing new motives and competence so that they could respond to the new demands they faced as high school students (Hedegaard, 2012). Furthermore, she felt her assigned official textbook, *Practical English*, written for developing communicative skills, too lightweight to use to plan a lesson for teaching to the test focusing on memorising high-frequency vocabulary items and complex grammar points. Yet she was still expected to write the questions for the school exams using the textbook's dialogue passages and following the format of the university entrance exam. Though she viewed the demand as unreasonable and even bizarre, she had to act as instructed. Her agency was further limited by the government-mandated ability grouping for Year 1 pupils.

Two homeroom classes are regrouped into three subject classes. We, three Year 1 L2 English teachers teach in the same timeslot. Then there are times when the senior teacher [who also happened to be the head of Year 1 Division] has to attend special staff meetings between divisional heads, that day we can't do the ability grouping, so pupils stay at their homerooms and we [Kate and the contract L2 English teacher] do the day's teaching. So we have to make sure that the pacing between us is pretty much the same. (Kate, 5th interview Dec. 2013)

As the policy was run at her senior colleague's convenience, she could not have the stability of having the same sets of students for classroom teaching and develop a coherent approach in response to a stable and specific group of students as a unit of teaching and learning. Also, due to the large achievement gaps between the Year 1 ability groups Kate and her colleagues saw their respective preparations for lessons as isolated rather than overlapping, effectively negating any possibility of collaboration. She also happened to teach a new textbook authorised for the revised national curriculum effective from that year, which meant that there were no pre-developed worksheets and activities that she could consult. In other words, the kind of self-authoring that Kate could negotiate as a subject teacher did not offer her much room for

‘dialogic experience’ (Mercer, 2013, p. 156) with the potential for self-regulated and proactive development. Such a loose *developmental coupling* between Kate and the activity of subject teaching only afforded her the opportunity to organise the kind of actions which would reinforce the status quo (Beach, 1998).

Paul and Wendy also were not free from the grip of teaching to the test. They both had practically no teaching colleagues, prompting their de facto one-man rule in classroom teaching. The lack of intervening forces meant that they had to rely on their envisioned self-images as teachers and their dispositions were relied on as a critical tool of their identity work. Yet, they differed considerably in terms of how they engaged with their perceived room for manoeuvre as their self-images, dispositions and emotional stances as L2 English teachers were reinforced, tested and created anew through their situated identity work, specific to the particular settings of their subject classrooms (Holland et al., 1998). First of all, their respective pupils’ positioning in relation to the privileged motive differed considerably. Whilst Paul’s Year 2 academic pupils generally gave precedence to, or at least tolerated, teaching to the test as a collective, Wendy’s lower level Year 1 academic pupils, who had just made their transition from middle schools, were yet to pay heed to, let alone assimilate test-driven teaching. Paul’s agency was enacted towards taking advantage of the space of leeway he had to experiment with his envisioned L2 English teaching, for example by Teaching English through English or changing the seating arrangement for group work. Paul endeavoured to convince his pupils of his motives in trying out an array of new pedagogical ideas. Though a halt was called time and again in response to his pupils’ concerned voices time and again, Paul’s unrelenting fight to achieve his envisioned L2 English teaching, e.g. meaningful learning, earned him recognition for being hard-working. Also, it eventually allowed him to carve out the kind of personal practices which he could settle for.

Meanwhile, Wendy found herself engaged in a constant struggle; she resorted to sweets to earn herself teaching time. When simply finishing the day’s planned coverage almost

overwhelming, Wendy's will to experiment with her imagined teaching was long lost. Her majority of ill-mannered, underperforming pupils did not simply ignore but sabotaged her efforts to teach. To deal with their habitual bad behaviours, such as shouting and heckling, she tried every possible way within her capacity, hoping to teach them to respect the motives and competences privileged in the space of the classroom and the activities that took place within it, only to feel repeatedly defeated. The most realistic solution for her was to focus on what mattered to them here and now and what it was still possible to achieve in relation to that. Her strategy was to appeal to the importance of the school exams.

The university entrance exam can't motivate them. It is too far-off, too distant from now. So I keep mentioning the school exams and say, if you study this way you can get higher marks ... So many of them have long given up English. I want them to have some experience of success, like higher exam scores. I thought it would be good [for their morale] if they outperform the pupils in the high level classes. So I mention the school exams a lot. (Wendy, 2nd interview May 2013)

When Wendy gathered student feedback on her teaching nearing the end of the first term, she could hear her timid, low-level academic pupils' voices, though only few in number, expecting her to be a skilful exam coach rather than 'a teacher who they can have fun with' (Wendy, 4th interview July 2013). She "could not let those few participating pupils fall victim" (Wendy, 3rd interview June 2013), however daunting it would be to try to provide what they needed. Her yearning for what she called "standard L2 English class" using the grammar/translation method therefore not only reflected the narrowness of the possible identity that she could negotiate in response to what mattered in her classrooms but also was the very tool of her agency for a modicum of self-control despite of her fragility as a new teacher.

For all the new teachers an escape from the tight grip of the institutional demand of teaching to the test was not an option. Still, the possible forms of classroom teaching that they managed to forge in their respective classrooms were varied and unique as a result of the dialectic of their emergent identity and the settings of their classrooms. They perceived the different degrees of homogeneity and intensity of their pupils' voices calling for test-driven

pedagogy and measured the room they had for manoeuvre. The space of possible actions encouraged and at times deterred their willingness to take forward the leading motive of subject teaching and to experiment with their envisioned classroom teaching; one's identity work in practices is 'a matter of social situation and negotiation—of, in a word, politics' (Holland et al., 1998, p. 210). When their pupils' collective voices asking for teaching to test were congruent and outspoken, the beginning teachers more readily settled into the traditional routines of classroom teaching, whilst more quickly turning away from their intended subject teaching. Still, it was not at all smooth. The new teachers' intended self-images as a teacher and dispositions were continually brought to bear on, and caused frictions, in the interplay between their evolving inner voices and enacted identity, shaping and reshaping their emergent identity and personal practices as early professional teachers (Holland et al., 1998).

5.2.2 Self empowering for virtuous common interests

The entrant teachers' identity work as subject teachers was mediated by their perceived intensity of the demand that they faced for teaching to the test in their classrooms. That is, in order for the new teachers' intentions, whether to advance the performance-driven pedagogy or their initially envisioned subject teaching, to be realised as practical actions, it needed to be reciprocated by relevant others. This observation supports the idea that one's identity work—and its entailed agency—is a social and relational achievement (Biesta & Tedder, 2006; Biesta et al., 2015; Holland et al., 1998). The novice teachers' motives to enhance their responses to the demands in practices arose and were sustained by the very activity in which they engaged (Stetsenko & Arievidtch, 2004). Then, a question suggests itself: what happens when one feels stranded, with voices not reciprocating but only disparaging the privileged values and motives which define and sustain the practices in which they participate?

Paul and Wendy's interactions with their vocational homeroom pupils are good cases in point. They both became what Pillen, Den Brok and Beijaard (2013) profiled as 'troubled

teachers' (p. 86) whose identity tensions are derived from their strong moral orientation for entering teaching, which gives rise to a gap between the reality and their idealised self-images. Wendy was scared of the realities of Greenfield vocational pupils' day-to-day life: "Not a single day goes by without accidents, the kind of things that would feature in movies or newspapers. A few days ago a vocational pupil from Paul's homeroom got killed in a motorbike accident" (Wendy, 1st interview May 2013). Even with her Christian faith, Wendy found it extremely difficult to face certain pupils: "When having face-to-face conversations, I just really hate them and cannot think what to do with them. There are pupils whom I could not possibly treat with love" (Wendy, 1st interview May 2013). Their vocational pupils dismissed the values and principles which sustained the establishment of schooling, not to mention the activity of L2 English teaching. In Greenfield it was customary for L2 English teachers to rehearse actual exam questions with vocational pupils before each school exam, which revealed what matters in practices. Subject teaching mattered as an administrative formality and the expected identity for Paul and Wendy was as an operative in sustaining the machinery of schooling, whose moral purpose was reduced to manufacturing student report cards; a diploma mill. Too many zero marks would reflect badly on the school's reputation. The school could not be seen to fail them, since it would mean that as an institution it had failed its purpose. Their vocational pupils took advantage of the institutionally sanctioned special treatment. The school's discipline policy and practice failed to stop them behaving in an unruly manner and making trouble. Such institutional settings further belittled Paul and Wendy's day-to-day efforts to make them work. That is, the kind of professional commitments which Paul and Wendy aspired to achieve were mismatched with the kind of commitments expected in the school practices; the misalignment almost crippled the novice teachers' intention to act proactively (Edwards, 2015). When the gap between their possible actions in their homerooms and aspired self-images was deemed unbridgeable, Paul and Kate's initial enthusiasm was replaced by frustration, low morale, and avoidance over time (Flores, 2006).

The eventual outcomes which Paul and Wendy worked out against such disjointed homeroom situations might appear similar as they both relinquished their initially envisioned self-images. However, what differentiated them was the degree to which they could credit authority to—empower—their own voices in order to create virtuous new purposes and goals with their vocational pupils. Their commitment and ability to empower themselves in proposing a new world were persuaded and dissuaded by their dispositions (Holland et al., 1998). Paul initially felt compassionate about the difficult life situations of his homeroom pupils as reflected in him being soft on their misbehaviour in the beginning of the term. However, he soon realised that he was presenting himself as an easy target: “In March, I thought they had not been looked after and loved, so I was treating them well and being nice to them. But with time it was getting out of control” (Paul, 2nd interview April 2013). He had a change of heart. He became more assertive and strict to enact his moral principles. As discussed, Paul’s vocational homeroom pupils were also his subject pupils. Therefore, his subject classes with his homeroom pupils were indeed a testing ground for his mental agility.

At first, he believed that he had enough backbone to transform his vocational pupils’ habitual patterns of apathetic positioning towards L2 English classes and tried to work with them on his terms with his devised creative strategies. He also tried hard to make small talk to counteract his pupils’ disrespectful silence. However, Paul’s intention to imagine and materialise a new cultural world could not be fulfilled as its realisation required a social endeavour (Holland et al., 1998); yet his vocational homeroom pupils did not reciprocate Paul’s intention, only holding out for freedom from intervention of any kind. In the end, Paul realised that he alone could not rework his vocational pupils’ habitual disengagement and antipathy and stopped his effort to engage empathetically with them. In fact, he had even been prepared to bargain away his ethical and moral principles along the way. Yet, his compromised world of teaching did not work, which only reassured Paul in the moral righteousness of his initially envisioned world of teaching. He discredited the compromised world as irrelevant to his self-

authoring, whilst strengthening his loyalty to and aspirations of realising his initially imagined world as a ‘counter-world’ (Holland et al., 1998, p. 267). How Paul once lost and regained his idealised world of teaching as he negotiated his identity as the homeroom teacher indicates that teacher agency in practice is ‘an emergent phenomenon’ (Biesta et al., 2015, p. 626) through the dialectic of teachers and school practices. Moreover, it points to the fact that teachers’ professional agency gains ground from their commitment to self-assessment, as Edwards (2015) has explained, ‘to mak[ing] responsible strong judgements about the worth of [their] intentions’ (p. 780) when they are organising their actions in and on the demands in practices.

Meantime, Wendy simply viewed herself as not capable of effecting change in her vocational homeroom pupils’ behaviour and habitually sought for amicable settlements even if that meant she had to surrender herself completely. She taught them L2 English as well but did not permit her lessons with them to be observed, since all there was to see were her warning shouts and screams and her cross pupils answering back. To “prepare [herself] to get hurt” (Wendy, 4th interview July 2013) before each class with her vocational pupils became her ritual. She almost begged her disobedient pupils for ten minutes of teaching time on the condition that she would relieve them from the remaining class hour. When they completely disregarded her presence in the classroom as a subject teacher, she was lost as to how to be in response. She had to give up her envisioned world of L2 English teaching almost completely. In fact, teaching of any kind could not happen. She actually excluded her vocational pupils from the end of the first term student feedback on her teaching out of fear: “I couldn’t dare pluck up courage to ask them to feedback on my teaching ... they aren’t interested in my teaching at all, and I would say it would be some rare good luck if they didn’t use bad language in the feedback paper when asked to feedback” (Wendy, 4th interview July 2013). Under the circumstances, her effort was steered towards improvising whatever means possible to fill her assigned 50-minute periods day after day to tide herself over, whilst keeping the peace in the classroom. She effectively replaced subject teaching with small talk, clutching at straws to

create a new purpose of virtuous kind, a shared project to establish a good rapport which could bring herself and her pupils together. Still she was not as successful in earning respect from her vocational pupil—the social capital required that she needed to communicate with them; what awaited her was obvious discourtesy from them. Her situation strongly evokes the images of urban youth culture reported in Roth, Tobin, Elmesky, Carambo, McKinght and Beers (2004): ‘Those who are not respected will be disrespected ... , particularly if they lay claim to authority (p. 66). She found it simply too hard to sustain her effort when she could not find in herself the kind of character and tenacity needed to do so. When her relational positioning as a powerless intruder was only reinforced, she merely watched her positional identity turning into her dispositions (Holland et al., 1998), having been left with no external voices to confer with.

Paul and Wendy’s interactions with their vocational pupils discussed so far support the idea that one’s identity work in practices is indeed situated within the possibilities of action afforded in them, and is thus a unique achievement of the dialectic of the person and the specific settings of practices (Dreier, 1999; Edwards, 2015). When Paul and Wendy’s attempts to rework their possible actions and resolve the misaligned motives in their transaction with the apathetic vocational pupils did not meet any approving gesture, their intention to participate proactively in the realm of action simply faded away (Edwards, 2010a). Their identity did not have enough resilience to create new ways of being for their pupils as well as themselves. The space of the homeroom itself made them feel disempowered; it became a place in which they were reluctant to stay and they even actively avoided if they could.

5.2.3 Negotiating adulthood and affinity in the homeroom

In the classroom, the beginning teachers faced a challenge to present themselves as an adult, a rather unfamiliar positional identity in their life experiences. Their homerooms were an especially difficult space. The cultural figuring of the homeroom teacher as a pastoral leader and disciplinarian held true, yet through ‘the discourse remained submerged, clandestine’

(Holland et al., 1998, p. 153). Unlike subject teaching which explicitly prescribed teaching to the test as the undisputed common goal, no such a *Given discourse* (Gee, 2000) was present regarding how to perform the role of a homeroom teacher. Furthermore, the cultural agreement on a homeroom being a private space gave the novice teachers an inordinate amount of space devoid of intervening voices, thus adding ambiguities in their identity work. The beginning teachers' achieved identities as a homeroom teacher therefore varied considerably depending on the kind of disambiguation they managed to co-construct with their homeroom pupils.

They all aspired to author themselves as approachable and yet authoritative. It was the small age gap between the entrant teachers and their pupils that played a critical role in their self-authoring. The age gap was negotiated and developed its meanings through the complex interplay between the novice teachers' idealised self-images and institutional demands that they faced (Hedegaard, 2012). Its materialisation in practice proved to be double-edged. At times the new teachers could take advantage of the narrow age gap separating them from their pupils as an asset for affinity building (Gee, 2000) by identifying with their pupils' shared interests and practices. The new teachers' age was sometimes stigmatised as indicating their immaturity and feeble authority, not only by their pupils but also by the teachers themselves. That is, their production of self-images as an adult figure in the classroom was constantly renegotiated and refashioned through ongoing social transaction, imbued with varying motives and interests (Stetsenko & Arievidt, 2004). In particular, how they forged a secure balance between the conflicting ideas and expectations surrounding their age and the degrees of power they exercised over defining the terms of the debate were what lay at the heart of their identity work. Wendy stood out for the correlation of her age with immaturity and incompetence. That she could not objectify herself with authority and strict discipline was problematic, as she badly needed these qualities to deal with her pupils, who were generally disruptive and rebellious. By presenting herself as a friendly type she hoped to circumvent possible confrontations and keep

the peace. However, she did not realise that her leniency was unfair to well-behaving pupils who could not concentrate in such a noisy and chaotic classroom.

I hoped if I act friendly, my pupils are going to like me and my subject. But I am being too friendly so they think it is okay to chat away in my classes. I just don't want to stress them, so I've tried not to be strict, but I haven't realised that it's actually disadvantaging other students. (Wendy, 4th interview July 2013)

That is, her novice stage of expert knowledge development only offered Wendy a partial view of her position and of the roles embedded in the complex web of meanings in her classroom settings (Holland et al., 1998), and she therefore ended up misjudging the consequences of her actions, e.g. presenting herself as a friendly type. Yet, she was unable to develop a broader view of the different components of the overall situation as she tended to rely only herself and not others when making sense of her problems and seeking to achieve a sense of control over her own actions (Holland et al., 1998). For instance, Wendy felt uneasy at first when seeing her pupils greeting other teachers with a bow but her with a wave, but she did not reprimand them; she made peace by reasoning with herself that their waving was as not maliciously intended or a sign of ridicule because she was so young. She sought other vocational teachers for help in how to counteract the situation, but their advice was not adopted as an 'internally persuasive discourse' (Holland et al., 1998) as it did not match her objectified self-images.

They [pupils] were simply disrespectful to my face, ignored my words by behaving the opposite of what I was telling them to do, jeering at me. So I asked for advice from a vocational homeroom teacher. Then she told me to make a scene in the classroom, and only then she said that only then they would listen to me [at least in front of me] though they may talk behind my back... I wasn't sure whether to follow her advice since I couldn't see myself pull that off.

(Wendy, 4th interview July 2013)

Her alienated approach to negotiating her adulthood was only exacerbated by the lack of relatable and convincing external voices. Caught in such a vicious circle, she even had to stomach some impudent pupils making a mockery of her in front of the class as she could not

figure out a way out. She confessed her fear that if her relationship with her pupils “turns sour”, it would wreak havoc in her life as a whole:

This is where my life is now. If I have bad relationships, mentally it would be difficult, feeling that I do not belong here, and in my classroom teaching, they would also go even more unresponsive. (Wendy, 5th interview Aug. 2013)

To fight against her fear of rejection in the community, authoring herself as a congenial type, despite her asocial disposition, was in fact the only way she felt she could manage. Keeping the peace, or rather not disturbing a modicum of orderliness, which she only precariously maintained in the classroom, appeared her most urgent motivation in negotiating her age in the classroom. When speaking about her fear of being alienated, she spoke of her traumatic experience of almost being forced out of a Christian meeting group in university. When the stresses and strains of school life evoked and collided with her past trauma, she could easily project what would follow if the history repeated itself. She hoped that authoring herself a friendly and timid junior teacher could pre-empt the possibility. How she negotiated her adulthood as a certain kind actor was shaped by her *history-in-person* (Holland et al., 1998).

In many ways Kate’s self-authoring as a homeroom teacher mirrors that of Wendy, as she also negotiated her age for recognition as a “cool” teacher, but gradually felt that her compassionate attitude backfired on her in many ways. Her pupils regarded her as a teacher who understands and responds in kind unlike other disapproving teachers. She gained access to her pupils’ affinity group by identifying with their ‘distinctive *experience*’ (Gee, 2000, p. 105). In fact, Kate could not relate to other adults, her colleagues and their way of acting as a teacher:

What is difficult for me is that the ways I think are not really different from my pupils. Frankly, I see myself more as a kid [than a teacher]. I can’t really tell good from bad about their behaviours. So say there are certain situations which other teachers see as wrong, thinking what to be done about it; but me I just can’t see it that way ... (Kate, 2nd interview May 2013)

What distinguished Kate from Wendy was that her homeroom pupils saw her younger age and inexperience as a sign that she was in need of their care as much as they needed hers. They were watching each other's back. Here, Kate recounts an anecdote revealing how much her homeroom pupils cared for and looked after her.

The other day we all had to scrub off all the scribbles on the desks in the homeroom. Another Year 1 homeroom teacher happened to have a chat about it when teaching my homeroom pupils. She told them she would be going out to buy some cleaning materials later, then my homeroom pupils asked her as a favour to buy some for me as well. (Kate, 5th interview Dec. 2013)

Kate and her homeroom pupils each allowed the other to make demands on them and invested themselves in responding to those demands. This reciprocity allowed them all to be agentic actors in their homeroom (Hedegaard, 2012). Thanks to her responsive homeroom pupils, Kate became emotionally attached to her identity as a homeroom teacher; as a result, she cared more about and what happened in her homeroom and how her homeroom pupils perceived her (Holland et al., 1998). In response to Kate's commitment to them, her homeroom pupils also became more responsive to Kate's demands on them. A virtuous circle was thus established. However, Kate also faced some upsetting situations where she felt betrayed by her most trusted pupils, who abused her friendliness by demeaning it as her powerlessness. At such testing times especially Kate felt compelled to rethink how she negotiated her adulthood, i.e. as a cool adult in her homeroom, questioning the genuineness of their almost sisterhood-like relationship. Eventually, Kate's choice was to endure through time in the fear of losing the stability of their relationship, which proved to be only precariously maintained. After all, her strategy worked fine with the majority of her homeroom pupils. That is, Kate's motives of maintaining her manner of self-authoring arose out of the general endorsement of her homeroom pupils; they shared the goal of preserving their relationship as sisterhood and the goal was reinforced, 'feeding not only from but also *into* [their] motives' (Stetsenko & Arieviditch, 2004, p. 493).

Emma's identity work as a homeroom teacher also benefited from her younger age. She negotiated her age by appealing to her generational affinity to her homeroom pupils. Her pupils recognised her as a teacher who figures things out without asking them directly.

I didn't tell them how old I am but obviously they can see that I'm young. They say, unlike other teachers, I'm like a big sister understanding and approachable. One day I smelled cigarette smoke when disciplining a truant homeroom pupil. Rather than harshly scolding, I just kindly asked her, "how many a day? How about reducing it? Let's promise?" ... these days I find those pupils who didn't even make eye contact with me before, smile back to me. (Emma, 4th interview Apr. 2013)

However, Emma's motive of negotiating her adulthood as a big sister character, her idealised self-image, often conflicted with her strong desire not allow her homeroom to be institutionally categorised as an outlier homeroom due to her naïve management. For instance, when she found out that an absentee homeroom pupil, to whom she had just devoted considerable time on persuading—rather than forcing—her to stay for the day's after-school courses, had left school without her permission, she was shattered.

So I went in the homeroom [for the after-school L2 English class] and I found she was gone. I couldn't bring myself to utter anything, but only could feel that I was about to start crying. Just choked up, I just fell down on my knees behind the teaching desk to hide and cried ... (Emma, 5th interview May 2013)

Emma's intended identity as a caring and understanding kind hindered her achieving the institutionally expected images of a homeroom teacher who can discipline. At times, Emma found her pupils "too ill-mannered up to the point that it's testing limits" (Emma, 6th interview June 2013), taking advantage of her affability. One pupil even asked her to lend her some money as though Emma was her friend. The measures she took to assist her homeroom pupils' character development such as friendly nagging, well-intended scolding, writing letters of apology, and even corporal punishment were not appreciated and did not work effectively. Her pupils' answers to Emma's well-intended discipline were simply live and let live. How Emma and her homeroom pupils experienced each other, which was largely disappointing, did not

further her motives to continue to act as a devoted carer (Stetsenko & Arieviditch, 2004). These moments of disheartenment were crisis points, feeding Emma's self-consciousness and vulnerability about her novice status. Emma's agency was glimpsed when she departed from how she routinely negotiated her adulthood as a caring and congenial big sister. In the end, she purposefully "stopped holding on to [her homeroom pupils] too much and just let it drop" (Emma, 10th interview Dec. 2013). She finally turned these disappointing encounters into decisive crises to restore the integrity of her identity to achieve a sense of stability and security.

To perform as a homeroom teacher gave the beginning teachers opportunities to assert their own voices. Therefore, what they stood for morally, who they were and who they aspired to be were shown in how they presented themselves in relation to their homeroom pupils. In this process, it was critical to negotiate their adulthood and younger age. There were no explicit discourses prescribing how to engage with the process. In the end, it was a social and relational achievement through the dialectic of the beginning teachers and their homeroom pupils. The kind of social relations and meanings which the new teachers and their homeroom pupils managed to co-construct either facilitated or discouraged the early career teachers' motives to author themselves as 'a certain kind of person' (Gee, 2000, p. 99). They faced some challenging situations and experienced the most turbulent emotions, which shaped their positive or negative verdict on how they were becoming as an adult.

The novice teachers' younger age was negotiated at times as a marker of immaturity and incompetence. At other times it was interpreted as an asset for affinity building, reducing the affective distance between them. For some to appeal for shared generational consciousness with their pupils was the only strategy they could resort in order to survive their situations, even if that meant for them putting up with belittlement. Emotional and psychological security as a homeroom teacher proved to be crucial for the beginning teachers' overall perception of their well-being as a professional teacher. Emma confessed that her day-to-day mood in school, in general, was under the sway of her homeroom dynamics.

It feels subject teaching is the base. I'm a teacher so I teach subject matter. I have to prepare for it so that I can do it well. But what really controls my mood of the day is my homeroom. I don't feel good because my subject teaching goes well, but if I argue with my homeroom pupils, the whole day I feel really bad, and when something good happens in my homeroom, then I'm happy all day.

(Emma, 9th interview Nov. 2013)

Paul also called himself “a half teacher” when losing his grip on his homeroom; he felt he did not have the kind of skills needed for the job. What was problematic was that as he further disengaged himself from his role as a homeroom teacher, it became more difficult for him to develop the kind of expertise needed for him to see it through. Wendy, overwhelmed by the sheer amount of responsibility of a homeroom teacher, missed herself not being a teacher; she wanted to withdraw herself from the world. Kate stood out for being contented with her homeroom life, optimistic that she would only get better. The beginning teachers' lived experience in their homerooms strongly echoes the finding of Holland et al. that:

Salience, identification, and savoir faire appeared to develop together in an interrelated process—a process that was continually supported and shaped in the context of social interaction. (Holland et al., 1998, p. 116)

5.2.4 Summary

- *RQ 2: How does beginning teachers' identity mediate their actions in the classroom?*

It must be noted that what drew the beginning teachers into the world of teaching was the kind of possible actions they hoped to achieve in the classroom with pupils, not with grown-ups, their colleagues. However unorganised or abstract perhaps, they brought certain ideas of how to be into that much-anticipated space. Therefore, the pivotal point in understanding the new teachers' movements in classrooms as an L2 English teacher and homeroom teacher, is to grasp

how they wavered between their carried-over identity, or their early envisioning of self as a moral practitioner and their expected identity in the classroom.

The beginning teachers' initial envisioning of themselves as a subject teacher was heavily imbued with their ITE and the STST's reading of what it means to be an L2 English teacher, that is, as the master of subject matter knowledge—a linguist. Their projection of classroom teaching was thus filled with ideas such as communicative language teaching and Teaching English through English, which proved only fanciful in real world teaching. Under the forceful demand for teaching to the test, trying out their envisioned L2 English teaching proved to be a distant dream. Instead, they had to be an exam coach, following a set of formulaic teaching routines as expected. Yet, what differentiated the degrees of the novice teachers' investment in test-driven pedagogy was their perception of the visibility and homogeneity of the demand that they faced. Due to the culture which entrusts teachers with the responsibility for self-assessment rather than subjecting them to external evaluations, the new teachers, despite their novice status, were not familiar with being formally assessed. Therefore, their pupils' casual remarks in passing and outspoken demands for efficient teaching to the test were perceived as the most vehement assessment by the new teachers. When teaching their academically-driven pupils, they found it easier to pull off their expected identity as an exam coach, as teaching to the test was their shared clear goal. When their motives were readily aligned with those of their pupils, as Hedegaard (2012) observed, the novice teachers engaged with their activity settings of classrooms as more proactive actors by taking their own initiative to prepare and sharpen up their command of teaching to the test. Some of the novice teachers, when spotting room for deviation, made more tenacious efforts to try out their envisioned L2 English teaching even though they were repeatedly cold-shouldered by their pupils. In contrast, when teaching their low-motivated pupils who did not subscribe to test-driven pedagogy, the novice teachers found it more difficult to maintain the minimum standard of lessons; that is, the misaligned motives hindered their proactive engagement with the demand of teaching to the

test. Yet, teaching their uninterested and underperforming pupils did not mean that the novice teachers were freed from their expected duty of producing the pupils' school records with acceptable—rather than embarrassing—exam results, which meant that they had to go the extra mile. For instance, Paul and Wendy had to disclose their actual school exam questions to their pupils and rehearse the answers with them beforehand.

Meanwhile, as homeroom teachers, they projected themselves to achieve certain moral qualities attributable to a good teacher/student relationship. Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate's stories of how the world of teaching became the object of their desire, evinced that Korean society still holds fast to the claims that teaching is an essentially moral activity and the teacher is the paragon of morality, evoking a deep sense of vocation. Though this has perhaps been diluted over time with the changing social fabric of the nation, the beginning teachers' stories confirmed that the traditionalist ideology of teaching still plays a critical role in persuading and recruiting talented South Korean young people into teaching with the desire to join the moral pursuit. Not surprisingly, this cultural-historical construction of teacher identity, which values character and moral fibre, clearly imbued the novice teachers' initial figuring of self-images when interacting with their pupils, e.g. as a democratic teacher and an emphatic listener. Yet, their daily encounters with their homeroom pupils were mediated by what the institutional category of a homeroom teacher entailed, for instance, an enforcer of the school rules and disciplines (Mäkitalo & Säljö, 2002). As their identification with the category of a homeroom teacher was yet to develop (Holland et al., 1998), the novices' performance of the role was immature and even inappropriate at times. They were straddled in 'the "two-worlds" pitfall' (Smagorinsky, Cook, Moore, Jackson, & Fry, 2004, p. 9). They at times authored over-friendly and familiar relationships with their pupils and enforced the school rules mechanically at other times, thus putting themselves and their pupils on opposing sides in bitter confrontations.

However, they were expected to be self-supporting within their homerooms unless there were serious incidents. To survive considerable latitude amid the absence of supervising

eyes, the novice teachers saw it as even more critical and, at the same time, challenging to build a working relationship with their homeroom pupils based on a good rapport. What became apparent to the novice teachers over time was that if they persisted in imposing their initial moral expectations upon themselves as well as their pupils it would do more harm than good. For example, their humanistic orientations towards their pupils, especially the marginalised ones, met with no great empathy. Whilst their loose interpretation and application of school rules was expected, they also needed to relearn what they believed and lived by as their common-sense ethics and rules of social interaction, as they did not work with their pupils. They thus had to work out a new kind of interpersonal competence on a trial and error basis. Reflecting the greater room for manoeuvre granted to the space of homeroom, the mutual shaping between the novice teachers and their homeroom settings was more evident. What was critical in the dialectic was how the novice teachers' vulnerability was experienced by themselves and their homeroom pupils, as strongly illustrated by Kate and Paul in particular. Lasky (2005) observed that teachers' professional vulnerability transpires in two concurrent and yet distinctive forms in practices, *open/willing* and *protective/inefficacious*. Kate who developed some special affinity with her homeroom pupils was more willing to open up her vulnerability; the risks that she took in perhaps losing face was highly regarded by her homeroom pupils, further strengthening their rapport and trust. In contrast, Paul's homeroom pupils were uncaring and tried to prey on his vulnerability, which fuelled his growing distaste for everything that his homeroom pupils represented and drove him to take a defensive attitude towards his envisioned world of teaching and self-images in it.

To restate, the novice teachers' actions as an L2 English teacher were more tightly regulated by the explicit demand for teaching to the test legitimised by common consent; thus they were less antagonistic to the fact that the realisation of their envisioned lessons and pupil/teacher relationship might take different forms of materiality with varying degrees of completeness in reality. Their identity work as a language teacher was, as a result, more finely

tuned to their faced privileged motive. Contrastingly, their identity work in their homerooms, where their expected school identity was not as explicitly vocalised as in their subject classrooms, was more divergent from one another. In particular, some of the novices who had long-held, specific notions of professionalism decided that they would no longer compromise their moral principles and almost gave up on their homeroom pupils; and what was left of them was a dutiful administrator of homeroom care duties. These observations thus point to the fact that the authority—or the mediational power—of what matters in school practices and the legitimacy of the privileged identity in them cannot be simply imposed but has to be negotiated and constructed. Also, it suggests, as Lasky (2005) contended, that the leading motives in practices may have limited influence on changing novice teachers' long-held vision of what it means to be a teacher, especially when the two are contradictory.

5.3 Answering Research Question 3

- *RQ 3: To what extent do beginning teachers become agentic?*

This study postulates that one's agency is achieved when the person's self-understandings are objectified to control and organise their 'sustained "agentive" action' (Holland et al. 1998, p. 278), redirecting the course of their future actions. In other words, agency is intentional actions that are being taken and when they are complete; thus, agency cannot be separated from actions in activities in practices. Through enacting their objectified self-images, one cares for or ignores their faced social worlds (Edwards, 2010a; Holland & Lachicotte, 2007). The findings chapters have highlighted the clash of identities that the beginning teachers underwent, between their initial identity and expected school identity. Their identity wars were more conspicuous in their classrooms as there were hardly any cultural resources which explicitly evoked and opened up a particular *given Discourse* (Gee, 2000) of how to be. Over time they all learnt that to perform their expected school identity was a necessary condition for their participation to

bear any degrees of meaningfulness in the realms of actions; thus their self-censorship of their emergent identity and personal practices was constantly referenced against their demanded identity. Yet, the institutionally prescribed identity and the motives that it embodied were promoted with varying degrees of coerciveness depending on the specific locales they occupied within practices, which allowed the beginning teachers to negotiate different room for manoeuvre. In that space of latitude, they tried to enact their objectified self-images ‘with the aim, *but not the certainty*’ (Holland & Lachicotte, 2007, p. 116) of affecting and reconfiguring their actions in order to achieve their intended identity. The novice teachers’ agency was played out in two distinctive ways. First, it was the degree to which they invested themselves in complying with and advancing the institutionally valued motives. The new teachers felt more obliged not to deviate from their prescribed course of actions when the institutional demands were highly visible through the harmonised voices of those who populated practices, their pupils in particular. When their pupils’ voices were strong and homogeneous in demanding teach to the test, the novice teachers proactively invested themselves in coming up with more effective ways to perform their expected identity as an exam coach and aimed at a masterly performance to reduce their pupils’ admiration of private tutors. This observation strongly evinces that one’s enactment of identity and its transpired semiotic power to affect the person’s capacity of self-control and self-organisation—agency—is not a given but an achievement of the person’s sustained and intentional effort (Holland et al., 1998; Holland & Lachicotte, 2007). Likewise, when the beginning teachers’ intention to sustain their effort to achieve the privileged identity was not reciprocated by their pupils, their motivation for proactive appropriation of the expected identity dwindled. In the end, they made the minimum effort not to deviate from the status quo. This observation attests to Edwards’ (2010a) argument that one’s intention to put forward the leading motives in practices is encouraged or discouraged by the collective morals that shape the nature of social interactions within the practices.

Another way through which the entrant teachers' agency was played out was their commitment towards, and capacity to allow for, their initially envisioned identity such as teaching English through English and promoting humanistic orientations to their pupils. Those who perceived their activity settings as too constraining could not pursue their envisioned teacher/student interaction. Their focus was thus the smooth delivery of the formulaic teaching and completion of their assigned administrative tasks, reinforcing the institutional priorities. In contrast, those who worked out space for manoeuvre tried to enact their imagined teaching. In spite of being labelled as improper and an outcast, they were actively attempting to connect the world they faced and their ideal world, seeking to persuade other participants in practices of the desirability of their idealised world. The novice teachers' tenacity in trying out their dreamt world of teaching supports the observation by Holland et al. (1998) that new recruits join and participate in cultural worlds with certain 'dispositional, out-of-awareness orientations' (p. 294) towards them. This cultural disposition enabled the new teachers to author themselves as a *particular* participant 'taking a moral stand, speaking and acting from a commitment' (Stetsenko & Arievidtch, 2004, p. 495) with the potential to remake their participating social worlds.

The novice teachers authored themselves with varying degrees of agency, depending on their perceived degrees of intensity and homogeneity of the voices demanding them to abide by the institutionally sanctioned values and motives (Edwards, 2010a). What mattered in practices foregrounded the beginning teachers' calculation of possible identity and actions. Yet, they also launched their imagined world, putting their own demands on reality (Hedegaard, 2012). This complex and ongoing engagement with each other's demands was the heart of the clash between their carried-over identity and their expected school identity. It was therefore critical to understand why they enacted certain self-images over others. Also, relevant was the origin of those self-images that were enacted and eventually refashioned their senses of self and their personal practices. As Dreier (1999) noted, their uniqueness as the person in practices took its form in connection with the diverse motives and goals recognised in practices. The novice

teachers' patterns of participation in practices, whether they authored themselves more as a conformist and less a rebel or the vice versa, endorsed a vision that one's practiced agency—materialised through their identity work—is, in essence, a relational achievement requiring the social capacity to coordinate different motives in practices (Edwards, 2010a, 2017).

5.4 Summary

The fact that both of the schools were nested in the broader socio-political contexts of South Korea led to some resemblance between their practices, posing not dissimilar challenges to Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate. However, each of the novice teacher's trajectories of how they navigated, acted in and on practices were a unique achievement, revealing how they aligned their personal motives in relation to the cultural, historical and social possibilities and aspirations they recognised in practices, not only to respond to what mattered in practices but also to take forward their personal motives of participation (Holland et al., 1998). The materialised worlds of teaching they faced were a complex amalgam of activities 'collective, purposeful, knowledge-laden, imbued with cultural values, emotionally freighted and open to change' (Edwards, 2010a, p. 110). In their staffrooms the beginning teachers attributed varying degrees of validity to their seniors' voices and their departments' promoted group identity, depending on their compatibility with their own theory of teaching, dispositions and personal interests. In doing so they developed personal stance towards their seniors' voices, which often relayed conflicting images of how to be as a teacher. Their voices together configured a unique tool of the novice teachers' identity work, which both enabled and constrained the possibilities of how to position themselves as an organisational member. In the classroom, they faced teaching to the test as pervasive and entrenched for academic excellence. The striking resemblance between the activity settings of their L2 English lessons, shown, for example, in the way that they edited out the untested, and hence surplus speaking and writing parts in their official textbooks, demonstrated that test-driven motive reigned supreme at the school level.

Yet, the visibility and homogeneity of the voices demanding teaching to the test mediated their degree of freedom and opportunity to deviate from their prescribed identity and pursue their envisioned L2 English teaching. Meanwhile, they also faced the classroom settings without any virtuous goals to work on, which prompted them to take pains to create new meanings and goals, hence new activities to ignite a sense of purpose in their pupils. In the process, they proved themselves as agentic social actors with the power to fashion and refashion their senses of self. When they entered their schools, they became the writers of institutional histories, which points to the dialectic of their emergent identity and personal practices and the particular settings of institutional practices.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and discussion

The findings chapters have shown that the beginning teachers' learning in their first year in professional teaching was indeed a challenging process of identification: 'the formation of a concept of self as an actor in the culturally devised system' (Holland et al., 1998, p. 120). They have also shown that to delve into how the new teachers navigated practices and negotiated their identity begged the question of how they waded through the conflicting ideas of what it means, to various stakeholders, to be a teacher; that is, how this fundamentally cultural-historical question of identity was interpreted and answered by varying voices in practices and how the new teachers orchestrated the multiple voices often relaying conflicting motives.

As addressed in RQ 1, the beginning teachers had only vague ideas about themselves as staff members in administrative departments. Facing the non-teaching aspects of being a teacher, without either prior training or structured support on site, the new teachers' carried-over identities, such as their disposition and general cultural learning about how to behave as the youngest member in work settings with a strong seniority culture, played a significant role in shaping how they navigated and engaged with their departmental practices. The beginning teachers' initial identity also mediated how they interpreted and responded to the senior colleagues in their staffrooms, whose voices played a critical role in shaping the departmental norms and priorities. When the new teachers could endorse and identify with their seniors' views, their participation was directed to take forward the collective's priorities. The novice teachers' learning of their departments' norms and priorities was also shown to be more straightforward and prompt when what mattered in practices was explicitly communicated and thus highly visible, as instantiated in Emma and Kate's cases.

Meanwhile, as considered in addressing RQ 2, a tough tussle was played out in the classroom between the novice teachers' carried-over identity and the expected school identity, pre-objectified against the frame of meanings which regulated and reinforced the status quo practices. As Ruohotie-Lyhty (2013) and Tsui (2007) observed, the beginning teachers were

confused to find that the moral precepts which laid the bedrock of their initial envisioning of themselves as teachers were not merely not as valid as they had projected in their classroom settings, but perhaps even entirely untenable. The kind of L2 English lessons which they envisioned to be authentic and legitimate was cold shouldered as ineffective and even deleterious as what mattered in L2 English lessons was teaching to the test and their expected school identity as subject teachers was that of skilful exam coaches. Yet their responses to this demand, or how they calculated their possibilities for action and enacted them in their respective classrooms, varied greatly depending on their capacity to (re)align, integrate and enact the different motives of L2 English lessons of teaching to the test, or what mattered in school practices, on the one hand and their initial envisioning of L2 English lessons on the other. In the meanwhile, homerooms proved a testing setting for all of the novice teachers. Without prior training and structured support on site they had to manage their homerooms almost as a one-man band. Therefore, their initial ideas of how the world of teaching should be and their self-images in it as well as their dispositions were pulled together and relied on as critical resources to organise their actions in their homerooms. The self-reliant nature of their identity work as a homeroom teacher implied that when their own system of homeroom management was not endorsed by their homeroom pupils, and thus did not work, it was hard for them to regain control in the space and sustain their identity as a committed homeroom teacher, as clearly shown in Paul's case.

However challenging they found it, the new teachers had no intention of leaving the hard-won world, discounting not fitting in as an option. They all managed to devise their own ways to live with the multiple, often conflicting, voices in their materialised worlds of teaching as departmental staff members, L2 English teachers and homeroom teachers. They took their chosen paths to orchestrate those different voices and (re)align their own intentions, and shape and reshape their actions in and on practices. As addressed in RQ 3, the crux of understanding the nature of their agency achieved through their identity work was to grasp how their actions in

and on practices came about, that is, how the intentions behind their actions arose and were negotiated and eventually materialised in practice, and how engrossed the beginning teachers were in realising those intentions by continuously assessing and fashioning and refashioning their actions in and on practices. A critical point of note was that the beginning teachers' agency was a social and relational achievement. It depended on social efficacy in relation to all those who populated and collectively shaped and operated the materialised worlds of teaching. The beginning teachers' perceived degrees of social efficacy in their respective social settings in school, such as their pupils' collective endorsement and support for their particular instructional actions, mediated how they invested themselves to sustain themselves as agentic actors in performing their assigned roles.

The final chapter first considers how the study contributes to research knowledge in broadly two respects: first, it illustrates how a cultural-historical approach can be applied to conceptualise and analyse the learning of language teachers as a dialectic process; and second, it provides a new reading of what it means to be a teacher in South Korea, revealing the contradictory discourses surrounding the nation's teacher professionalism. The chapter then continues to discuss the implications of the study for organising the nation's teacher learning policy and practice by putting forward two broad recommendations: first, if universities in South Korea aspire to act as a powerful intervention for teacher preparation, they should organise the kind of learning opportunities that will nurture the relevance and resilience of student teachers' identity; and second, if the nation's schools aspire to serve as an institution for social transformation, I would argue, they should also concern themselves with teachers' learning and how they could support teachers' professional learning for self-empowerment. As a way forward, I would suggest promoting relational work amongst teachers (Edwards, 2010a) in school as an additional layer of professional expertise. The chapter concludes by suggesting avenues for further research, followed by closing remarks.

6.1 Contribution to research knowledge

This section discusses the study's contribution to research knowledge in two respects: first, it is an original attempt to investigate language teacher learning as a dialectical process and second, it provides a critical reading of what it means to be a teacher in South Korea, revealing the conflicting discourses surrounding the nation's teacher professionalism.

6.1.1 A cultural-historical analysis of language teacher learning

The study highlighted the problem that although the field of SLTE has embraced a sociocultural turn in human science, there still exists a paucity of empirical research into language teacher learning from this theoretical perspective. It also pointed out that the current SLTE literature as a whole lacks theory-driven investigation. The present study is a meaningful attempt to address those problems. Vygotsky has certainly been a prominent voice, which figures frequently in the extant sociocultural research of L2 teacher learning. However, I am sceptical whether the field has made a concerted effort to be conversant with the current theoretical debate on the Soviet psychologist's legacy in terms of their choices of design and methodological strategies. This very aspect is an achievement of the study. In his writing of *Vygotsky in Context*, the foreword to Vygotsky's (1986) *Thought and Language*, Kozulin observed that Vygotsky and his collaborators were pursuing a distinct methodology, that is, 'instrumental, developmental, and cultural-historical' (p. xxvii). The insistence upon genetic analysis encapsulates the Soviet scholar's convictions that any authentic apprehension of the development of mind becomes possible 'only through a study of its origin and history' (p. xxviii). With this in mind, the study pursued a cultural-historical line of post-Vygotskian theories and its empirical focus on the dialectic unity of a person and practices to investigate the nature of beginning teachers' learning and development in their first year in teaching.

Yet, the study also goes a step further. It takes up an enduring challenge amongst post-Vygotskian researchers, that is, to investigate empirically how the social connects to and plays

out in the development of mind, an aspect about which Vygotsky was less eloquent (Daniels, 2007; Wertsch, 1991). By integrating the work of Holland et al. (1998) with that of Hedegaard (2012), the study devised a language of description to analyse how the social and the personal interweave together in the making of a teacher. At heart, Holland and her colleagues' account of identity formation is dialogic and developmental, drawing on Bakhtin and Vygotsky.

Bakhtin's concern with the social weighing of expression and the creative life of association, combined with Vygotsky's emphases on historical development and on the potentiality of symbols for (re)formation, affords a means by which "cultural studies of the person" may avoid a common conceptual dilemma—one that traps persons permanently, either in "cultural logics" or in "subject positions" or in some combination of the two. This is our objective here: to respect humans as social and cultural creatures and therefore bounded, yet to recognize the processes whereby human collectives and individuals often move themselves—led by hope, desperation, or even playfulness, but certainly by no rational plan—from one set of socially and culturally formed subjectivities to another. (Holland et al., 1998, pp. 6-7)

Daniels (2007) acknowledged Holland and her colleagues' efforts to comprehend how social positioning turns into dispositional identity, yet questioned their theory's analytic capacity to explain the social process of how varying voices in a figured world are expressed, shared, contested and reconciled, eventually reshaping the materialities of the world. He wrote:

They [Holland et al. (1998)] argue for the development of social position into a positional identity into disposition and the formation of what Bourdieu refers to as 'habitus'. It is here that I feel that this argument could be strengthened through reference to a theoretical account which provides greater descriptive and analytical purchase on the principles of regulation of the social figured world, the possibilities for social position and the voice of participants. (Daniels, 2007, p. 96)

I agree with his criticism. Holland et al.'s (1998) analytic primacy was individuals' creativity in internalising and externalising available resources to organise how to be while living in and across multiple social worlds. Meanwhile, Hedegaard's (2012) motive was clearly to devise a heuristic that would capture 'the social principles' (Daniels, 2007, p. 95) which regulate children's learning and development across different institutional settings. Hedegaard's vocabulary for capturing the social process was that of motives and demands in practices. She

argued that it would be revealed in how conflictual demands are negotiated and resolved and how clashing motives in practices are aligned and realigned, revealing the entailed structure of power and control. Meanwhile, she also attempted to remedy the ways in which a subject is theorised in Leontievan activity theory, that is, its downplay of a person as an agentic actor, as Stetsenko and Arieivitch (2004) put it:

... the human self has no history, and no logic of functioning and developing, beyond the history and logic of functioning and developing of human practical purposeful activity. (Stetsenko & Arieivitch, 2004, p. 484)

To restate, Holland et al. (1998) provided the study with the vantage point to understand novice teachers' learning in practices as a developmental-dialogical process, whilst Hedegaard's (2012) idea of an *activity setting*, embodying Vygotsky's idea of a *social situation of development*, allowed the study to analyse the social transactions in the developmental-dialogic process, proposing that the hegemonic discourses and artefacts in school practices are not social impositions but opportunities. Hedegaard's attribution of practices to institutional traditions and of activities to the person's actions was also useful to further delineate the layers involved in the dialectic of the person and practices. Together they present the field of SLTE with a language of description of language teachers' learning and development as a dialectic process.

6.1.2 A critical reading of what it means to be an L2 English teacher

The conception of the present study was motivated by a series of casual comparisons that I made about ITE provision between South Korea and England. I never thought that teacher shortage and attrition could be serious problems in any developed country. I was also dumbfounded by the amount of course time that PGCE students in the Oxford Internship Scheme spent on school placements and at the same time confused by the idea that local schools select new teachers by themselves not via a national competitive test. These diverse practices of ITE provision and teacher employment certainly begged the question of how the activity of teaching is conceived and what it means to be a teacher in different cultures.

The study reveals the contradicting discourses surrounding teacher professionalism and professionalisation in South Korea and how the nation's teacher education system has been less than successful in keeping abreast with the changing landscape of teaching. The nation's public school teachers are recruited into a *national* team of civil servants 'for duties in schools'; the italicised 's' indicates 'approved, defined, controlled by the central state' (Beattie, 1996, p. 11). That is, the state's selection priority is not teacher candidates' adaptability to specific settings of school practices, but whether they possess a set of transferable skills and knowledge—e.g. subject mastery—in order for the equitable allocation of human resources across schools, at least in principle. As the very tool of the state control, the selective teacher employment test has certainly brought up a new generation of L2 English teachers, highly competent linguists like Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate.

As subject masters, they are expected to carry the kind of characters which would naturally make them good teachers in practices. What the present study reveals, however, is a different picture. Subject-matter competence which has been pushed as the almost exclusive measure of teacher professionalism by both the nation's L2 English ITE programmes and the teacher employment test alike has not proved to be sufficient, challenging the assumption that 'subject competence and 'personal qualities' are two sides of a single coin' (Beattie, 1996, p. 21). The study indeed adds weights to Kim's (2007) argument that South Korea's teacher quality control is in fact managed by university admissions, not by ITE provision. That is, university hopefuls for ITE, in particular, those applying for and accepted into Bachelor of Education courses, are from the top tier of high school academic cohort (Auguste, Kihn & Miller, 2010). Still, the nation's ITE programmes, as Kim (2007) observed, have failed their purpose of nurturing 'excellent human talent into excellent teachers' (p. 69). As illustrated, the novice teachers found themselves inadequate to the task of being *a* teacher for *a* particular class of pupils in *a* school; the italicised '*a[an]*' in each case indicates 'specific, given, particular' (Beattie, 1996, p. 11). *A priori* knowledge of teaching which they spent hours learning by heart

and hoped to rely on as their pedagogy proved to be ‘false security’ (Goodwin, 2010, p. 24). For some of them, the mismatches between their idealised and demanded identities were such that they even yearned to revert to their former identity as a STST candidate. In short, the kind of teachers that are being formed, selected, and put on duty through South Korea’s ITE and the employment process is in fact disengaged and disconnected from the kind of teachers needed in flesh-and-blood schools, those who can responsively act in and on the (new) demands in the country’s ever-changing landscape of schooling. The study strongly resonates with Craig’s (2013) assertion that legitimate teacher knowledge is born of *practical knowing*, ‘organic, intuitive kinds of teacher knowing’ (p. 26) negotiated from practices. What ITE in South Korea should aim for is to equip student teachers with the capacity to create *in situ* knowledge that provides them with practicable responses to address the day-to-day exigencies of school life.

Meanwhile, the present study also provides strong evidence that beginning teachers are challenged not only by the multiplicity of their expected school identities, often experienced as conflicting and even mutually exclusive, but also by the changing expectations within their demanded identities. For instance, in South Korea the notion of a teacher as the authority of subject knowledge has long been seriously challenged by the ever-intensifying private education fever, both online and off-line. There are so-called “rock star” tutors being paid millions for their online exam coaching (Fifield, 2014). The study indicates that when supposedly ‘quality’ subject teaching—or rather exam coaching—has become a commodity, easily purchasable and streamable anytime and anywhere that suits pupils’ wants, the legitimacy of the traditional set-up of subject teaching, not only bound to the physical space and time but also reliant on an individual teacher assigned at random, becomes hard to defend. In fact, the nation’s effort to transform her educational landscape, what education should be for in the 21st century, is in fact panning out. For instance, the website, <http://edufor21.kbs.co.kr>, the programme website for a documentary series titled *Educational Transformation in the 21st Century* on KBS (the national public broadcaster of South Korea), provides a good idea as to

how various new ideas of schooling and classroom teaching have been introduced and tried nationwide. Meanwhile, in the materialised worlds of teaching the beginning teachers were enmeshed in the frenzied pursuit of test-driven pedagogy which trivialised—wittingly and unwittingly—principled and yet empathetic discipline for pupils’ character education, one of the foundational principles of the institution of public education. In both Greenfield and Springfield, the academically uninterested pupils, marginalised and alienated, developed passive and non-participating tendencies and even disruptive and unruly behaviour in the classroom. When the beginning teachers could not deal with these fundamental issues, their effective subject teaching could not happen either. The study thus points to the conclusion that the relentless pursuit of test-driven pedagogy has ironically increased the need for character education. To restate, the study illustrates the consequences of the nation’s uncompromising test-driven pedagogy making no allowances for the changing landscape of teaching and schooling in South Korea, and thus sends out a strong message that the nation’s cultural figuring of the institution of schooling needs to be reinvented to justify and reinvigorate its existence. Supporting the ideas of Sachs (2001), I would argue in light of the evidence presented in this study that one way to change the public conception of what teaching is for and the teacher’s role in it is through the mission of designing a new identity of the teacher.

6.2 Implications for teacher education policy and practice

In light of the findings of the study, three recommendations are put forward to reinvent teacher education and teacher identity in South Korea. First, the nation’s ITE universities should endeavour to enhance the relevance of student teachers’ identity to what happens in school practices by transcending the conception of learning to teach as an individual cognitive process, and recognising its deeply affective and social nature embedded in broader cultural, historical and institutional contexts (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2013). Second, ITE should assist student teachers to develop a resilient initial identity by supporting their concept development in the Vygotskian

sense (Smagorinsky et al., 2013). Third, local schools should organise in-school induction programmes based on collaborative inquiries whereby new teachers are viewed as equal participants and supported to feel safe to speak up and be heard so that what they bring to practices can also be utilised as resources for their self-empowerment and development.

6.2.1 Enhancing relevance of ITE to what happens in school

Although it was not a direct interest of the study to delve into how the beginning teachers' experience of ITE has a bearing on their identity work in school practices, the findings chapters indicated that it is essential to understand that particular history of the teachers and its enduring influence upon their professional life if one aims to penetrate the intricacies of their self-authoring as real-world teachers. This observation, whilst warranting a historical analysis in grasping the complications in novice teachers' boundary crossing from university to school, also supports Mutton et al. (2010) in arguing for the possibilities of ITE as a powerful intervention to support student teachers to develop a strong yet flexible identity, or what Mok (2005) called 'a disposition toward expert teaching' (p. 49).

6.2.1.1 Figuring teaching as a real-life activity

Echoing the much reported praxis shock of beginning teachers (Caspersen & Raaen, 2014; Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002; Veenman, 1984; Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998), Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate's learning to live by what matters in practices proved to be more burdensome than they bargained for. They almost overturned their initial figuring of the world of teaching and their role in it for being too narrow and superficial. Their early identity was instilled with what their universities inculcated as 'authentic' L2 English classroom teaching, such as TETE and communicative language teaching, whereas in school they were expected to be an exam coach, caught up in frenetic cycles of teaching to the test and test administration. At the same time, their linguistically oriented initial identity left them unprepared to identify with their non-instructional duties, such as interacting with their homeroom pupils as

individuals with diverse needs, varying aspirations and willingness to participate, which required a great deal of emotional and interpersonal commitment and investment.

These observations pose the much-debated question of how to define the knowledge base of teaching and, by extension, that of ITE (Ben-Peretz, 2011; Cochran-Smith, 2005; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999). I would suggest that ITE policy and practices in South Korea be conceived with close reference to what happens in practices in order to enhance the relevance of beginning teachers' identity. To do so, ITE should support student teachers to conceptualise teaching and learning to teach as inherently cognitive, affective and conative activities embedded in broader sociocultural contexts and eventually to negotiate a situationally relevant and practical identity. For instance, Shulman and Shulman's (2004) proposal shown in Figure 6.1, can provide a useful point of departure. They conceptualised teaching and teacher learning as the interconnected layers of individual, community and policy and asserted that teacher education should be planned, enacted and assessed in tandem with the cultural, historical and institutional contexts in which it is embedded.

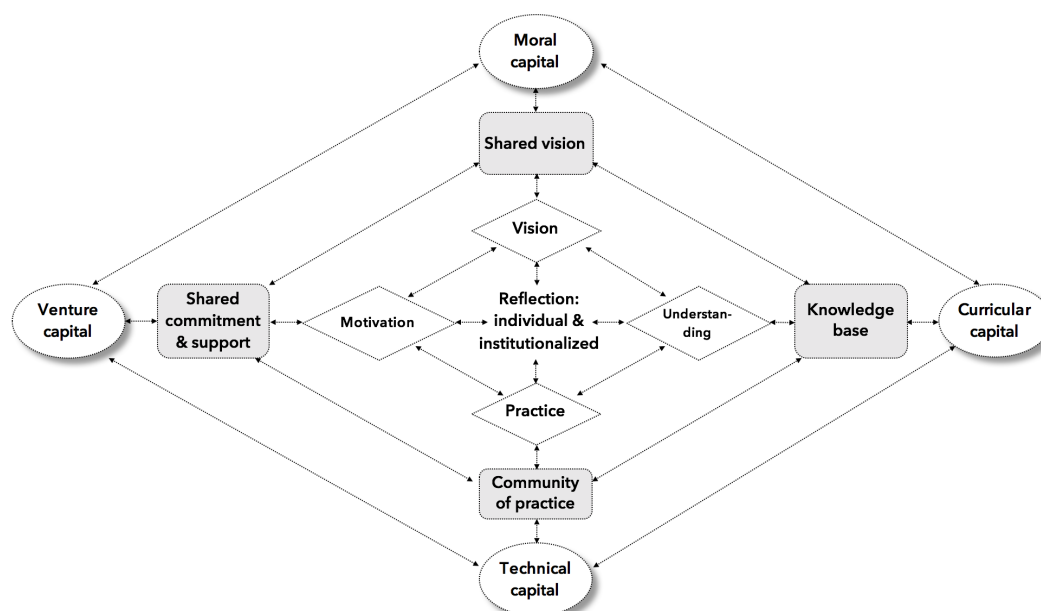


Figure 6.1: Model of teacher learning and development (Shulman & Shulman, 2004)

They also proposed a whole person approach to what it means to be a teacher by describing, what they called, an *accomplished teacher* as: 'Ready (possessing vision), Willing (having

motivation), Able (both knowing and being able ‘to do’), Reflective (learning from experience), and Communal (acting as a member of a professional community)’ (p. 259). In other words, they recognised that great vision alone cannot make a teacher, and neither can high motivation, deep understanding of subject knowledge or deliberation. Teacher development instead requires a well-balanced development across all the identified cognitive, affective and conative qualities. Crucially, what conceptual models such as Shulman and Shulman above offer to ITE is the settings for the dialectic of student teachers’ personal theories of teaching and research-based understanding. That way, as Hagger and McIntyre (2000) noted, the need to nurture student teachers as critical consumers of educational research can be met. Ultimately, student teachers would develop and experiment with their personal theories of teaching formulated on the basis of a research-informed, contextualised understanding of what teaching entails in reality. Cultivating this individual capacity should be considered as a critical project to expand and refine student teachers’ ‘toolkit’ (Wertsch, 1991), a well-organised system of mediational tools at the ready to facilitate their critical engagement with everyday yet important demands that would actually arise in the materialised worlds of (L2 English) teaching. Such a reconceptualisation would nurture student teachers in South Korea with the kind of disposition powerful and practical in flesh-and-blood schools. Lin, Schwartz and Hatano (2005), noting that seemingly mundane and routine issues that teachers deal with daily in practices are in fact ill-defined problems with hidden novelty, argued that they need to develop a specific form of metacognition, *adaptive metacognition*, for detecting and contextualising the particularities—conflicting values, different life histories and goals at play—in their problem situations to bring about differentiated solutions. In this light, to support student teachers to develop adoptive metacognition is to nurture their disposition for what Mantero (2004) called *transcendence*, the capacity to engage critically with discrepancies in practices for enhanced practices. That is, it takes a pedagogy of metacognition and action with sensitivity to practices to bring up beginning teachers with a disposition for expert teaching and to sustain this attitude (Mok, 2005).

6.2.1.2 Incorporating social pedagogy for homeroom management

The findings chapters suggested that to perform the role of a homeroom teacher proved to make or break a teacher as strongly evinced in Paul and Wendy's day-to-day struggle in their homerooms. The beginning teachers' linguistically oriented self-images lacked relevance and were of almost no use in working out the kind of identity needed to perform the role. They were clueless about how to deal with truancy, bullying, victimisation, violence and similar issues and easily exhausted their time and energy in dealing with their problem pupils, at the expense of those who were well behaved. Amid the near-absence of their identification with the space of the homeroom, the kind of responses they could produce to the contingent problems in their homerooms were only superficial and ad-hoc, which further complicated their identity work (Holland et al., 1998). Some suffered a sense of loss and emotional distress when their improvised self-images as a trusted adult did not work as anticipated and were simply rejected. For fear of being reprimanded for their incompetent homeroom management and becoming the subject of school gossip, as Holland et al. (1998) observed, they sought for rules and maxims to follow mechanically rather than devising their own actions; they delegated their authorial power as a homeroom teacher to others by 'scoping out the crowd' (p. 117).

A significant observation was that the novice teachers felt helpless, but created the varying degrees of academic/pastoral divide (Addison, 2012), within which they found it hard to strike a balance between subject teaching and homeroom management, tending to develop a stronger affinity with subject teaching which they experienced as more manageable both cognitively and affectively. When they felt their homeroom management slipping out of their control, they blamed themselves for being only a 'half teacher'. These observations suggest that the duty of pastoral care entailed in the category of a homeroom teacher is a culturally specific and critical domain of the knowledge base of teaching in South Korea. That is, the category of a homeroom teacher embodied the nation's traditional figuring of the teacher's work as a moral activity, calling a teacher to act as a 'social pedagogue' (Hämäläinen, 2003;

Kyriacou, 2015, 2016), or an agent of *social pedagogy*. Here my understanding of social pedagogy follows that put forward by Kyriacou (2015):

Typical activities [of social pedagogy] include (i) mentoring; (ii) offering advice and direct help; (iii) liaising with others and offering advocacy on behalf of the pupil and (iv) shared creative and social activities designed to enhance personal development, social engagement and well-being. In essence, social pedagogy is about caring, educating, socialising and empowering. (Kyriacou, 2015, p. 430)

Yet, the current ITE in South Korea rarely offers student teachers opportunities to be aware of and critically and practically engage with the culturally prescribed identity of a social pedagogue. For instance, Yang, Jun, Seo and Witz (2007) reported a sophomore student teacher's criticism of the pedagogy courses in her university for being turned into exam coaching services for the STST. The novice teachers' 'ideological meltdown' (Smagorinsky et al., 2004, p. 22) as a homeroom teacher was therefore a foregone conclusion to a great degree. If they had been supported to develop awareness of and experience the sheer scope and depth of moral demands to be faced in reality, they could have certainly developed at least a less abstract and romantic initial identity. Schjetne, Afdal, Anker, Johannesen and Afdal (2016) showed how an ITE programme based on the idea of morality as a situated activity can support student teachers to develop moral competence by providing them with the opportunities to internalise and externalise everyday moral issues in school practices through the cycle of 'articulation, disturbance and expansion' (p. 29) to arrive 'empirical ethics' (p. 35). Meanwhile, the new teachers felt that the quality of care they could manage was further compromised, thus inadvertently disadvantaging their homeroom pupils as they were expected to deal with their homeroom duties single-handedly from the very first day in school with no structured guidance. This finding adds weight to Schoeman's (2015) argument that the role of pastoral care duties should not be left as a matter for individual teachers but as that for schools as a whole, if it aims to realise its purpose as a powerful intervention to serve pupils as individuals with integrated needs and eventually to improve their life chances.

Further, I strongly feel that student teachers should be inducted into social pedagogy as a universal care for the young rather than only for those identified few. As the four beginning teachers' stories illustrated, it was only a matter of time before their homeroom pupils who were apparently doing fine proved to be, in fact, deeply troubled and vulnerable. I would argue that a way to cultivate student teacher's initial identity as a social pedagogue is by sensitising them to the notion of *diversity*. Goodwin's insistence on diversity was conceived as the basis of the sociological competence of 'globally competent teachers' (p. 19) in the US context in particular, but her observation has far-reaching implications beyond. She wrote:

teacher preparation will need to become uncomfortable, a space for interrupting low expectations, deficit thinking, racism, classism, xenophobia, and all other kinds of isms, if our intention is to develop teachers who can uphold the rights of children and are equipped to interrupt schooling practices that are discriminatory and harmful (Goodwin, 2010, p. 26)

The difficulties the beginning teachers experienced in their homerooms were to a large extent derived from the fact that they were not prepared to engage with the diversity inherent in their homeroom pupils' life situations and needs. Addison (2012) made a strong case that teachers' care, articulation and action in defence of diversity/individuality matters for the pupils of today, and hence is integral to the professional morals with which ITE should inculcate student teachers, noting that their developmental possibilities are saturated with 'the uncertainty generated by ... the constructive and destructive wonder of digital technology' (p. 312).

So far, I have called for ITE providers in South Korea to reconceptualise their conception of teaching, making it better aligned it to what materialised forms of teaching entails in reality, and consequently enhancing the relevance of novice teachers' identity to what happens and thus matters in school practices. I have proposed the idea of teaching as a dynamic activity invariably tied to and materialising through the complex interweaving of individual, community and policy, requiring teachers' **cognitive, affective and conative commitment and investment**. I also have noted the significance of the category of a homeroom teacher as a culturally specific, and thus highly relevant, knowledge base for South Korean student teachers.

In this regard, I have called for incorporating social pedagogy into the ITE curriculum so that prospective teachers could gain more practical capacity to engage with everyday and yet critical issues and problems faced by their pupils. Yet, the problem of the relevance of novice teachers' identity is only one side of the coin. In what follows, I would argue that ITE should also endeavour to nurture the resilience of learner teachers' initial identity.

6.2.2 Building resilient initial identity

The findings chapters suggested that in the early days in school, the beginning teachers' precursory projections of themselves as L2 English teachers, albeit with the varying degrees of concretisation and commitment, were relied upon as a critical means by which they organised their actions in the classroom. However, they were soon acutely aware of the one and only privileged form of subject teaching as teaching to the test and gradually distanced themselves from—invalidated or at least delayed—their initially envisioned L2 teaching, labelling it as incompatible with their expected identity. Given that demand for teaching to the test was fierce and that L2 English mattered in the subject hierarchy in the status quo, it is understandable why they settled for the customary instruction, heavily focused on high-frequency vocabulary and grammar rules; it was of clear survival value. Yet, teaching to the test did not straightjacket their instructional choices entirely. In fact, they recognised considerable latitude present and tried to work out their personalised practices of teaching to the test whilst incorporating their envisioned L2 teaching. Yet, their experiments tended to be short-lived. Instead, they settled for almost scripted formulaic instruction; that is, their self-images as a subject teacher were not sufficiently resilient to enable them to engage critically and creatively with the leading motive.

6.2.2.1 Aiming at developing true concepts

Jho (2013) provided a revealing snapshot of how the current ITE in South Korea, and the school placement in particular, offers student teachers few opportunities to engage with what matters

in school practices. He observed that many universities pass the humbling job of seeking access to placement schools to individual students, forestalling their direct involvement from the outset. Meanwhile, local schools are reluctant to become partner schools, which is jokingly described as ‘passing the bomb’ to other schools. As a result, student teachers are forced out of desperation to ask their alma maters for help, turning to their former homeroom teachers to accept them as placement teachers. Jho (2013) also observed that some schools do not allocate teaching hours at all to placement teachers in the name of protecting pupils’ right to learn; and that the selection of mentor teachers is often unprincipled, either shifted onto younger teachers or reluctantly borne by teachers taking turns in rotation for the sake of fairness. Reflecting the customary *laissez-faire* management of school placement of ITE in South Korea, Chung et al. (2011) indicated that it was the attitudes of mentor teachers, assigned at random, that shaped student teachers’ perception of the quality of their experience in school. Also, it was argued that as the school placement falls within the senior year, the time at which student teachers are toiling day by day to pass the highly selective STST at the end of the year, the identity of an STST candidate overwhelms that of a placement teacher (Chung et al., 2011). To be successful in the competitive test, student teachers need to pass the first round of written exams on theories of SLA and pedagogy. This means that they have to spend practically the last whole year of ITE, the critical time right before entering real world teaching, on revising an array of theories.

Smagorinsky, Cook and Johnson (2003) claimed that a problem with ITE pedagogy, in general, is ‘not too much theory, but too little concept’ (p. 3), which they blamed as the culprit for beginning teachers’ fragile identity. Drawing on Vygotsky’s (1987) assertion that ‘in the course of development, a learner goes from the highly associative complex, to the apparently conceptual yet internally contradictory pseudoconcept, to the unified concept’ (p. 5), they observed that student teachers’ learning to teach tends to be stranded in the stages of complexes and pseudoconcepts, as ITE largely overlooks the critical role that practices play as ‘the worldly experience through which a concept derives its grounding, coherence and meaning’ (p. 11).

They argued that student teachers' conceptual solidarity will serve as the springboard for them to respond as adaptable learners to varying motives in school practices. I strongly concur with their argument and contented that the beginning teachers' swift resort to formulaic teaching was attributable, in part, to the fact that their ITE hardly supported their concept development. Goodwin (2010) demanded that ITE be planned and experienced as a transitioning period transforming student teachers' senses of self. For that end she called for ITE to 'facilitate a conscious intersection of student teachers' autobiographies and the formal curriculum' (p. 23), enabling student teachers to experience the activity of teaching through the dialectical unity of *everyday concepts* and *academic concepts*. Lacking such experience in their ITE, Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate's initial self-images as a subject teacher were saturated with decontextualised ideas of supposedly 'authentic' L2 English teaching, and yet disconnected from their everyday and lived experiences of L2 English teaching and learning. They also tended to rely on their personal theories of teaching as conclusive reasons rather than propositions open to re-examination. As a result, their initial self-images as L2 English teachers were too fragile to be used as powerful tools in critically and creatively responding to the leading motive of teaching to the test. Without 'the capacity to think in and act through *true concepts*' (Johnson & Golombek, 2016, p. 6), they could neither engage responsively with the demand nor defend their actions with theoretically sound reasoning.

Derry's (2013a; 2013b) idea of the *space of reasons* is useful to construct a mental image of ITE as a mediational space which supports student teachers in internalising and externalising true concepts. Drawing on Robert Brandom's *inferentialism*, she rejected the conventional account of knowing which 'privileges representation over inference' (2013a, p. 228) and instead claimed that to arrive at knowing is to immerse oneself in the systems of inferences, or the *space of reasons*, which antedates one's intention to reason. She wrote:

in order to make a claim of knowing we are not, as commonly thought, giving a description of an event but placing our claims about it in a space of reasons—that is to say, making claims on the basis of knowing what follows from them and what it is necessary to assume in order to make them in the first place. (Derry, 2013b, p. 2)

That is, it is the activity of ‘giving and asking for reasons’ (Derry, 2013a, p. 230) that gives rise to knowing, where the knower experiments with the inferential structure of a concept and develops ‘the practical know-how to situate that response in a network of inferential relations—to tell what follows from something..., what would be evidence for it, what would be incompatible with it, and so on’ (Derry, 2013a, p. 229) and eventually becomes capable of making reasoned judgement. Edwards (in press) argued for the potential of the idea of the space of reasons for creating a democratic learning zone where all participants feel safe and entitled to articulate and defend their own and interrogate each other’s reasons.

The intention, instead, is to create a site where it is legitimate for all participants to ask for and be asked for reasons for the claims they make. In this way sense-making is made visible and learners are encouraged to explore the implications of their current understandings and test their implications as they engage with public meanings. (Edwards, in press, p. 7)

The kind of pedagogy envisioned from Edward’s (in press) is for empowerment of student teachers as agentic actors in their own learning to teach. To reimagine ITE in South Korea in the light of the foregoing discussion is to support student teachers’ internalisation and externalisation of true concepts concerning the activity of teaching, a process which requires them to transcend the binary of theory/practice and achieve their dialectical unity (Johnson & Golombek, 2016; Smagorinsky et al., 2003).

6.2.2.2 Nurturing a collaborative inquiry stance

The discussion so far has argued that concept development thrives on collaborative inquiry where the nexus of inferential connections is revealed and refined. In this section, I consider how ITE institutions in South Korea could systematically support student teachers’ iterative engagement with the zone of collective thinking and action so that they could develop true concepts concerning teaching and the capacity to act in and on problems with reasoned judgement. Researchers have noted the significance of an inquiry stance as integral to constructing legitimate teacher knowledge. For instance, Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999)

discerned three distinctive strands in terms of how the knowledge base of teaching is conceived: knowledge-*for*-practice, knowledge-*in*-practice and knowledge-*of*-practice. They dismissed the first two ideas which presume a predetermined knowledge of teaching, that is, theories and expert teachers' craft knowledge respectively, yet were sympathetic towards the third position which denies a pre-existing set of effective teacher knowledge but endorses that teachers by themselves generate 'knowledge *of* practice by working within the contexts of inquiry communities to theorize and construct their work and to connect it to larger social, cultural, and political issues' (p. 250). They envisaged a teacher as an agentic learner:

A more generative conception is of "teaching as praxis," that is, the idea that teaching involves a dialectical relationship between critical theorizing and action. The point here is that teachers theorize all the time, negotiating between their classrooms and school life as they struggle to make their daily work connect to larger movements for equity and social change. (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999, p. 291)

McIntyre's (1993; 1995) proposal of ITE as *practical theorising* also promotes an inquiry stance. He asserted that given that teaching is always dependent on wider social, cultural mores and norms, any claims of professional knowledge backed up by common consent are only political imposition—if anything, 'local and temporal and partial' (1995, p. 373). He acknowledged both research-based theories of teaching and experienced teachers' craft knowledge as useful resources for learning to teach, yet stressed that their status is propositional, open to 'experimentation and falsification' (1993, p. 41). He, therefore, argued that ITE should commit resources to organise the kind of learning environment where student teachers are each supported as a principal investigator to construct and refine their personal theories of teaching in connection with the concrete expectations and demands in schools whilst moving fluidly between schools and universities.

Similarly, Mok (2005) maintained that prospective teachers during their teaching practicum in particular, rather than modelling themselves on experienced non-expert teachers and their lay practices, should be facilitated to internalise the disposition to inquiry and develop 'individual theorising capacity' (p. 46) via explicit articulation and reflective practice, personal

as well as social. He rejected the idea that the qualities which define expert teachers develop with age or career stage. His argument was not intended as wholesale disrespect for the lived experience of long-serving teachers; rather, I would understand, it was meant as a wake-up call for student teachers to throw themselves into the formative years of ITE and develop ‘a disposition toward expert teaching’ (p. 49). In this connection, he argued that the teaching practicum should be organised and experienced in ways that develop an attitude of inquiry and experimentation; that is, the power to initiate the action to identify and scrutinise the discrepancies between their personal theory of teaching and learning and those of others in practices and to design ‘more rationally defensible forms of ‘theory’ and practice’ (p. 49) from ‘*situational* understanding and problem setting’ (p. 47). Further, he insisted that in the inquiry space student teachers be encouraged to proactively bring in and apply ‘their own selves, abilities, interests, values, and beliefs’ (p. 45) so that they could develop an engaged view of self in and the ownership of their own learning. Dreyfus and Dreyfus’ (2005) description of how an adult learns new skills by negotiating their way through five stages of *novice*, *advanced beginner*, *competence*, *proficiency*, and *expertise* is useful to predict the details of the process that student teachers would undergo as they develop their dispositions for practical theorising. They argued that what sets apart an expert performer from those in the preceding four stages of skills learning is that they exercise ‘deliberative rationality’ (p. 789) whose intention is to avoid tunnel vision—to defy patterned thinking and actions—but seek alternative interpretations and responses to the problems they are facing by actively consulting both their own and others’ voices, or as Hagger and McIntyre (2000) commented, by ‘[using] the dialectic between the different perspectives critically in developing their own’ (p. 491).

In South Korea, HEIs is the only entry route for teacher certification, assuming sole responsibility for organising pre-service teachers’ learning to teach. In the nation’s current ITE, the interaction between universities and schools is severely limited. Jho (2013) observed that it is confined to procedural and administrative requirements, pre-empting the opportunities for

meaningful collaboration to cultivate student teachers' inquiry stance. Edwards and Mutton (2007), critical of HEI-led ITE provision for its tilted balance of power, suggested:

that seeing networks of training providers, which include HEI, as sets of distributed expertise with the potential to provide support for the learning of student teachers, teachers and HEI-based tutors is likely to a preferable alternative to the development of isolated closed systems. (Edwards & Mutton, 2007, p. 517)

Their proposal called for relational work amongst training stakeholders, whereby each partner's distinctive expertise is pulled together to work on the shared purpose of bringing up new generations of teachers. In their envisioning of the partnership, the fixed distinction between a provider and a recipient of learning to teach collapses. Rather teacher educators and student teachers alike are purposeful and agentic actors who each contribute to their shared goal of cultivating positive dispositions and identities towards teaching and each benefits from being a part of the joint activity. Le Cornu and Ewing (2008) also supported ITE based on the basis of a notion of learning communities, and are thus sympathetic to the significance of collaboration and partnerships. In particular, they stressed the principle of *reciprocity* as one that should foreground the kind of learning relationships to be promoted in and through ITE provision:

By reciprocity we mean the development within learning communities of learners' commitment to and responsibility for their own learning as well as that of other members of the community. As important as it is for pre-service teachers to accept responsibility for their own learning, they need also to learn to accept some responsibility for the part they play in others' learning, if they are going to be able to effectively participate in schools, which are committed to developing as professional learning communities. (Le Cornu & Ewing, 2008, p. 1808)

A model of ITE provision that strongly evinces the principle of reciprocity, and thus the values of responsiveness and the responsibility of practitioners is *research-informed clinical practice*. Burn and Mutton (2015) characterised the essence of the approach as purposefully creating a space for collaborative inquiry:

- (a) to facilitate and deepen the interplay between the different kinds of knowledge generated and validated within the different contexts of school and university; and

- (b) to provide scope for beginning teachers to interrogate each in light of the other, bringing both to bear on interpreting and responding to their classroom experiences. (Burn & Mutton, 2015, p. 219)

Kriewaldt and Turnidge (2013) proposed the notion of *clinical reasoning* as a learning tool as well as an attitudinal goal for *all* parties involved in learning to teach, which consists of: respectful and reciprocal dialogue; iterative use of data and evidence; probing personal assumptions and theories; and articulating reasoning (visible thinking) (p. 108). Johnson and Golombek's (2016) notion of *responsive mediation* strongly echoes the principles of clinical reasoning. They called for designing a learning zone with a low affective filter where student teachers feel safe to 'play' (p. 28)—in the Vygotskian sense—at being and becoming teachers, through participating in what they termed as an *intermental development zone* (IDZ). They stressed the importance of an explicitly structured IDZ, created, for example, through dialogic video protocols or internet-based forums to provide 'an ongoing, co-constructed, shared communicative space for interthinking' (p. 78). In this purposefully created space for interthinking, teacher educators and students collaboratively identify *growth points* (p. 39) and work out how to initiate and refine their pedagogical thinking and action at both practical and conceptual levels. What is apparent from the discussion so far is that ITE should be premised as a collaborative learning zone where student teachers' personal theories of teaching are viewed not only as the end of the collective endeavour but as a critical means of the process. Such a conception of ITE points to the criticality of what Goodwin's (2010) called *social knowledge*, 'the ability to participate effectively in democratic, cooperative groups' (p. 27) as an inherent professional quality to all those involved in ITE. Le Cornu and Ewing's (2008) idea of ITE through and for 'reciprocal learning relationships' is a succinct description of how student teachers should position themselves in their learning to teach. As skilful and effective communicators, they should contribute to developing not only their own but others' readiness and capacity for making 'responsible strong judgements' (Edwards, 2015, p. 780) for responsive engagement with various demands in the changing landscape of teaching.

6.2.3 Promoting relational work to change school culture

The new teachers faced highly compartmentalised individualistically oriented monologic practices. There were no designated intermediaries to explicitly mediate for them to what mattered in practices. Professional dialogue was a rare thing in general. Quarterly formal staff meetings did not act as forums for pedagogical debate or collaboration but a means of relaying bureaucratic demands and sorting out the division of labour to complete institutional tasks as though they were a group of school administrators. That the novice teachers' sense-making of practices was left to *implicit mediation* (Wertsch, 2007) hindered their clear understanding of what mattered in practices. The dominant culture of self-sufficiency also made it difficult for the new teachers to come by empathetic colleagues willing to share their everyday problems and concerns. Furthermore, the novice teachers' interaction with their colleagues was heavily imbued with seniority, where their seniors' remarks had almost autocratic power, effectively screening out the multiple voices that might have been heard. The new teachers, at the lowest rung in the communication hierarchy, were often prescribed a to-do list without being informed how their assigned tasks fitted into the whole process.

Isolated amid uncertainties, the novice teachers relied on 'a practicality ethic and a trial-and-error approach' (Flores, 2006, p. 2012), which inevitably occasioned misreadings, with negative repercussions. They also tended to simply extrapolate what they had experienced as effective as students to their pupils, neglecting to factor in various contextual differences, for instance, the fact that they were high achievers whereas the majority of their pupils were non-identifiers. Over time, they became less concerned with interrogating the established practices but simply reproduced them. Kate, for instance, simply followed her seniors' decisions to relieve from extra commitments and refused to revise her homeroom management style even after knowing it was uneducational for fear of losing her face and hard-won rapport with her homeroom pupils. The novice teachers' priority was keeping themselves afloat, achieving a sense of security and stability at the expense of their professional aspirations such as to act as a

moral example. Rather than seeing themselves as change agents who could transform the established practices, the new teachers tended to settle for the role of skilled labourers reinforcing the hegemonic orders of the status quo. A critical question at this point is whether such early onset of professional stagnation characterised by acquiescing and satisficing can be justified given that teaching is intended to serve the young to build a foundation for the future, and thus is regarded as an activity with great moral implications. Some 100 years ago, John Dewey (1916) argued that schools must act as a forward-looking institution, as the main body of social change and reform through their members' concerted collective action.

Edwards' (2010a, 2011, 2017) discussion of 'the relational turn in expertise' provides a useful insight into how to conceptualise and support teachers as a collaborative learning community. Her motivation was to devise a tool to promote inter-professional collaboration amongst practitioners who are called to respond to complex problems within and across practices. She argued that responsive collaboration requires of practitioners an additional and yet critical layer of expertise, what she termed as *relational expertise*.

[Relational expertise] makes it possible to work with others to expand understandings of the work problem as, in activity theory terms, an 'object of activity'. It also involves the ability to attune one's responses to the enhanced interpretation with those being made by other professionals. Relational expertise is therefore based on confident engagement with the knowledge that underpins one's own specialist practice, as well as a capacity to recognise and respond to what others might offer in local systems of distributed expertise. (Edwards, 2011, p. 33)

I would argue that *relational expertise* is a powerful tool to promote responsive collaboration amongst teachers, especially those working in highly monologic and individualistic practices like Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate. Their seniors tended to consider them as able and self-sufficient rather than in need of care and assistance. The new teachers were viewed as possessing the kind of capacity needed to see it through by themselves, having passed the highly competitive selection test. When the novice teachers were expected to fight their steep

learning curve single-handedly, their unlearning and relearning of how to be as real world teachers were strained processes, freighted with disheartening confrontations.

Relational work can assist in inducting new teachers into practices, as much as it can support the continuing professional development of teaching staff by intentionally creating a zone for collective thinking and action and cultivating the staff into *the social brain* (Mercer, 2013). It brings relevant others to a space of reasons for giving and asking for reasons, where novice teachers could recognise different interests and motives and use the diverse voices as resources for their enhanced responses to what matters in practices. What new teachers bring into the space of relational work, their comparable strengths such as L2 English proficiency, current theories of SLA and generational affinities with pupils could be utilised as resources to collectively devise purposeful responses to challenging problems in practices. Edwards (2010a) also proposed the idea of *relational agency* to denote one's capacity to engage proactively in collaboration by describing it as 'a two-stage process within a constant dynamic' (p. 14) of:

- (i) working with others to expand the 'object of activity' or task being worked on by recognising the motives and the resources that others bring to bear as they, too, interpret it; and
- (ii) aligning one's own responses to the newly enhanced interpretations with the responses being made by the other professionals while acting on the expanded object. (Edwards, 2010a, p. 14)

What undergirds the notion of relational agency is an inquiry stance grounded in reciprocity to build constructive intersubjectivity by revealing and (re)aligning one other's interests and motives and enhancing their understanding of what they are working on together so that they as a learning community devise more responsive ways to engage with the shared problems in practices. As the foundation that mediates such expanded interpretations and (re)alignment of varying motives in practices Edwards (2010a, 2011) noted the significance of building and refining *common knowledge*. She (2010a) described its negotiation in three phases of:

- a. recognising similar long-term open goals, such as children's wellbeing, which give broad coherence to the specialist activities of practitioners;

- b. revealing categories, values and motives in the natural language of talk about problems of practice;
- c. recognising and engaging with the categories, values and motives of others in discussions of potential objects of activity. (Edwards, 2010a, p. 53)

That is, common knowledge building should not only ‘absorb new knowledge and ways of working’ (Edwards, 2010a, p. 5) reflective of changing conditions, resources and problems in practices of the moment but also be mindful of imagining and achieving alternative—more positive and sustainable—futures by interrogating ‘the ‘why’ and ‘where to’ of practices’ (Edwards, 2011, p. 37).

The kind of interactions between Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate and their colleagues, when considered through the lens of *relational expertise*, *common knowledge* and *relational agency* discussed above, reveals that highly monologic practices characterised by a lack of relational work lead to professional deskilling (Hargreaves, 2003). Without the collective commitment to professional dialogue and collaboration for shared goals, they were unable to make to the first base, common knowledge building. Therefore, they could not genuinely collaborate to take forward what matters in practices, let alone bringing in new ideas and critical insights. Unfortunately, the situations that the beginning teachers faced seem not uncommon in South Korean schools, as Shin (2012) has suggested. He investigated why early career L2 English teachers in the country with less than three years of professional teaching gave up teaching English through English despite their proficiency in the target language. The 16 participating teachers teaching in different secondary schools depicted some familiar images of collegial interaction as, restrictive and hierarchical and only concerned with promoting a common social identity for the integrity of the in-group. The early career teachers reported that they could not continue TETE as their disgruntled senior L2 teachers continuously picked them out as the odd one out, a lone wolf or thick-skinned in their persistence on defying the shared expectations of others.

Likewise, Paul, Wendy, Emma and Kate could only make failed attempts to bring out new practices; however self-sufficient and talented they were, their ‘idiosyncratic tinkering’ (Hargreaves, 1999, p. 138) could not suffice. The study suggests that to a great degree the new teachers’ seeming autonomy was in fact under surveillance; it was granted only when their colleagues saw it as it not wreaking havoc on the privileged group identity in school. This observation adds weight to Burn, Mutton and Hagger’s (2010) warning that interventions to assist early career teachers’ learning in school should be empathetically planned and implemented in consideration of experienced teachers’ interests as well; otherwise, they would only inflict additional bureaucratic imposition—if anything coercing ‘contrived collaboration’ (p. 656). I would argue that promoting relational work between teaching staff can act not only as an antidote to such setbacks but also as a catalyst for bringing about what Sachs (2001) described as ‘democratic professionalism’ (p. 149), a relational form of teacher professionalism for emancipatory action, also anchored to the principles of collaboration and cooperation amongst all the stakeholders in education, serving to transcend their boundaries and differences. She argued that democratic professionalism materialises through teachers publicising and appreciating each other’s’ life stories as a professional, individually and collectively and that these democratic discourses are conducive to a collective professional identity which serves ‘the key to real transformation—the kind that has real effects on people’s lives’ (p. 158). Similarly, Goodwin (2010) also drew attention to the importance of the notion of *diversity* as ‘a quality, characteristic, disposition, and perspective that all teachers, each person, must seek’ (p. 27) to imagine a more inclusive form of teacher professionalism and teacher identity, the kind that celebrates and utilises diversity in and amongst teachers as resources for empowering teachers. Goodwin (2010) also called for teachers to hold themselves as a collaborative learning community and develop the disposition for collaborative inquiries as a foundational principle of continued professional empowerment, so as to fulfil not only their personal aspirations but also their moral duty to strive for social justice in the present and the future. To

conclude, I would argue that Edward's (2010a, 2017) idea of relational work could enable a more democratic and inclusive form of teacher professionalism as it arises from and promotes teachers' collective thinking and action. Also, relational work could activate a self-conscious form of agency as it is necessarily intended, implemented and achieved by collective agency grounded on common knowledge building. This visible form of agency is what makes relational work a potentially powerful tool for enhancing teachers' moral competence, their disposition for emancipatory action for the transformation of practices. Edwards (2017) is a collection of empirical studies, which illustrate how her concepts of relational expertise, common knowledge and relational agency can be used to theorise and understand the nature of learning and development of those who were called to collaborate within and across practices and to devise enhanced responses to the complex problems in them. Careful scrutiny and recontextualisation of those studies can be used as a conceptual tool for organising, implementing and achieving relational work amongst teachers in South Korea, eventually changing the nation's school culture.

6.3 Implications for further research

An obvious yet intriguing avenue for further research is to follow up the four new teachers of the study. I have learnt that some of the participants are currently working in their second schools. To follow up how they are experiencing their respective new institutional practices and juxtapose this with their experience in their first schools would provide an insight into how different practices mediate the professional development of early career teachers.

The decision to recruit only KNUE graduates could be seen as a bias. The national university is a specially founded for the purpose of pre- and in-service teacher education for all school levels. The ethos of the national university is widely regarded as more didactically oriented compared to other teacher education programmes in universities. Therefore, KNUE graduates are seen as 'different'. In fact, Kate and one of Wendy's colleagues, both graduates of the

nation's top-rank private universities, made this point. In this light, this recruitment bias proposes an interesting avenue for further research: how different practices of ITE mediate student teachers' conception of teaching and self-images as teachers; and how they shape the ways in which they participate in practices. The current study indicated the significance of knowledge not only for revealing what matters in practices but also as an opening to grasp new teachers' emergent identity and practices. Edwards (2010a) in fact expanded Hedegaard's (2012) model by proposing knowledge as an integral component of practices, hence bringing in an additional heuristic to studies of the person in practices. Therefore, to focus more explicitly focus on how beginning teachers engages with the kind of knowledge valued in practices would enable a fuller understanding of the dialectic involved in their learning and development.

The findings have pointed to teaching, in its realised form in the South Korean context, as an essentially moral activity. The cultural-historical conception of the homeroom teacher in particular required the new teachers to serve as pastoral leaders. The new teachers all wrestled with the responsibilities entailed in the role. They had to engage in an array of personal and emotional transactions on a daily basis, which called for valid reasoning and good judgement, and thus for strongly moral dispositions. To maintain harmonious relationships in homeroom life proved to be critical as it could either give or deny the new teachers much needed emotional security. Given that there was no structured support available, an interesting avenue for further research is to investigate how new teachers work on their pastoral/moral competence.

Meanwhile, the findings indicated that one of the salient characteristics across the departments studied was a tacit commitment to individualism or 'licensed autonomy' (Whitty, 2006, p. 3). The new teachers and their senior colleagues alike appeared to opt for keeping possible interaction to a minimum. Another clear interaction pattern noted in the departmental practices was seniority-based decision-making, where the idea of shared goal setting and alignment of individual goals appeared unsystematic and opaque, if not completely redundant. This observation intrigued me as to how the school in South Korea, as an organisation operates

in practices. As the point of departure, one could draw on Bell's (1980) idea of 'the school as an anarchic organisation (p. 187) or similarly Cohen, March, and Olsen's (1972) seminal article, *A garbage can model of organizational choice*.

A more socially motivated investigation also appears an interesting way forward. The findings chapters indicated the fierce rule of teaching to the test in both of the schools, engendering conflicting motives in practices. Subject teaching was reduced to exam coaching, rendering the ethical and moral implications of teaching a matter of little account. A possible avenue of research here, following Daniels (2006), is to examine the degrees of classification and framing of pedagogic relations surrounding the relentless pursuit of test-driven pedagogy in practices in order to analyse 'power and control and the rules regulating what counts as legitimate pedagogic competence' (p. 46).

6.4 Closing remarks

The thesis has argued that the beginning teachers' learning and development in their first year of teaching were indeed an identification process, strongly pointing to the entailed dialectic of the new teachers' (emergent) identities and personal practices and the social settings of their respective school practices. It has also shown that the entrant teachers' agency was indeed a social and relational achievement, which required the concerted effort from those participating in the same activities, thus bounded to act in and on practices for a set of shared goals. As a way forward, the study has called for promoting relational work in ITE providers' practices and amongst schoolteachers in South Korea so that they could develop the capacity to initiate, sustain, and enrich collaborative inquiries for enhanced practices. In particular, the study emphasised the importance of open and explicit exchange of the varying motives immanent in school practices so as to eventually transform the status quo practices and school culture.

Whilst what the present study has managed to achieve in terms of creating research knowledge to inform practices is perhaps more profound than what I had expected at the

beginning of the study, it is also a reminder of the bigger challenges which sets the agenda for my future work as an early career educational researcher working within a cultural-historical tradition. Above all, I feel that the current cultural-historical research of (language) teacher learning should diversify its mode of inquiries to address more sensitively teachers' moment-to-moment learning experience. For instance, the transactions between teachers and school practices could be captured in real time by applying some of the state-of-the-art quantitative approaches, such as diary or experience sampling studies (e.g. Schmitz, 2006) and using modern technology, e.g. PDAs and smart phones. The quantitative data then can be juxtaposed with data from interviews and observations to enhance the methodological integrity of cultural-historical research of teacher learning for its quality and rigour. Yet, another critical takeaway from conducting the study is to be mindful of the practical utility of cultural-historical studies of teacher learning and of their possibilities for the transformation of teacher professionalism in ways that are committed to the moral foundations of teaching and education (Ball, 2005). Such studies have considerable potential for unravelling the nature of current conflicts and emergent issues in the fast-changing educational landscape of the time, and assisting in devising realistic answers to them, thereby making a unique contribution to the inclusive and equitable transformation of everyday educational practices at grass-roots level.

The methodological and moral convictions of cultural-historical educational research discerned above hint at my identity that has evolved as a novice educational researcher, how I envision what matters in the figured world of educational research and objectify myself in the realm of action. What I experienced in conducting this study and its findings have convinced me of the importance of and need for educational research with far-reaching implications. As a result, the imagined world itself has become ever more salient to my senses of self and I have come to identify more strongly with what matters in the world. I only hope that my intellectual, emotional, and moral development achieved from this study is relevant and resilient to assist in launching myself into the larger project within which it belongs.

References

- Addison, B. V. (2012). Academic care, classroom pedagogy and the house group teacher: 'making hope practical' in uncertain times. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 30(4), 303-315.
- Akkerman, S. F., & Bakker, A. (2011). Boundary crossing and boundary objects. *Review of Educational Research*, 81(2), 132-169.
- Akkerman, S. F., & Meijer, P. C. (2011). A dialogical approach to conceptualizing teacher identity. *Teaching and Teaching Education*, 27(2), 208-319.
- Auguste, B., Kihn, P., & Miller, M. (2010). Closing the talent gap: Attracting and retaining top-third graduates to careers in teaching. London: McKinsey & Company.
- Ball, S. (2005). SERA Lecture 2005: education reform as social barbarism: Economism and the end of authenticity. *Scottish Educational Review*, 37(1), 4-16.
- Bassey, M. (1999). *Case study research in educational settings*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Beach, K. (1999). Consequential transitions: A sociocultural expedition beyond transfer in education. *Review of Research in Education*, 24, 101-139.
- Beattie, N. (1996). Interview and Concours: Teacher appointment procedures in England and Wales and France, and what they mean. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy & Practice*, 3(1), 9-28.
- Beauchamp, C., & Thomas, L. (2009). Understanding teacher identity: An overview of issues in the literature and implications for teacher education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 39(2), 175-189.
- Beijaard, D., Meijer, P. C., & Verloop, N. (2004). Reconsidering research on teachers' professional identity. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 20, 107-128.
- Bell, L. A. (1980). The school as an organisation: a re-appraisal. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 1(2), 183-192.
- Ben-Peretz, M. (2011). Teacher knowledge: What it is? How do we uncover it? What are its implications for schooling? *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 27(2011), 3-9.
- Bernstein, B. (2000). *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity: Theory, research and critique*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Biesta, G., & Tedder, M. (2006). *How is agency possible? Towards an ecological understanding of agency-as-achievement*. Working paper 5, Exeter: The Learning Lives project. Retrieved from http://www.tlrp.org/project%20sites/LearningLives/papers/working_papers/Working_paper_5_Exeter_Feb_06.pdf
- Biesta, G., Priestley, M., & Robinson, S. (2015). The role of beliefs in teacher agency. *Teachers and Teaching*, 21, 624-640.
- Borg, S. (2003). Teacher cognition in language teaching: A review of research on what teachers think, believe, and do. *Language Teaching*, 36(2), 81-109.
- Borg, S. (2006). *Teacher cognition and language education: Research and practice*. London: Continuum.
- Bruner, J. (1985). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 18(1), 1-21.
- Burn, K., Mutton, T., & Hagger, H. (2010). Strengthening and sustaining professional learning in the second year of teaching. *Oxford Review of Education*, 36(6), 639- 659.

- Burn, K., & Mutton, T. (2015). A review of 'research-informed clinical practice' in Initial Teacher Education. *Oxford Review of Education*, 41(2), 217-233.
- Caspersen, J., & Raaen, F. D. (2014). Novice teachers and how they cope. *Teachers and Teaching: theory and practice*, 20(2), 189-211.
- Chang, K., Kim, M., & Choi, B. (2012). Secondary English novice teachers' professional development through mentoring. *Secondary English Education*, 5(2), 26-50.
- Chenail, R. J. (1997). Keepings plumb in qualitative research. *Qualitative Report*, 3(3), 1-8. Retrieved from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol3/iss3/6>.
- Chung, M. K., Kim, J. W., Ryoo, S. C., Park, I. S., Moon, C. S. (2011). *교사 선발방식 개선방안 연구 [A Study on improvement of the teacher recruitment system]*. 서울:한국교육개발원 [Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute].
- Cochran-Smith, M. (2005). 2005 Presidential Address: The new teacher education: For better or for worse? *Educational Researcher*, 34(7), 3-17.
- Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (1999). Relationships of knowledge and practice: Teacher learning in communities. *Review of Research in Education*, 24, 249-305.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research Methods in Education*, 6th edition. London: Routledge.
- Cohen M. D., March J. G. and Olsen J.P. (1972). A Garbage Can Model of Organizational Choice. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 17(1), 1-25.
- Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once and future discipline*. Cambridge, MA Harvard University Press.
- Collins, S. (2005). 'Who's this Tong-il?': English, culture and ambivalence in South Korea, Changing English. *Studies in Culture and Education*, 12(3), 417-429.
- Craig, J. C. (2013). Coming to know in the 'eye of the storm': A beginning teachers' introduction to different versions of teacher community. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 29(2013), 25-38.
- Cross, R. (2010). Language teaching as sociocultural activity: rethinking language teacher practice. *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(3), 434-452.
- Daejeon Metropolitan Office of Education. (2015). *2016학년도 중등교사 임용시험 최종 지원현황 [The final slate of candidates for the 2016 School Teacher Selection Test]*. Daejeon Metropolis: Daejeon Metropolitan Office of Education.
- Daejeon Metropolitan Office of Education. (2016). *2017학년도 중등교사 임용시험 최종 지원현황 [The final slate of candidates for the 2017 School Teacher Selection Test]*. Daejeon Metropolis: Daejeon Metropolitan Office of Education.
- Daiute, C., & Lightfoot, C. (2004). Narrative analysis: Studying the development of individuals in society. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Daly, K. J. (2007). Qualitative methods for family studies & human development. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Daniels, H. (2001). *Vygotsky and pedagogy*. London: Routledge.
- Daniels, H. (2006). Analysing institutional effects in activity theory: First steps in the development of a language of description. *Outlines*, 2, 43-58.
- Daniels, H. (2007). Pedagogy. In H. Daniels, M. Cole and J. Wertsch (Eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 307-331). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Daniels, H. (2008). *Vygotsky and research*. London: Routledge.

- Daniels, H. (2011). Analysing trajectories of professional learning in changing workplaces. *Culture & Psychology*, 17(3) 359–377.
- Day, C. (2002). School reform and transitions in teacher professionalism and identity. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 37, 677–692.
- Day, C., & Gu, Q. (2007). Variations in the conditions for teachers' professional learning and development: Sustaining commitment and effectiveness over a career. *Oxford Review of Education*, 33(4), 423–443.
- Day, C., Kington, A., Stobart, G., & Sammons, P. (2006). The personal and professional selves of teachers: stable and unstable identities. *British Educational Research Journal*, 32(4), 601–616.
- Derry, J. (2013a). Can inferentialism contribute to social epistemology? *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 47(2), 222–235.
- Derry, J. (2013b). *Vygotsky: Philosophy and education*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and education. An introduction to the philosophy of education*. New York: The Free Press.
- Dreier, O. (1999). Personal trajectories of participation across contexts of social practice. *Outlines: critical social studies*, 1(1), 5–32.
- Dreyfus, H. L., & Dreyfus, S. E. (2005). Peripheral vision expertise in real world contexts. *Organization Studies*, 26(5), 779–792.
- Edwards, A. (2010a). Being an expert professional practitioner: The relational turn in expertise. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Edwards, A. (2010b). How can Vygotsky and his legacy help us to understand and develop teacher education?. In V. Ellis, A. Edwards, & P. Smagorinsky (Eds.), *Cultural-historical perspectives on teacher education and development: Learning teaching* (pp. 63–77). London: Routledge.
- Edwards, A. (2011). Building common knowledge at the boundaries between professional practices: Relational agency and relational expertise in systems of distributed expertise. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 50, 33–39.
- Edwards, A. (2014). Learning from Experience in teaching; a cultural historical critique. In V. Ellis & J. Orchard (Eds.), *Learning Teaching from Experience: Multiple Perspectives, International Contexts* (pp. 47–61). London: Bloomsbury.
- Edwards, A. (2015). Recognising and realising teachers' professional agency, *Teachers and Teaching*, 21(6), 779–784.
- Edwards, A. (Eds.) (2017). *Working relationally in and across practices*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Edwards, A. (in press). Cultural historical theory and pedagogy: The influence of Vygotsky on the field. In M. Myhill & R. MacLean (Eds.), *Handbook on Life in Schools and Classrooms: Past, present and future visions* (pp.). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Edwards, A., & D'arcy, D. (2004). Relational agency and disposition in sociocultural accounts of learning to teach. *Educational Review*, 56(2), 147–155.
- Edwards, A., & Mackenzie, L. (2005). Steps towards participation: The social support of learning trajectories. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 24(4), 287–302.
- Edwards, A., & Mutton, T. (2007). Looking forward: Rethinking professional learning through partnership arrangements in Initial Teacher Education. *Oxford Review of Education*, 33(4), 503–519.

- Ellis, V., & McNicholl, J. (2015). *Transforming Teacher Education: Reconfiguring the academic work*. London & New York: Bloomsbury.
- Ellis, V., Edwards, A., & Smagorinsky, P. (Eds.) (2010). *Cultural-historical perspectives on teacher education and development*. London: Routledge.
- Emirbayer, M., & Mische, A. (1998). What is agency? *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(4), 962-1023.
- Engeström, Y. (1987). Learning by expanding: An activity-theoretical approach to developmental research. Helsinki: Orienta-Konsultit.
- Engeström, Y. (2001). Expansive learning at work: Toward an activity theoretical reconceptualization. *Journal of Education and Work*, 14 (1), 133-156.
- Engeström, Y. (2007a). Enriching the theory of expansive learning: Lessons from journeys toward coconfiguration. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 14(1-2), 23-39.
- Engeström, Y. (2007b). Putting activity theory to work. In H. Daniels, M. Cole, & J. V. Wertsch (Eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 363–382). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Fifield, A. (2014, December 30). In education-crazy South Korea, top teachers become multimillionaires. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com>
- Finlay, L. (2002). Negotiating the swamp: The opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative Research*, 2(2), 209-230.
- Flores, M. A. (2004). The impact of school culture and leadership on new teachers' learning in the workplace. *International Journal of Leadership in Education: Theory and Practice*, 7(4), 297-318.
- Flores, M. A. (2006). Being a novice teacher in two different settings: Struggles, continuities, and discontinuities. *Teacher College Record*, 108(10), 2021-2052.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245.
- Fontana, A. & Frey, J. (1998). Interviewing: The art of science. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (pp. 48-89). London: Sage.
- Foster, P. (1996). *Observing schools: A methodological guide*. London: Paul Chapman.
- Freeman, D. (1996). Renaming experience/reconstructing practice: Developing new understandings of teaching. In Freeman, D. & Richards, J. C. (Eds.), *Teacher learning in language teaching* (pp. 221-241). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Freeman, D. (2002). The hidden side of the work: Teacher knowledge and learning to teach. *Language Teaching*, 35, 1-13.
- Freeman, D., & Johnson, K. (1998). Reconceptualizing the knowledge-base of language teacher education. *TESOL Quarterly*, 32(3), 397-417.
- Gavish, B., & Friedman, I. A. (2010). Novice teachers' experience of teaching: A dynamic aspect of burnout. *Soc Psychol Educ*, 13, 141–167.
- Gee, J. P. (2000). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education*, 25, 99–125.
- Gergen, K. J. (1994). *Realities and relationships: Soundings in social constructionism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Golombek, P. R. (1998). A study of language teachers' personal practical knowledge. *TESOL Quarterly*, 32(3), 447-464.
- Golombek, P. R. (2015). Redrawing the boundaries of language teacher cognition: Language teacher educators' emotion, cognition, and activity. *The Modern Language Journal*, 99, 470-484.
- Golombek, P. R., & Doran, M. (2014). Unifying cognition, emotion, and activity in language teacher professional development. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 39, 102-111.
- Golombek, P. R., & Johnson, K. E. (2004). Narrative inquiry as a mediational space: Examining cognitive and emotional dissonance in second language teachers' development. *Teachers and teaching: Theory and practice*, 10, 307-327.
- Goodwin, A. L. (2010). Globalization and the preparation of quality teachers: Rethinking knowledge domains for teaching. *Teaching Education*, 21(1), 19-32.
- Guillemín, M., & Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, reflexivity, and "ethically important moments" in research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 10(2), 261-280.
- Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education. (2015). 2016학년도 중등교사 임용시험 최종 지원현황 [The final slate of candidates for the 2016 School Teacher Selection Test]. Gyeonggi Province: Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education.
- Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education. (2016). 2017학년도 중등교사 임용시험 최종 지원현황 [The final slate of candidates for the 2017 School Teacher Selection Test]. Gyeonggi Province: Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education.
- Hagger, H., & McIntyre, D. (2000). What can research tell us about teacher education? *Oxford Review of Education*, 26(3-4), 483-494.
- Hämäläinen, J. (2003). The concept of social pedagogy in the field of social work. *Journal of Social Work*, 3(1), 69-80.
- Hargreaves, A. (1999). The knowledge-creating school. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 47(2), 122-144.
- Hargreaves, A. (2003). Teaching in the knowledge society: Education in the age of insecurity. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Hedegaard, M. (2012). The dynamic aspects in children's learning and development. In M. Hedegaard, M., Edwards, A. & Fler, M. (Eds.), *Motives in children's development: Cultural-historical approaches* (pp. 9-27). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Holland, D., & Lachicotte, W. (2007). Vygotsky, Mead and the new sociocultural studies of identity. In H. Daniels, M. Cole & J. Wertsch. (Eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 101-135). Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Holland, D., & Lave, J. (2001). *History in person: Enduring struggles, contentious practice, intimate identities*. Albuquerque: School of American Research Press.
- Holland, D., Lachicotte, W., Skinner, D., & Cain, C. (1998). *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hutchins, E. (1995). How a cockpit remembers its speeds. *Cognitive science*, 19, 265-288.
- Ingersoll, R. M., & Strong, M. (2011). The impact of induction and mentoring programs for beginning teachers: A critical review of the research. *Review of Educational Research*, 81, 201-233.

- Ingersoll, R. M., Merrill, L., & May, H. (2014). What are the effects of teacher education and preparation on beginning teacher attrition?. Research Report (#RR-82). Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education, University of Pennsylvania.
- Jho, D. H. (2013). Qualitative research on the internship teaching practicum: Implications for the national teaching practicum program. *시민교육연구 [Theory and Research in Citizenship Education]*, 45(4), 229-262.
- Jin, Y. (2011). The uncomfortable truths about 2009 National Curriculum revision. *Jeon-book Education*, 50, 82-89.
- Johnson, K. E. (2006). The sociocultural turn and its challenges for second language teacher education. *TESOL Quarterly*, 40(1), 235-257.
- Johnson, K. E. (2009). Second language teacher education: A sociocultural perspective. New York: Routledge.
- Johnson, K. E. (2015). Reclaiming the relevance of L2 teacher education. *The Modern Language Journal*, 99(3), 515-528.
- Johnson, K. E., & Golombek, P. R. (2003). "Seeing" teacher learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 37(4), 729-737.
- Johnson, K. E., & Golombek, P. R. (Eds.) (2011a). Research on second language teacher education: A sociocultural perspective on professional development. New York: Routledge.
- Johnson, K. E., & Golombek, P. R. (2016). Mindful L2 teacher education: A sociocultural perspective on cultivating teachers' professional development. New York: Routledge.
- Kanno, Y., & Stuart, C. (2011). Learning to become a second language teacher: Identities-in-practice. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95(2), 236-252.
- Kelchtermans, G., & Ballet, K. (2002). The micropolitics of teacher induction. A narrative biographical study on teacher socialization. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 18, 105-120.
- Kim, E. (2007). The quality and qualifications of the teaching force in the republic of Korea, In Ingersoll, R. (Eds.), *A comparative study of teacher preparation and qualifications in six nations* (CPRE Policy Brief RB 47) (pp. 55-70). Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, Consortium for Policy Research in Education.
- Kim, E., & Han, Y. (2002). *Attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers: Background report for Korea*. Seoul: Korea Educational Development Institute.
- Kim, H. S. (2010). The reality and challenges of English Divide in South Korea. *The Academy of Korean Social Welfare Administration*, 1, 179-210.
- Kim, Y. H. (2006). English fever in Korea: Impacts of the teaching of English and social issues that arise. *The International Journal of Language, Society and Culture*, 16, Article 1. Retrieved 15 May 2012, from <http://www.educ.utas.edu.au/users/tle/journal/ARTICLES/2006/16-1.htm>
- Kleinsasser, R. C. (2013). Language teachers: Research and studies in language(s) education, teaching, and learning in Teaching and Teacher Education, 1985-2012. *Teacher and Teacher Education*, 29(1), 86-96.
- Kriewaldt, J., & Turnidge, D. (2013). Conceptualising an approach to clinical reasoning in education profession. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 38(6), 103-115.
- Kyriacou, C. (2015). Social pedagogy and pastoral care in schools. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling*, 43(4), 429-437.

- Kyriacou, C. (2016). The hole in the heart of education: A response to Claxton and Lucas. *Psychology of Education Review*, 40(1), 38-41.
- Kvale, S. (1996). Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. London: Sage.
- Lam, B. & Yan, H. (2011). Beginning teachers' job satisfaction: The impact of school-based factors. Teacher Development. *An international journal of teachers' professional development*, 15(3), 333-348.
- Lampert-Shepel, E. (2008). Cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) and case study design: A cross-cultural study of teachers' reflective praxis. *International Journal of Case Method Research & Application*, XX(2), 211-227.
- Lantolf, J. P., & Beckett, T. G. (2009). Sociocultural theory and second language acquisition. *Lang. Teach.* 42(4), 459-475.
- Lantolf, J. P., & Johnson, K. E. (2007). Extending Firth & Wagner's ontological perspective to L2 classroom praxis and teacher education. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91(5), 875-890.
- Lasky, S. (2005). A sociocultural approach to understanding teacher identity, agency and professional vulnerability in a context of secondary school reform. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 21, 899-916.
- Lave, J. (1998). Cognition in practice: Mind, mathematics and culture in everyday life. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lavian, R. H. (2012). The impact of organizational climate on burnout among homeroom teachers and special education teachers (full classes/individual pupils) in mainstream schools. *Teachers and Teaching*, 18(2), 233-247.
- Le Cornu, R., & Ewing, R. (2008). Reconceptualising professional experiences in pre-service teacher education...reconstructing the past to embrace the future. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 24(7), 1799-1812.
- Lee, J., Han, M., & McKerrow, R. E. (2010). English or perish: How contemporary South Korea received, accommodated, and internalized English and American modernity. *Language and Intercultural Communication*, 10(4), 337-357.
- Leontiev, A. N. (1983). Activity, consciousness, personality. In V. Davydov, V. Zinchenko, A. A. Leontiev, & A. Petrovskij (Eds.), A.N. Leontiev. Izbrannie psihologicheskie proizvedenija [A.N. Leontiev. Selected psychological works] (Vol. 2, pp. 94-231). Moscow: Pedagogika. (Original work published 1975.)
- Lin, X., Schwartz, D. L., & Hatano, G. (2005). Toward teachers' adaptive metacognition. *Educational Psychologist*, 40(4) 245-255.
- Linell, P. (2009). *Rethinking language, mind, and world dialogically: Interactional and contextual theories of human sense-making*. Charlotte, N.C.: Information Age Publications.
- Linell, P. (2015). Dialogism and the distributed language approach: A rejoinder to Steffensen. *Language Science*, 50, 120-126.
- Loh, H., & Hu, G. (2014). Subdued by the system: Neoliberalism and the beginning teacher. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 41, 13-21.

- Ma, Y. J., & Singer-Gabella, M. (2011). Learning to teach in the figured world of reform mathematics: Negotiating new models of identity. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 62, 8-22.
- Maistre, C. L., & Paré, A. (2010). Whatever it takes: How beginning teachers learn to survive. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 26, 559-564.
- Mäkitalo, Å., & Säljö, R. (2002). Invisible people: Institutional reasoning and reflexivity in the production of services and “social facts” in public employment agencies. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 9(3), 160-178.
- Mantero, M. (2004). Transcending tradition: Situated activity, discourse, and identity in language teacher education. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 1(3), 143-161.
- Marsico, G. (2012). The double uncertainty: Trajectories and professional identity in changing contexts. *Culture & Psychology*, 18(1), 121-132.
- McIntyre, D. (1993). Theory, theorising and reflection in initial teacher education. In J. Calderhead (Eds.), *Conceptualising reflection in teacher development* (pp. 39-52). London: Falmer Press.
- McIntyre, D. (1995). Initial teacher education as practical theorising: A response to Paul Hirst. *British Journal of Education Studies*, 43(4), 365-383.
- Menter, I. (2010). *Teachers: Formation, training and identity: A literature review*. Newcastle: Creativity, Culture and Education.
- Mercer, N. (2013). The social brain, language, and goal-directed collective thinking: A social conception of cognition and its implications for understanding how we think, teach, and learn. *Educational Psychologist*, 48(3), 148-168.
- MEST (2011). *The curriculum of English education*. Seoul: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, South Korea.
- Mikio, S. (2008). Development of primary English education and teacher training in Korea. *Journal of Education for Teaching: International research and pedagogy*, 34(4), 383-396.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: A sourcebook of new methods*. California: Sage.
- Mok, Y. F. (2005). A philosophy of teaching practicum: construction of a personal theory of teaching and learning. *Teacher Development*, 9(1), 43-57.
- Mutton, T., Burn, K., & Hagger, H. (2010). Making sense of learning to teach: Learners in context. *Research Papers in Education*, 25(1), 73-91.
- Nam, S. K. (2006). 사범대학 학생의 임용고사 관련 사교육비 지출 실태 분석 [The size analysis of the private education expenditures for teacher appointment examination]. *교육행정학연구 [The Korean Educational Administration Society]*, 24(4), 337-362.
- Ochs, E., & Capps, L. (1996). Narrating the self. *Annual Review Anthropology*, 25, 19-43.
- OECD (2011). Teachers matter: Attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers: Pointers for policy development. Paris: OECD Directorate for Education, Education and Training Policy Division.
- Ozga, J. (2000). *Policy research in educational settings: Contested terrain*. Buckingham, Open University Press.
- Park, J. (2009). ‘English fever’ in South Korea: Its history and symptoms. *English Today*, 25(1), 50-57.

- Park, S., & Abelmann, N. (2004). Class and cosmopolitan striving: mothers' management of English education in South Korea. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 77(4), 645-672.
- Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Penuel, W. R., & Wertsch, V. J. (1995). Vygotsky and identity formation: A sociocultural approach. *Educational Psychologist*, 30(2), 83-92.
- Pillen, M. T., Den Brok, P. J., & Beijgaard, D. (2013). Profiles and change in beginning teachers' professional identity tensions. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 34, 86-97.
- Piller, I., & Cho, J. (2013). Neoliberalism as language policy. *Language in Society*, 42, 23-44.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. (1995). Narrative configuration in qualitative analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 8(1), 5-23.
- Rees, J. (1998). *The algebra of revolution: The dialectic and the classical Marxist tradition*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Richards, J. C. (2008). Second language teacher education today. *RELC*, 39(2), 158-176.
- Richmond, G., Juzwik, M. M., & Steele, M. D. (2011). Trajectories of teacher identity development across institutional contexts: Constructing a narrative approach. *Teachers College Record*, 113(9), 1863-1905.
- Rodgers, C. R., & Scott, K. H. (2008). The development of the personal self and professional identity in learning to teach. In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, D. J. McIntyre & K. E. Demers (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (pp. 732-755). 3rd Edition, New York: Routledge.
- Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Roth, M., Tobin, K., Elmesky, R., Carambo, C., McKnight, Y.-M., & Beers, J. (2004). Re/making identities in the praxis of urban schooling: a cultural historical perspective. *Mind, Culture and Activity*, 11 (1), 48-69.
- Roth, W. (2007). The ethico-moral nature of identity: Prolegomena to the development of third-generation Cultural-Historical Activity Theory. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 46, 83-93.
- Roth, W., & Lee, Y. (2007). Vygotsky's neglected legacy: Cultural-historical activity theory. *Review of educational research*, 77(2), 186-232.
- Rubin, H., & Rubin, I. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2013). Struggling for a profession identity: Two newly qualified language teachers' identity narratives during the first years at work. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 30, 120-129.
- Sachs, J. (2001). Teacher professional identity: competing discourses, competing outcomes. *Journal of Education Policy*, 16(2), 149-161.
- Sachs, J. (2005). Teacher education and the development of professional identity: Learning to be a teacher. In P. Denicolo, & M. Kompf (Eds.), *Connecting policy and practice: Challenges for teaching and learning in schools and universities* (pp. 5-21). Oxford: Routledge.
- Sawyer, R. K. (2002). Unresolved tensions in sociocultural theory: Analogies with contemporary sociological debates. *Culture & Psychology*, 8(3), 283-305.

- Saxe, G. (2004). Practices of quantification from a socio-cultural perspective. In A. Demetriou, & A. Raftopoulos (Eds.), *Developmental change: Theories, models, and measurement* (pp. 241-264). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schjetne, E., Afdal, H. W., Anker, T., Johannesen, N., & Afdal, G. (2016). Empirical moral philosophy and teacher education. *Ethics and Education*, 11(1), 29-41.
- Schmitz, B. (2006). Advantages of studying processes in educational research, *Learning and Instruction*, 16(5), 433-449.
- Schoeman, S. (2015). Towards a whole-school approach to the pastoral care module in a Postgraduate Certificate of Education programme: A South African experience. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, 38(1), 199-134.
- Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education. (2015). 2016 학년도 중등교사 임용시험 최종 지원현황 [The final slate of candidates for the 2016 School Teacher Selection Test]. Seoul Metropolis: Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education.
- Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education. (2016). 2017 학년도 중등교사 임용시험 최종 지원현황 [The final slate of candidates for the 2017 School Teacher Selection Test]. Seoul Metropolis: Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education.
- Seth, M. (2002). Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Sfard, A., & Prusak, A. (2005). Telling identities: In search of an analytic tool for investigating learning as a culturally shaped activity. *Educational Researcher*, 34(4), 14-22.
- Shin, S. K. (2012). "It Cannot Be Done Alone": The socialization of novice English teachers in South Korea. *TESOL Quarterly*, 46(3), 542-567.
- Shulman, L. S., & Shulman, J. H. (2004). How and what teachers learn: A shifting perspective. *Journal of curriculum studies*, 36(2), 257-271.
- Simons, H. (2009). *Case study research in practice*. London: Sage.
- Simpson, M. & Tuson, J. (2003). *Using observations in small-scale research: A beginner's guide*. Edinburgh: The SCRE Centre, University of Glasgow.
- Smagorinsky, P., Cook, L. S., & Johnson, T. S. (2003). *The twisting path of concept development in learning to teach*. Albany, NY: National Research Center on English Learning and Achievement.
- Smagorinsky, P., Cook, L. S., Moore, C., Jackson, A. Y., & Fry, P. G. (2004). Tensions in learning to teacher: accommodation and the development of a teaching identity. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 55(1), 8-24.
- Song, J. (2011). English as an official language in South Korea: Global English or social malady. *Language Problems & Language Planning*, 35(1), 35-55.
- Srivastava, P., & Hopewood, N. (2009). A practical iterative framework for qualitative data analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1), 76-84.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. CA: Sage.
- Stetsenko, A., & Arievidt, I. M. (2004). The self in cultural-historical activity theory: Reclaiming the unity of social and individual dimensions of human development. *Theory and Psychology*, 14(4), 475-503.
- Steffensen, S. V. (2015). Distributed language and dialogism: Notes on non-locality, sense-making and Interactivity. *Lang. Sci.* 50, 105-119.
- Thompson, I., & Wittek, A. L. (2016). Writing as a mediational tool for learning in the collaborative composition of texts. *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction*, 11, 85-96.

- Trent, J. (2011). 'Four years on, I'm ready to teach': Teacher education and the construction of teacher identities. *Teachers and Teaching*, 17(5), 529-543.
- Tsui, A. B. M. (2007). Complexities of identity formation: A narrative inquiry of an EFL teacher. *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(4), 657-680.
- Uitto, M., Kaunisto, S.-L., Syrjälä, L., & Estola, E. (2015). Silenced truths: Relational and emotional dimensions of a beginning teacher's identity as part of the micropolitical context of school. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 59(2), 162-176.
- Urrieta, L. (2007). Figured worlds and education: An introduction to the special issue. *Urban Review*, 39(2), 107-116.
- Vågan, A. (2011). Towards a sociocultural perspective on identity formation in education. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 18(1), 43-57.
- Valsiner, J. (2002). Forms of dialogical relations and semiotic autoregulation within the self. *Theory & Psychology*, 12, 251-265.
- Varghese, M., Morgan, B., Johnston, B., & Johnson, K. A. (2005). Theorizing language teacher identity: Three perspectives and beyond. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 4(1), 21-44.
- Veenman, S. (1984). Perceived problems of beginning teachers. *Review of Educational Research*, 54(2), 143-178.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1987). Thinking and speech (N. Minick, Trans.). In R. W. Rieber & A. S. Carton (Eds.), *The collected works of L. S. Vygotsky: Vol. 1. Problems of general psychology* (pp. 39- 285). New York: Plenum Press. (Original work published 1934)
- Watzke, L. J. (2007). Foreign language pedagogical knowledge: Toward a developmental theory of beginning teacher practices. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91(1), 63- 82.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (1991). *Voices of the mind: A sociocultural approach to mediated action*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V. (2007). Mediation. In H. Daniels, M. Cole, and J. V. Wertsch (Eds.), *The Cambridge companion to Vygotsky* (pp. 178-192). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wideen, M., Mayer-Smith, J., & Moon, B. (1998). A critical analysis of the research on learning to teach: Making the case for an ecological perspective on inquiry. *Review of Educational Research*, 68(2), 130-178.
- Williams, J., Corbin, B., & McNamara, O. (2007). Finding inquiry in discourses of audit and reform in primary schools. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 46, 57-67.
- Whitty, G. (2006). *Teacher professionalism in a new era*. Paper presented at the first General Teaching Council for Northern Ireland Annual Lecture. From <http://www.gtcni.org.uk/publications/uploads/document/annual%20lecture%20paper.pdf>.
- Woods, D. (1996). *Teacher cognition in language teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, T. (2010). Second language teacher education: Review of recent research on practice. *Lang. Teach*, 43(3), 259-296.

- Yang, E., Jun, Y., Seo, S., & Wits, K. (2007). The formation of pre-service English teachers' deep motivation, pedagogical content knowledge, and inner vision. *Anthropology of education, 10*(1), 89-125.
- Zembylas, M. (2003). Caring for teacher emotion: Reflections on teacher self-development. *Studies in Philosophy and Education, 22*, 103–125.
- Zittoun, T. (2014). Transitions as dynamic processes: A commentary. *Learning, Culture and Social Interactions, 3*(3), 232-236.

Appendix 1: Schedule of interviews with colleague teachers

- 1) Format: Semi-structured interview
- 2) Purpose: to understand institutional settings participants are experiencing through the voices of colleagues
- 3) Interview schedule with the head of an administration department
 - a. Introduce your department.
 - b. What is your role as the head? What kind of leadership do you try to demonstrate?
 - c. What kind of expectations does your department deal with?
 - d. What do you expect from staff teachers (beginning teachers)?
 - e. What difficulties do you face as the head?
 - f. How do you induct beginning teachers to the department?
 - g. What differences do you see in beginning teachers?
 - h. What difficulties do you think beginning teachers experience?
 - i. What kind of advice do you give to beginning teachers?
- 4) Interview schedule with L2 English teaching colleagues
 - a. Tell me about your subject pupils.
 - b. What kind of expectations do you deal with?
 - c. What are you trying to achieve?
 - d. What difficulties do you have? How do you get help?
 - e. How often do you meet with other L2 English teachers? What do you discuss with them?
 - f. What are the shared goals with them?

Appendix 2: Schedule of interviews with participants

1. Initial interview

- 1) Format: Semi-structured interview
- 2) Purpose: to build teachers' profile, to understand their motivation to enter university for ITE, to reflect on ITE in general and preparations for the STST and to understand how they envision the world of teaching and being a teacher
- 3) Interview schedule
 - a. What motivated you to enter the university for initial teacher education?
 - b. What do you think is the purpose of being a teacher?
 - c. Why did you choose L2 English?
 - d. What do you think is the purpose of L2 English education?
 - e. What do you think is the expertise of a L2 English teacher?
 - f. How was it like your school placement?
 - g. How do ITE courses help your learning to teach?
 - h. What does it mean for you to pass the employment test?
 - i. How do you feel about you going into school in few days from now?

2. Post-observation interview

- 1) Format: Semi-structured interview
- 2) Purpose: to probe participants' motivation for organising classroom teaching certain ways and using their chosen pedagogical tools
- 3) Interview schedule
 - a. I observed that you are [doing/using] ... , tell me how it started and how it is going? (In the case of Paul I probed into his use of honorifics, I Reserve, flashcards, an exam practice book, Paul's English World to name a few)
 - b. I noted you are no longer [doing/using] ..., how did it happen? (In the case of Paul I probed why he stopped using cluster seating arrangement)

3. Theory-informed interview

- 1) Format: Semi-structured interview
- 2) Purpose: to probe participants' changing relationships with: a) their assigned administrative department(s)/tasks and colleagues; b) subject teaching and pupils; and c) homeroom care and homeroom pupils
- 3) Interview schedule to probe how they experience institutional practices
 - a. Are there any incidents with colleagues you want to talk about?
 - b. We talked about [...] in the last interview. Any significant development afterwards?
 - c. What do you come to learn about the department?
 - d. How do you feel about senior managers/heads/colleagues? Why?
 - e. Who do you interact most closely?
 - f. How do you interact with L2 English teachers?
 - g. How do you think colleagues might see you?
 - h. What difficulties are you dealing with in the staffroom?
 - i. How do you get help when needed?
 - j. How do you think you might be different from colleagues?
 - k. Is there anything that you expect from colleagues?
- 4) Interview schedule to probe how they experience classroom settings
 - a. Are there any incidents with pupils you want to talk about?
 - b. We talked about [...] in the last interview. Any significant development afterwards?
 - c. How is your classroom teaching/homeroom care going?
 - d. What difficulties are you dealing with?
 - e. Do you feel yourself changing? In which ways?
 - f. What do you think are important qualities a teacher should have?
 - g. Are there any knowledge and skills you want to improve? Why?
 - h. What advice would you give to new teachers next year? Why?
 - i. Are there anything you wish you knew?

Appendix 3: Translation of a section of the 2nd interview with Paul

25 April 2013 (01:15:41)

Theme 1: Post-observation interview

Researcher: I noticed that you were using honorific language to your pupils. How did it begin?

Paul: That way I feel comfortable, so I started using it from the beginning. ... You know I am appointed as a homeroom teacher of a vocation class, so I was advised that in the morning homeroom hour on the very first day I should speak in a very informal way of speech so that I could make some strong, very tough first impression on them. Otherwise, they the pupils would see me easy. I tried but I felt uncomfortable so I just told them that I would use honorific language. And in the first classes with my academic classes, I said that I would want them to keep to three rules, which would make them proper students: first, to greet with smile; second, to use honorific language, and third, to actively participate in lessons. I also said that as long as they keep these three rules, then I wouldn't care whether they were dyeing hair or shorten their (uniform) skirts...

R: Who gave you the advice about the way you speak to your homeroom pupils?

P: It was the head of L2 English department.

R: Do you feel that your homeroom pupils respond differently depending on how you speak to them?

P: I don't know. I use honorific language even when I am angry over my personal matters. ... I speak informal to my pupils when I feel friendly and happy (with them); but when I am angry (with them), I don't speak informal to them.

R: How do you position yourself in relation to your pupils?

P: Well, ... my pupils see me as a teacher, someone above them. ... In order to maintain that recognition, I think, I should set an example for them ...

R: How did you start using 'I reserve'?

P: I tried (to teach vocabulary items with) word cards. But I was trying to figure out how to use them in a more meaningful way. So I decided to make a story with words cards. At first, I told a story. But soon I ran out of ideas and my pupils got bored. So I asked them to tell stories. (To encourage pupils to participate) I told them that I would give two pluses (extra marks for class participation) to the pupils who volunteer to tell a story with word cards. Those proactive and extrovert pupils, they volunteer on the spot, but those introvert pupils they are less willing. So I started 'I reserve' (to give passive pupils chances).

R: Are you happy how it is going so far?

P: ... my pupils still don't really participate much.

R: Why do you think is that?

P: In order to make a story then they have to learn by heart the words, their meanings. It seems they don't like the trouble.

...

R: The extra marks you give for those pupils who participate. What is it? Does it help to encourage them?

P: Yes, I need something to motivate. ... The extra marks (in their classroom participation assessment) certainly motivate the academic pupils. So...

R: How did you start using flashcard?

Paul: At first, I tried to use word roots (to teach vocabulary items) but it was too much. I mean word roots in itself they are something to learn by heart, so I gave up. Then, there is a teacher with whom I talk a lot and shares my concerns.

R: A L2 English teacher from the same year group?

P: No, she teaches all year groups. ... She recommended me to try flashcards. Then her advice reminded me of what I learnt in university. I thought it was a good way to cover many vocabulary items within a short time. So, it started like that.

R: That's how you introduced it, a new tool.

P: Yes. ... And I also need to talk about this. There was a big change in my classroom teaching. That was about two weeks after the start of the new term. At first, I made all of the pupils to translate, one sentence for each one of the pupil. But I sensed that they felt it too challenging. So then I changed it to take turns between us; I translate one sentence and then a pupil one sentence. But then I found that the rest got bored, so now as you saw it today, I take my turn after two pupils. And in the early April I did this student feedback on my classroom teaching.

R: Voluntarily?

P: Yes. No one made me to do it. I asked the pupils to comment on four questions: what do you think my lessons focused on in the last month, that is, March; what do you find was easy to follow; what do you find was difficult to follow; and finally what do you think needs some changes. I didn't do it with the vocational class but with 3,4,5,6,7 homerooms. ... After reading the feedback comments, I learnt, before I made the pupils to throw a doll to pick the next pupil to translate, that in fact my pupils didn't like the doll throwing. I learnt that they were complaining to each other in the recess like, "Why did you throw that doll to me?" (implying why you made me do the translation). I never thought that could be taken as badly as that between the pupils. And a couple of other things. So I changed them. ... I have another thing to talk about. Can I talk?

R: Sure.

P: Another feedback was, I cover (the day's teaching material) in the order of vocabulary items, grammar points, and translation. Another feedback was that they could not tell where to apply the grammar rules covered when translating. ... So now I use this sign post to tell them where. ... Another feedback was my handwriting on the blackboard was not neat ... So now I try to write more neatly. Another was about grammar, that grammar is so difficult to understand. Some pupils were complaining about my pacing being too slow. Obviously, they were worried about school exams. ... The thing is they say grammar points are difficult to understand, so I explain them with more example sentences. Then, it takes more time, delaying my pace (of translation). So I told them that I don't think it is okay to spend less time on grammar points in order to do more translation instead. They seemed to agreed. Afterwards, their complaints about my pacing seem gone ... Later it turned out that my pacing was not that slow after all.

R: Are you going to do another feedback at the end of this month?

P: No. The whole structure (of my classroom teaching) would remain the same for the first semester. ... And I think I will do it once again in the next semester. ... I meant to do it once a month but other teachers were saying that to change things too often only makes the pupils confused.

...

R: In the classroom today I saw you taking time for rather than hurrying the pupils and encouraging them to help each other. How did that attitude come about?

P: Well, in my middle school days, I thought that high performers are going to do just fine without help, but the poor performing ones they would go nowhere without help. So, early on I told my pupils that high performers will do fine without my help, but not the underperformers, so my lessons are going to focus on those poor performing ones. ... I want to help those underachievers. That is why. Also, I think it is important for them to try to translate by themselves (so I wait for them). I believe that no matter how many times I do it for them, it doesn't help them much. They are the ones who are solving problems and taking exams. ...

R: How do you feel the attainment gap between the pupils?

P: As far as I can see, other than five to six pupils in a class the rest is just poor at L2 English.

R: So you are covering the exam question book for the university entrance exam (not the official textbook). How do you feel about it and how things are going with it?

P: At first, I was really happy. The exam practice book is about reading comprehension (translation practice), but I thought that I could add in speaking, listening and writing (activities) to it. ... So I thought I had more freedom. But I just introduce any random listening passages; I needed to find the kind of reading passages which would match the day's topic of reading passages. Well, in fact I tried speaking in March. In the very first classes in the very first week of the term, my first class with each of my assigned homeroom classes was about motivating them why we should learn English. In the second class, I made them to write a self-introduction in English and the third class I asked them to introduce themselves, that is, speaking. The idea was to diagnose their English level. But they all went like, "Hi, my name is ...". That's all. They were just copying my example self-introduction. ... So I realised that I have to miss out speaking and writing. Well still I want to teach

the productive skills, speaking and writing somehow but because of their low level I'm not sure how to go about it.

R: Why don't you teach the official textbook?

P: (We have five hours of L2 English per week for each homeroom class) The other L2 English teacher takes two hours covering the official textbook. And I am the one taking three hours to cover the exam practice book. I wanted to tell her to teach other skills (other than translation and reading comprehension), since I am teaching the exam practice book (, doing reading comprehension and translation). But she does the same thing as me, just reading comprehension.

R: So you take charge in the test prep and the other teacher the curriculum.

I: Yes. The thing is there is the 'Intensive Course Scheme' (the national policy), so we have to finish one textbook for each semester (before one textbook for a year, not two). She has her own difficulties there. She needs to finish the textbook in time, so she just skips listening, speaking, and writing (to save time), those relatively less important skills (as they are not tested in the university entrance exam). I am just teaching this exam book for the whole year.

...

R: I saw you using what I guess you learnt in university.

P: Ah! The end-weight principle.

R: So when you find the right timing, you try to use what you learnt in university?

P: When I was preparing for the STST, I thought that what the university course taught me to do was the right way to teach grammar points. ... like the end-weight principle ... and the Bolinger principle. They make sense, so I explain them as I think they would be useful for the pupils eventually. Once I tried to explain a grammar point with Case Theory. But I could see that my pupils found it difficult to understand. I told that I have taught this grammar point (using Case Theory) but it would not be on the school exam.

...

R: Do you feel that your relationship with the pupils is changing in any ways?

P: Yes, as for the vocational students, they are my homeroom pupils. In the first month, March, I felt they are not loved enough, so I decided to be good to them and nice to them. But with time they were getting out of control. I found myself frowning in the morning homeroom hours, and in the afternoon homeroom hours when I was making announcements, they were just chatting each other, not listening to me. One day I just went silent, not speaking a word. Then we expect that they would go quiet, but they didn't just keep on chatting. So I just kicked the teacher's desk really hard and shout to them really loud, "How could you all be so impolite. Here, right here I am standing, talking to you!" I was really angry. So for the first and second weeks of March, I was nice to them. For the third and fourth weeks of March I was rather angry with them. Then, one day in early April a girl student said to me that she liked me because I was nice and kind, but these days I changed, angry all the time. So, once again I am trying to be nice to them. Now they know that I am nice but at the same time can be really angry. ... Now I see three or four homeroom pupils who want to help me out. I said to them that thanks to their help (they tell the other pupils to listen to me) I don't need to shout to make the homeroom class listen to me. ...

Theme 2: Homeroom life

R: Let's talk about your homeroom class. You said that already 10 of them have dropped out. How has it been? How do you feel about it?

P: Before the term starts, their homeroom teacher last year told me stories, and passed me all the relevant records she kept. So I knew about them to a degree before I met them. I felt that these kids were really not cared for much. ... Then when I finally met them, they all seemed quite happy that I imagined. After having face to face conversation one by one, I realised that there are just kids (though they pick up fights, smoke, drink, thought they do all the stuff they shouldn't be doing as students...)

R: When do you feel your efforts are worthwhile? Any rewarding moments?

P: When I can see that they are sorry. When they acknowledge that I am trying things for them and looking after them. When they do those, I feel grateful of them.

...

R: What is the most difficult thing to deal with?

P: I cannot reach them. I mean in the morning everyday at least six or seven homeroom pupils are late for school. They are supposed to arrive by 8:20, but I said to them try to come by 8:30. I am

giving them easy time (that is just before the start of the first period), but they still don't listen. They just don't show up until the second or even third period. I just want to be able to reach them when needed.

Theme 3: School in general

R: How do you feel about Greenfield so far, like the teaching staff and anything that you want to talk about?

Paul: It's full of younger teachers. So the general atmosphere doesn't seem really tight. It seems flexible. ... The head teacher is very strict. The new deputy head teacher is really hard working and trying to work things out. It seems he and us, younger teachers could see eye to eye.

R: Can you put it in detail? How is the deputy head teacher like?

P: He tries to set an example. Every day he drops by my staffroom and he almost every morning joins us at the school gate to greet the students. But the head teacher ... she is almost not in her office, not in school. So it is really difficult to come across her at school. But the deputy head teacher is nice.

R: When do you feel you get support from school?

P: Well. The times like when they said yes (to my plans) like I said that I would want to run a TOEIC class, and when I told the other English teacher of the Year 2 pupils that I would like to do the performance evaluation with a speaking test and she said, "Go ahead". ... I mean they don't say, "No, don't". ... It doesn't really come across as support but at least they are not against it.

R: I see

R: Who do you feel close to the most?

P: The staff teachers of Department of Student Affairs.

I: How so?

P: Yet, in fact, I don't feel really close to them. Because I teaches English, so most of the time I am interacting with the academic pupils. But here the teachers in my staffroom they teach vocational pupils. SO though I spend a lot of time here, but when they are doing work at the staffroom, I go to teach. And they don't have after school classes, but they don't. So they just go home. So in fact I am more close to the teachers teaching academic pupils.

R: Whose opinion matters for you?

P: Of course, my pupils. I think the best teacher is the one who is loved by and respected by pupils. I don't care what colleague teachers are thinking of me.

R: Have you ever thought of how your colleagues might think of you?

P: Yes. I think they think of me as trying new ideas and hardworking. I really want to improve my teaching so I told the other new teachers that we should buy a video recorder and videotape each other's lessons and give feedback each other. And also I have asked the teachers to observe my lessons and give feedback. So, I think they think of me as hardworking.

R: did anyone come and observe your lesson?

P: Yes. This one teacher. I talked about her before. An English teacher on a year contract.

R: Why do you think she came?

P: I guess she was also the kind who wants to improve her teaching. She is a senior teacher, but still she has got passion. The new teacher I mentioned, she seems very defensive. ... She got really nice feedback about her classroom teaching, but still she doesn't want to let me observe her lessons.

R: Do you feel you are different from your colleagues?

I: Yes. The first thing is that I don't mind people observing my classes. I think that at least we all think about the same thing, how we can help pupils. I don't think about saving my face. Of course I wouldn't enjoy other teachers criticising my lessons, but if that is what it takes for me to improve my lessons then I am willing to hear it. But the other teachers I don't think they are up for it. Maybe they just think that they are doing well.

R: Is there anything that you expect from your colleagues?

I: I don't think being a teacher is just about subject teaching. I want we (teachers across subjects) all are sitting down to talk together and giving advice to each other. The other day, I was overhearing a senior teacher disciplining a student. The way he talked was really hurtful to the student. I understand the student did wrong but he shouldn't have talked like that to the student. He was saying like, "How dare you talk me back like that, what do you think you are" in really scornful tone. I really wanted to interrupt and say to the teacher like, "You shouldn't talk to pupils like that", but I couldn't. He was old enough to be my father.

R: So you were pretty disappointed with the way the teacher treated the pupil. How does that affect you?

P: Well. That is the exact image I got in mind about this teaching profession even before I started. I mean this teaching and teachers are so tense. They don't show themselves. Very individualistic. I think that model is right, the Garbage can model.

R: How close do you feel you are to your imagined self as a teacher?

P: I give myself 30 % mark. I give that for the fact that I am trying hard. I am not good at it but trying hard. I feel that the pupils recognise that. I see they are making more effort in my classes than they do in other teachers' classes. ...

R: What happened with the other 70%?

P: The first thing, I am not good at teaching. I feel I don't have enough knowledge about the language. I cannot teach well. I have no experience. And the facilities are bad in this school. And the school overall it's not trying hard enough. It is just like it is your job to do it, so you do it. And this is my job, so I do it. I mean very still and monotonous atmosphere which I don't like much.

R: just let things as they are?

P: Yes. Just they try not to make things big.

R: Do you see that you are chaining somehow? Now you have been through the first two months.

P: I think so. Now I am more open-minded like, "That can happen." I mean I can understand the pupils better. I am working in this department, so I just see so many cases of students in trouble, like thefts. ... The other day one pupil just swore at me. What they have done is bad, but I don't think they are bad by nature. I just want to understand what is it that makes them to do such bad things.

R: So you are saying you are becoming more understanding and empathetic towards them?

I: Yes. I am not thinking that there are the kind of pupils who cannot be helped. No. But I am thinking, okay, so they are there, troubled and how can I help them. I am at that stage now. I guess that the other teachers also went through this stage, and tried and tried only to fail. Now they just accept that problem pupils cannot be helped. But I am not there yet.

R: What do you think is the expertise of a teacher?

P: The capacity to communicate. Whether it is outside of or during classroom teaching, I think it is not right that teachers alone talk and pupils just listen and write down...

R: How's your communication going on?

P: Well I think communication outside of my classroom teaching is fine.

R: Why not in the classroom teaching?

P: I wish there was more of communication between us. ... I have this pressure that I have to impart a certain amount of subject knowledge. I cannot just ignore subject teaching and get on with communication. ...

R: What do you mean by 'communication'?

P: It is about connecting with pupils. It sure does include the kind of connection through subject knowledge, but for me it is more about connecting as human beings.

R: You want to build up this sincere rapport with pupils?

I: I really want that. The other day I told this to my pupils. They asked me why I chose to become a school teacher. I answered because I want to be a meaningful person. ... I said to them that I don't want the kind of teacher-pupil relationship that soon fades away but I want the kind of relationship that as we get older and look back and remember each other for good memories. That is my life's goal really.

R: What aspects of you as a teacher do you want to improve?

P: I think the communication bit is okay just. So, I want to teach better. But it isn't just about me trying harder. I mean the pupils should have at least the basic level of English for that to happen. I could try jigsaw and group activities and make them do things together. That would be wonderful but (I tried but) it is hard to get it done so it gives me a lot to think about.

...

R: When faced with difficulties, what motivate you?

P: That is how my pupils respond to my lessons. ... The other day, surprisingly Homeroom 7 was very participative; at first they showed no response. ... If my pupils just think that my lessons are just boring and find hard to participate then I think I don't think I could continue anymore.

R: Is there anything you wish you knew?

P: Well. That the pupils are really poor at English, way worse than I thought initially. It is almost like I cannot apply anything learnt from the university. And the administrative duties. No one teaches

me how to do them, but I need to get them done anyway. ... I guess it is okay learning by doing it now, but I wish I was taught before, it could have been useful.

R: What advice would you like to give for the new teachers next year?

P: I would say to them, "Don't judge even the delinquent kids". As far as I could see, they are bad in nature.

... There are three girls to be expelled. They are not bad, I mean when you talk to them, they are good, greet warmly ... But you know that when a pupil is disciplined for some reasons that they are branded as bad. But that is not the whole picture. So I would say to new teachers that don't just judge pupils by what they had done in the past. I would advise not to judge them with prejudice. ...

R: So, you don't like teachers being prejudiced.

P: You see my father is a long-serving schoolteacher. He is saying pupils don't change. ... He studied student counselling. He has done a lot of counselling. I am sure at first he didn't think like that but now he has learnt from his long years of experience that pupils don't change. But I disagree with him. I would like to ask why adults just tend to think they don't change. I feel quite crossed about it. I still think they can change.

Appendix 4: CUREC approval email

From: Research Office [mailto:research.office@education.ox.ac.uk]
Sent: 01 June 2012 09:51
To: 'Minjeong Song'
Cc: Anne Edwards
Subject: CUREC Application Approval

01/06/2012

Dear Minjeong Song

Application Approval

Title: “Beginning teacher’s identity and agency: A case study on L2 English teachers in South Korea.”

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly approval has been granted.

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to research.office@education.ox.ac.uk for consideration.

Good luck with your research study.

Yours sincerely,

Justina Kurkova

Research Office Assistant

Appendix 5: Letter of invitation to student teachers

Department of Education
University of Oxford 15 Norham Gardens, Oxford
OX2 6PY
Tel: +44(0)1865 274024, Fax: +44(0)1865 274027
general.enquiries@education.ox.ac.uk www.education.ox.ac.uk



DPhil candidate: Minjeong Song
email: minjeong.song@education.ox.ac.uk
Tel: +44 7412 546048

OO May 2012

Dear student teachers of the Korea National University of Education,
I am Minjeong Song, a doctoral student of the Department of Education at the University of Oxford. I am writing to invite you to participate in my research. The following is an introduction about my research.

1. Research overview

My proposed doctoral research is entitled "Beginning teacher's identity and agency: a case study on L2 English teachers in South Korea". The objective of this study is to explore the nature of beginning English teachers' identity development as they progress from university to work. English fever and marketization of English education in South Korea are widely publicized across the world. As South Korea is ranked as one of the high performing countries in international student achievement tests such as PISA, the teacher education system of South Korea also has received considerable attention across the world. Especially, the country is noted for its success in attracting many of its best students into teaching profession. And you are the very talented young people who will play a leading role in educating future generations of South Korea.

With your participation, the proposed study is expected to deepen our understanding on the fields of language teacher cognition and Second Language Teacher Education. This study is supervised by Professor Anne Edwards, who can be contacted for further information about the project (email: anne.edwards@education.ox.ac.uk; Tel: +44 1865 611001). Also, this research has been granted ethical approval by the Central University Research Ethics Committee, University of Oxford who oversees the implementation of strict ethical procedures for data integrity, security, and anonymity in conducting research.

2. Participant's roles

This study plans three rounds of data collection as follows.

- 1) 1st round data collection: 1st interview (Oct. 2012)
- 2) 2nd round data collection: 2nd interview (Feb. 2013)
- 3) 3rd round data collection: Journal writing and 5 school visits for interviews and observations (Mar. ~ Jul. 2013)

The first round data collection is an individual interview with you as a student teacher—before you are taking the School Teacher Selection Test (STST). The main theme of the interview is to reflect on your

university life; you will be asked to tell stories about your learning experiences as a student teacher. The second interview is scheduled before you—by then, a newly appointed English teacher for public secondary school, having passed STST—start work in your first school. The interview will ask your expectation and aspirations about your new life as a beginning teacher and your beliefs about good teaching and teacher. Time and place for these interviews will be scheduled at your convenience. The final data collection aims to understand how you are fitting into your new life in school. You will be asked to write reflective journals and I will visit your school every month for in-depth interviews and observations of your daily routines including lessons. Each school visit will be followed by a meeting to reflect on and discuss any issues arising from the visit. All the interviews with you will be audio recorded.

I will formally seek school permission prior to school visits from the headteacher of your school. I am also fully aware that I have the responsibility to ensure your students' security and safe learning environment and I will act as a responsible researcher during my stay at your future school.

3. Benefits from participation

If participate, you will have the opportunity to reflect on yourself with structured peer support—the researcher as a critical friend. Reflection is considered as a useful tool to deepen self-understanding for personal and professional development. Given you are about to face a major turning point in your life, self-reflection can be even more useful and instructive.

Also, this study will generate narrative data about you in the critical stage of your life. The data is to be analysed based on various theories in the fields of social psychology and education. The results will provide a systemic description on how you have changed in the ways in which you think, feel and act upon the world you are living in, which is invaluable information to deepen your self-understanding and plan your future. At the end of research, you will receive a report of the findings of the study. In addition, your participation will be also contributing to further our understanding on the nature of L2 English teachers' learning in relation to the context of teacher education in Higher Education and local school.

4. Data protection

All the collected data will remain anonymous in all research reports as you will be identified by pseudonyms. The data will be kept strictly confidential, available only to my supervisor and myself, and not be used other than specified without your consent. All recordings will be deleted at the end of the research, and meantime kept in my password-protected computer. If you feel that you would like more information about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me. If you wish to participate, please complete the consent form attached to this letter.

Thank you for your time and attention. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours faithfully,
Minjeong Song

Appendix 6: School letter

Department of Education
University of Oxford
15 Norham Gardens, Oxford
OX2 6PYTel: +44(0)1865 274024; Fax: +44(0)1865
274027general.enquiries@education.ox.ac.uk
www.education.ox.ac.uk



DPhil candidate: Minjeong Song
email: minjeong.song@education.ox.ac.uk
Tel: +44 7412 546048

OO May 2012

Dear OOO (Headteacher's name)

I am Minjeong Song, a doctoral student of the Department of Education at the University of Oxford. I am writing to request permission to visit your school to conduct research. At the end of this letter, I attached a short introduction of my work experiences and education history.

From October 2012, I have been conducting a study with senior students of the Department of English Education, Korea National University of Education. My doctoral research, "Beginning teacher's identity and agency: A case study on L2 English teachers in South Korea", aims to explore the nature of beginning English teachers' identity development as they progress from university to work. For the detailed introduction, I attached the invitation letter which I used for the recruitment, which provides full information about the research.

Mr/Ms OOO, new English teacher of your school has been participating in this study and wishes to continue to participate. The final data collection of this study takes place in school on site and it includes interviews with Mr/Ms OOO's (new teacher's name) and observations of their daily routines including their lessons. Also, I would like to interview the head of English Department of your school to better understand Mr/Ms OOO's life in school; I will seek their consent before interview. My school visit to your school will take place once a month for 5 months (March to July, 2013). All the interviews will be audio recorded.

The University of Oxford implements strict ethical procedures for data integrity, security, and anonymity. This research has been granted ethical approval by the Central University Research Ethics Committee. I am also fully aware that I have the responsibility to ensure students' security and safe learning environment during my visit to your school and I will act as a responsible researcher throughout. All the collected data will remain anonymous in all research reports and 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 recordings will be deleted at the end of the research, and kept in secure conditions meantime.

If you feel that you would like more information about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor Professor Anne Edwards (email: anne.edwards@education.ox.ac.uk; Tel: +44 1865 611001). If you wish to permit my visit to school, please complete the consent form attached to this letter.

Thank you for your time and attention. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,
Minjeong Song

Appendix 7: Abstracts of the three articles in Korean

1) Chung, M. K., Kim, J. W., Ryoo, S. C., Park, I. S., Moon, C. S. (2011). 교사 선발방식 개선 방안 연구 [A Study on improvement of the teacher recruitment system]. 서울: 한국교육개발원 [Seoul: Korean Educational Development Institute].

In a knowledge-based society where education serves as the national competitiveness, securing excellent teachers is critical for assuring the quality of teachers. Under the circumstances, there is a growing call for change in the teacher training and recruitment system as more attention has been focused on the establishment of various policies for teachers, education system which can nurture able teachers, and recruitment of competent teachers. Currently, the country is producing around 5,200 elementary school teachers and 51,000 teaching certificate holders annually (as of the end of 2009). They have to pass the Educational Public Servant Recruitment Examination (Teacher Recruitment Examination) to become a teacher of a national or public school. However, competition in the recruitment examination is fierce as the annual capacity for new teachers is low compared to the number of teaching certificate holders. Therefore, students preparing for the teacher recruitment examination have considerable burden and stress and put much time and money in preparing for and taking the exam. In addition, factors like the types of the examination questions undermine the normalization of the teacher training. However, the most serious problem is that the existing teacher recruiting system is not appropriate for the comprehensive assessment of aspiring teachers' teaching expertise, view of education, sense of responsibility, commitment, and personality. The most idealistic teacher training and recruitment system would be educating would-be teachers in teacher training institutes with capabilities required for a teacher and selecting new teachers utilizing a proper assessment tool. In this vein, this study aims at identifying expertise and skills needed for a new teacher, enabling teacher training institutes to educate students with them, and finding a way to improve the teacher training system.

Strategies for improvement of the teacher training system were designed through the following process. First, we outlined the current teacher recruitment system and analysed the problems the system has. Additionally, we identified the expertise and capabilities required for a new teacher and draw implications from the teacher recruitment practices of major countries in the world including Finland, US, France, and Japan. We also conducted a survey on professors in charge of teacher education, educational professionals, and in-service teachers to analyse their requests for the teacher recruitment system. At last, we suggested strategies for improvement of teacher recruitment system, alignment of relevant laws, and support for metropolitan and local education offices, teacher training institutes, and students of teacher training institutes. This study only includes strategies for improvement of the public primary and secondary school teacher recruitment system under the current requirement criteria for teachers and position and ranking system among teachers as it could not deal with everything from requirement criteria for teachers, qualification and promotion system, and study on teachers' duty and function.

Based on the research result, we suggested both short-term strategies and mid and long-term strategies for improvement of the teacher recruitment system. The short-term strategies focus on solving the current problems while minimizing the confusion the schools or related people may suffer from. They suggest evaluating new teachers' knowledge and teaching ability through the recruitment examination and supplementing the existing teacher recruitment system to assess other core capabilities required for teachers. To be specific, they are about easing the students' burden of preparing for and taking the exam and reducing difficulties in execution of the recruitment examination including setting questions, grading, and implementing an interview process by streamlining the examination process. They also include assessing would-be teachers' capabilities and university grades in teacher recruitment to promote the normalization of teacher training and evaluating their portfolios during the college life to examine their knowledge. Through the short-term strategies, we proposed to ask universities to implement various evaluation schemes such as teaching ability evaluation and leadership and communication skills evaluation. In addition, we proposed that students' portfolios be examined as reference in the interview process of the teacher recruitment examination as few teacher training institutes are evaluate portfolios when selecting new teachers. In the future, universities can utilize portfolios as a means to enhance students' capabilities, and it will become possible for universities to select some new students with portfolios. We examined the legal validity of the short-term strategies and suggested the revision and improvement of the related laws. It seems that the number of new teachers recruited every year will not

decrease as there will be a continuing effort for reducing the number of students per teacher to the level of the average of OECD countries to improve the quality of education. In addition, the competition rate in teacher recruitment is expected to become less fierce with decrease in the number of students trained in teacher training institutes. In consideration of such expected changes, we came up with some long-term strategies.

Major mid and long-term strategies are as follows. As it seems impossible to assess every core capability when recruiting a new teacher, aspiring teachers' core capability assessment should be conducted throughout when recruiting students of the teacher training institutes, in teacher training course, and when recruiting new teachers. In other words, the strategies proposed teacher training institutes to select students through the admission officer system which aims to recruit talented students appropriated for being a teacher and design and operate curriculum focusing on developing students' capabilities as a teacher. In addition, they include the normalization of the teacher training curriculum, encouragement of various activities of students at college, and portfolio evaluation which aims at examining would-be teachers' hidden competencies. They also suggested that portfolios include professors' comments on students' performance as would-be teachers. They also suggested that those who passed the state-run certification examinations such as Korean language test, Korean history understanding test, and English proficiency test and those who completed the double major course are granted with additional points in the teacher recruitment test, and that is included in the non-examination criteria for teacher certification in the long run. They include the establishment of the teaching ability certification system within the teacher training institutes and regional teaching evaluation centers to advance the quality of the teacher ability evaluation system. The mid and long-term strategies also suggested the dual system in teacher recruitment. To be specific, teachers specially selected by metropolitan and local education offices are selected under the teacher recruitment officer system while other teachers are employed by official teacher recruitment examination. According to the proposal, teacher recruitment system can be divided into one for selecting new teachers and another for selecting experienced teachers. While homeroom teachers and subject-specific teachers are recruited under the different recruitment system in elementary schools, middle school teachers and high school teachers are recruited through the different recruitment system. For the long-term plan, it was proposed to establish a national new teacher training institute (tentative name) which will take charge of teacher recruitment and job training.

This study suggested the following measures to put the improvement strategies stated above into practice at levels of the central government, metropolitan and local education office, teacher training institute, and students. Above all, the central government should develop criteria for teacher qualification considering concrete and specific requirements and skills needed for being a teacher. It should improve the non-examination criteria for teacher certification and subjects related with the non-examination criteria for teacher certification. It also should establish a mid and long-term plan for the demand and supply of teachers and come up with measures to secure stable finance needed for recruitment of national and public school teachers. Lastly, it should align and improve relevant laws and regulations. Meanwhile, metropolitan and local education offices should find a way to select teachers pursuant to the characteristics of each region and implement the teacher recruitment examination focusing on the validity of the teacher recruitment system. Teacher training institutes should develop the curriculum designed based on the core capabilities required for a new teacher and additional criteria for teacher qualification which can be set by the heads of the teacher training institutes. They also need to conduct a research on organization and utilization of portfolios to advance the capabilities of students. In addition, they should make efforts to reduce the number of teachers trained in the institutes and improve classes and evaluation methods. Lastly, they should conduct an evaluation in a fair manner and make descriptive comments on students' performance in the evaluation while trying to use the comparative evaluation scheme. Last but not least, students aspiring to be a teacher should be fully aware of the jobs given to a teacher and what capabilities and skills they need to acquire to successfully carry out the given jobs as a teacher. They are required to think widely and go through a broad range of experiences to become a competent teacher in the future, according to the study.

Keywords: new teacher competencies, teacher recruitment system, teacher recruitment examination, portfolios

2) Nam, S. K. (2006). 사범대학 학생의 임용고사 관련 사교육비 지출 실태 분석 [The size analysis of the private education expenditures for teacher appointment examination].

교육행정학연구 [The Korean Educational Administration Society], 24(4), 337-362.

The purposes of this study are to investigate the participation in private education program, and to analyze the size of private education expenditures for the Teacher Appointment Examination. Private education expenditures were investigated by the elements of the Examination, that are the written exam on education, special subject, essay, oral and talent exam, and the private education program offered by on-line or off-line. The questionnaires were collected from 649 students of 6 teachers' colleges. The conclusions of this study are as follows. Firstly, 88.1% of the respondents have participated in on-line private education program and 47.4% of the respondents in off-line private education institutions for Teacher Appointment Examination, and 90.5% of respondents in one of them. Secondly, 36.7% of respondents have participated in on-line or off-line private education programs since the education contents of the college were completely separated from the contents of Teacher Appointment Examination. Thirdly, 51.5% of respondents have not participated in private education program because the education cost is too expensive. Lastly, the total expenditures of private education came up to 4,559,164 won per student for Teacher Appointment Examination.

Keyword: Private education expenditure analysis, Teacher appointment examination

3) Jho, D. H. (2013). Qualitative research on the internship teaching practicum: Implications for the national teaching practicum program. 시민교육연구 [Theory and Research in Citizenship Education], 45(4), 229-262.

This study explores the educational consequences of the 'Internship Teaching Practicum' which had been implemented for 4-month period (9 weeks of actual training days) in a local collaborative high school. Based on "Student Teaching Performance Standards" and "Student Teaching Manual" co-developed by cooperating teachers and university researchers, the Internship Teaching Practicum was implemented and monitored. Compared to the previous 4-week teaching practicum program, in sum, the alternative program exhibited three key characteristics; 1) student teachers having a more comprehensive perspective on and capability of the management of classroom instruction; 2) a high level of communication and cooperation between the intern and the cooperating teacher; 3) cooperating teachers having reflective and self-healing psychological rewards through their interactions with the student teachers. The findings of this study suggest the urgent need for expanding the practicum period more than 4 weeks, for the establishment of the standards for student teaching at the national level, and for the development of the incentive system and in-service teacher education programs for both cooperating teachers and schools.

Key Words: Teaching Practicum, Internship Teaching Practicum, Student Teacher, Cooperating Teacher, Student Teaching Manual