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**Paper Title: Moral discourse or instructional discourse? EFL teachers'
moral conflict over their roles in projecting students to global competition**

Symposium Title: Decolonising Challenges in/to Curriculum Theory. The
Possibilities of Thinking with Bernstein in Asian Education. **(Part B)**
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Keywords: curriculum, EFL teachers, recontextualisation, pedagogic identity,
professional identity.

This paper considers the dilemmas experienced by Indonesian Muslim teachers
who provide English Foreign Language (EFL) instruction to Muslim students in
East-Java, Indonesia. In exploring teachers' dilemmas, we focus on the different
pedagogic identities made available through official state policy discourses and
how these might be adopted or adapted by the teachers themselves.
In Indonesia, official state discourses for EFL instruction orientate towards what
Bernstein (2000) has described as a prospective pedagogic identity. This is an
identity that teachers are expected to take up and project onto students enrolled in
EFL courses, through the selection and organisation of EFL curricula. It is a
pedagogic identity projecting outwards from the nation state to the global order via
EFL curricula, and geared to asserting Indonesian students as acquirers of this
knowledge within this global order. The compulsory addition of EFL teaching in
Indonesia's curriculum for junior-secondary to tertiary level can be recognised as
the government's effort to empower the nation to hold its place in global
competitions in a range of industries. These discourses manifest themselves in
such a way that they select and prioritise what counts as EFL knowledge and the
possibilities made available for students' careers and the nation's global market.
Processes of policy translation or recontextualisation however are not straight
forward.
As policies are recontextualised from the site of official state discourse to the
pedagogic recontextualising site of the school and classroom, they undergo
ideological changes through shifts in power and control relations. Teachers, as

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agents of policy recontextualisation, often experience pedagogic dilemmas as they negotiate new policy directions within established practices. From a postcolonial perspective, many Muslims regard EFL as introducing non-Islamic Christian, secular, or capitalist values within schooling. Also, EFL teachers working in Islamic schools may consider that the moral codes implicit within EFL curriculum contradict the moral codes of Islam. The paper draws on interview and classroom-lesson data collected from four EFL Muslim teachers working in secondary schools in East-Java Indonesia. The analysis seeks to examine how these teachers manage pedagogic dilemmas as they recontextualise official state policies into the design and enactment of EFL curriculum. This study found that EFL teachers working in Islamic schools perceived EFL teaching as a 'tug-of-war': focusing on students' competences in English versus focusing on students' moral development.

Keywords: curriculum reform, EFL teachers, pedagogic discourse, professional identity.

Introduction: Developing students' morality through English language teaching

The English language skills of young people are perceived as vital to a nation's future competitive advantage. The increasing prominence of English as the language of science (Earls, 2016), industry, trade, and commerce (Worp, 2017) has caused it to be the first foreign language taught in many countries. Studies about English as a Foreign language (EFL) teaching have been conducted in many different contexts, such as in Korea (Yook & Lee, 2016), Mainland China (Li & Harfitt, 2017) and Japan (Harris, 2016), to exert efforts in obtaining desired learning outcomes.

Teaching in an EFL context, however, is not merely a matter of training students to acquire English. Rather, the essence of English teaching in the EFL context is permeated with moral significance (Buzzelli and Johnston, 2001). EFL programmes embody a *moral landscape* that is much denser than that of other teaching contexts because EFL classrooms incorporate the cross-cultural meeting of the target culture and

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the students' home culture (Akbari & Tajik, 2012). The goal of foreign language teaching is no longer limited to the acquisition of communicative competence but demands that language teachers teach the target language within its cultural dimension (Ortaçtepe, 2015). The interface of the two cultures significantly affects the moral dimensions of language teaching because an EFL teacher is responsible for facilitating learners' exposure to and possibly integration into the target culture while respecting their home cultures (Christian, 2011).

A review of the postcolonial literature identified dilemmas in EFL teaching arising because many Muslims regard the teaching of English as introducing non-Islamic Christian, secular or capitalist values (Powell, 2002). In this case, EFL teachers who work in Islamic schools may perceive that the moral codes of English contradict the moral codes of Islam. Besides looking for this potential dilemma, this current study also considers EFL teachers' discretion in choosing either to educate learners in such moral matters or to leave them in charge of their own moral development.

To understand how values and morality in curriculum are operationalised in Indonesia's EFL classes, this paper provides theoretical framework to explain the competing values in Indonesia's curriculum and EFL teachers' professional identities. Hence, the Indonesia's curriculum regarding EFL and character education as well as its school contexts are presented first.

Indonesia's EFL curriculum, character education curriculum and school contexts

In Indonesia, English is considered a core subject in the national curriculum alongside *Bahasa Indonesia,* the official Indonesian language. English has been taught in Indonesia from Grades 7 to 12 and at the tertiary level since 1960s (Lie, 2017). Further, students' English language abilities are assessed in national exams at all junior and senior

secondary schools regardless of school affiliation (Sulistyo, 2015). The inclusion of English in the national examination gives some indication of the importance that is currently ascribed to the subject.

In addition, the government initiated developments in the English curriculum following a series of reforms in the national curriculum. These developments have led to the changes in EFL teaching objectives, teaching content, teaching methods, and evaluations. The most striking feature was the change from a grammar translation pedagogy to a communicative language teaching approach (Lie, 2017). This change required teachers to adapt to new teaching methods and a new role, in which English teachers use more varied teaching methods to develop students' communicative competency.

In addition to the reform in English language teaching, the Indonesian government introduced the Character Education (CE) curriculum and charged all schools across Indonesia with implementing the curriculum by 2016. With the CE curriculum, Indonesia's Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) stipulated moral values and required educators at the school level to integrate these values into the school's vision and classroom activities (Qoyyimah, 2017). In terms of the selected values, Berkowitz and Bier (2005) argued that contemporary CE programmes should focus on teaching students specific values—such as caring, courage, equality, freedom, generosity, hard work, honesty, kindness, resiliency and respect—that help them think and behave ethically. In many cases, in addition to these values, specific societies choose other desired values to instil. Australia, for example, adds the ethic of a 'fair go' to its values education (Department of Education, Science and Training, 2005). Meanwhile, Indonesia has values (although not 'freedom' and 'equality') that are infused in its CE curriculum, along with additional values derived from Indonesia's culture, such as 'religiosity',

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'politeness', 'patriotism' and 'social awareness'. This consideration aligns with Smagorinsky and Taxel's (2005) argument that most CE programmes explicitly endorse instilling traditional values. Therefore, this paper presents how the CE curriculum intersects with and impacts English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers' professional identity.

Public and private Islamic schools in Indonesia

Schools in Indonesia are mainly established by the public and private sectors. Public schools are established and funded by the government, while private schools are owned and financed by a non-government organisation. Private schools in Indonesia have the direct authority to employ teachers. Junior secondary public and private schools in Indonesia account for 60% and 40% of student enrolment, respectively (Stern & Smith, 2016).

For Indonesian families, public schools are the first choice for secondary education. The public schools recruit students who meet their selection criteria. At least two criteria are used to assess student selection: the results of national examinations and the academic potential test. Meanwhile, most of Indonesia's private secondary schools are regarded as second-choice schools that mostly admit those who have been denied places at public schools (Qoyyimah 2017). Based on the selection criteria and families' choices, this study suggests that public schools in secondary education recruit students with considerably higher learning motivation than their peers at private Islamic schools.

In terms of curriculum, schools in the public and private sectors should teach the same core subjects, as stipulated by the MOEC. In addition to the MOEC's curriculum, however, private schools can offer additional subjects depending on the ideological alignment of its stakeholders (Leirvik, 2010). For example, if a private school is owned by an Islamic or Christian organisation, more curriculum time may be allocated to

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religious subjects than in the public schools. Therefore, most private Islamic schools tend to have longer school days. The afternoon sessions are used to teach religious knowledge (Islamic laws and the Arabic language) and for other extra-curricular activities to strengthen students' religious faith.

Given that teachers in private Islamic schools deal with non-selective student enrolment and their own strong Islamic values, it is interesting to hear how teachers describe their professional identity after the government's introduction of the CE curriculum. Accordingly, the next sections elaborate theories related to competing values in curriculum, teachers' professional identity, teachers' tensions regarding areas of responsibilities, and Bernstein's concept of instructional and moral discourses.

Theoretical Framework

Curriculum reform always entails internal competition among competing value sets within the central authority. Labaree (1997) outlined three competing values that influence curriculum reform. These competing values are initiated and championed by different groups in any one society; the state that expresses a politics of citizenship; the tax payer and the employer that express a politics of human capital; and the educational consumers who express a politics of individual opportunity. Labaree suggests that with the competing values within society, education is always vulnerable to change. This change involves conflict, contradiction and compromise to balance a curriculum's educational goals.

Therefore, a curriculum is never ideologically free because different agents are involved in its establishment and enactment. Recent curriculum policy has been driven by two competing imperatives or ideologies that are embedded in educational institutions themselves and in government rhetoric (Young and Muller, 2016). Competing imperatives exist between educational thought in the school context and government

policies. From the school's perspective, a government's intervention may be considered *an interruption* of the schools' autonomy.

The relationship between government policy and the school in curriculum matters has been conceptualised by Bernstein (2000) in his theory of pedagogic identity. With this theory, Bernstein describes the sources of values in a curriculum and elaborates the government policy and schools with reference to *centring resources* and *decentred resources*, respectively. Centring resources are generated by resources that are managed by the state; thus, they act to produce uniform outcomes or processes across the educational system. In contrast, decentred resources are generated and drawn from local contexts, which act to create divergent outcomes or processes.

From these two resources, Bernstein (2000) identified pedagogic identities, each with a distinct bias, foci and approach in regulating and managing moral, cultural and economic change by educational means. The identities that are pertinent to this study are *prospective pedagogic identities* (PI) *and retrospective pedagogic identities* (RI). PI 'is constructed to address cultural, economic and technological change' (Bernstein, 2000, p.67). PI corresponds with Labaree's idea of a politics human capital that 'a nation's economic well-being depends on its people's ability to prepare the young to carry out useful economic roles with competence' (1997, p.42). This identity is reflected in the growing importance of EFL subjects (Machmud, 2011) to Indonesian students. These discourses manifest themselves in such a way that the Indonesian state selects and prioritises what counts as EFL knowledge and the opportunities it presents for students' careers and the nation's global market. Meanwhile, RI is 'shaped by national religious, cultural, grand narratives of the past' (Bernstein, 2000, p.66). Bernstein found that RI was strong in contexts in which the past is threatened by change. RI could be illustrated by the inclusion of religious values or celebratory national citizenship in the curriculum.

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Therefore, the concept of RI in Indonesian curricula is evident because the CE curriculum is influenced by national history, religious and culture. The CE curriculum reflects RI because it is designed to prepare young learners to be good citizens through all subjects. Under these circumstances, PIs are shaped by implementing selective features of the past to defend or raise economic performance. This study is particularly interested in how EFL teaching and the CE curriculum, which embed two contradictory values, are practiced in pedagogic settings.

However, the processes of policy transition are not straightforward since teachers might be positioned in contradictory ways especially when their personal identity is opposed against the official prospective pedagogic identity (Exley, 2001). The processes of policy transition render the process of introjection that is experienced by teachers. The term introjection is one of the processes in which teachers separate the internalised object from a sense of the teacher's self (Singh, 2017). In this process, teachers may fluctuate, fragmentise, and shift pedagogic identity positions. As policies are introduced by state and then implemented by teachers in classroom, they undergo ideological changes through shifts in power and control relations. Teachers often experience dilemmas as they negotiate new policy directions within established practices.

Teachers' professional identity

Although pedagogic identity is shaped by the official state and influenced by competing values in the community, teachers' professional identity relates to their perception of the roles, duties, and services that they should present to others. Professional identity refers to 'what teachers themselves find important in their professional work' (Le Van Cahn, 2013, p.3). It is the belief that teachers have regarding what they need to do to be a good teacher (Marom, 2017; Olsen, 2016). Regarding curriculum change, professional identity relates to the ways that teachers respond to educational reform and

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how they think they should adapt the curriculum to their context (Canrinus, Helms-Lorenz, Beijaard, Buitink, & Hofman, 2012). Additionally, 'professional identity' and 'professional action' are strongly connected (Watson, 2006, p.510); therefore, who teachers think they are influences what they do in response to an educational policy (Gayton, 2016).

In addition to teachers' responses to the curriculum policy, Broadfoot, Osborn, Gilly and Pallet (1998) suggested that teachers' conceptions of their professional identities should also include their attempts to address 'general classroom realities' (p.265). Teachers may perceive good teachers as those who understand students and address their needs. Therefore, it is unfair if *good teacher* is determined merely by how well a teacher understands a curriculum policy without considering how well he/she understands the context.

Identity is socially constructed (Yuan, 2016; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston, & Johnson, 2005), as is teacher professional identity. Drawing from Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, Chi (2013) suggests that teachers' reflection on what they should do to implement a curriculum in classes is an inherently sociocultural practice. In this way, teachers understanding of their professional identity depends on the institution in which they were educated (Chi, 2013), their religion (White, 2014), their ethnicity (Arar & Ibrahim 2016), and the context in which they work, including their students' social class (Comber & Nixon, 2009).

A previous study found that in a non-Western context such as Indonesia, religion is a reason teachers give for why they entered the teaching profession; therefore, teachers perceive the teaching profession as religious devotion (Yuwono and Harbon, 2010). Such reasons inform and shape teachers' views on professional identity. Interestingly, the study also suggests that people who enter the teaching profession for reasons of religious

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devotion, regardless of their knowledge or academic qualifications, may face problems exercising professional judgement. However, despite the massive introduction of religious values in Indonesian schools and the classroom setting (Qoyyimah, 2016), research on how schools' religious affiliation shapes Indonesian teachers' identity is lacking.

Pedagogic discourse

In addition to morality in teaching, Bernstein's (2000) theory of pedagogic discourse argues that education aims not only to meet students' academic needs but also, and equally importantly, to shape students' conduct and behaviour towards a particular type of social order. From this stance, education is perceived as an institution for transmitting not only knowledge but also values that are rooted in certain ideologies within a society. Bernstein brings this idea into the classroom setting by introducing the concept of pedagogic discourse. For Bernstein, pedagogic discourse is a rule or device that embeds two discourses: an instructional discourse (ID) and a regulative discourse (RD) or moral discourse. In this view, pedagogic discourse is considered 'a discourse of skills of various kinds and their relations to each other, and a discourse of social order' (2000, p.31-32). Bernstein's concept of ID refers to what the curriculum transmits, while moral discourse refers to how the curriculum transmits it. Furthermore, Bernstein considers the moral discourse the dominant discourse because it 'creates the criteria which give rise to character, manner, conduct, posture' (p.34). Thus, Bernstein (2000) theorises pedagogic discourse as a single discourse that is double-sided. In this way, pedagogy can be defined as 'the complexity of relational, personal, moral, emotional aspects of teachers' everyday acting with the children or young people they teach' (Manen, 2001, p.136).

Bernstein articulates his regret when schools and classrooms distinguish between the transmission of skills and the transmission of values and when researchers purport to be 'thinking as if they are two' (2000, p.32). For Bernstein, pedagogy is misunderstood when it is considered to transmit knowledge only. Consequently, focusing *merely* on knowledge transmission in pedagogic discourse may also lead to a lack of empirical studies on moral discourse. Although RD 'creates the conditions of possibility for any pedagogical work' (Doherty 2016, p.64), it has received limited scholarly attention. The reason such research is lacking is that researching aspects of moral discourse is challenging because the discourse can become sublimated through class activities.

Such research challenges and misunderstandings should not outweigh the importance of researching moral discourse issues. The research on moral discourse can contribute not only to the development of teaching practice but also to an understanding of society at large, especially given that education is a major institution for the moral training or the *moral treatment* of youth (Durkheim, 1961). Therefore, pedagogy involves the formation of habits and dispositions that school children will carry into their lives beyond the classroom setting (Doherty, 2016).

Regarding teachers' responsibility for developing students' morality, Berlak and Berlak (1982, 2013) identified the teachers' dilemmas to increase understanding of the nature, depth, and dimensions of teachers' professional decisions and, therefore, teachers' professional identities. Berlak and Berlak's concept of the *whole child versus the child as student (Realm)* is used here to identify teachers' typical patterns of resolving dilemmas that relate to control over students. Using this concept, teachers' resolution patterns can be analysed in terms of two contrary tendencies: on the one hand, privileging the development of the whole child, and on the other hand, privileging the child as a student in the relevant discipline. Privileging the development of the whole child accepts

responsibility for controlling the wide range of student development, such as physical, aesthetic, social/emotional, and moral development and a broadly defined conception of the intellectual or cognitive realms. In contrast, privileging the child as a student in the relevant discipline limits responsibility to the areas that are viewed as most directly related to a particular school subject, in this case, English.

Teachers' reports of their dilemmas in the realm of control over students help this analysis to probe teachers' professional identity regarding the areas of responsibility that teachers are understood to have. The concept will be used to explore teachers' perceptions of their responsibilities in their students' development. When teachers consider children more as students, their focus is limited to their students' development in the subject that they teach. However, when teachers consider control more regarding the 'whole child,' their focus extends beyond the curricular domain to include moral development. In this paper, the concept of the area of responsibilities is applied to explore how the CE curriculum in Indonesia informs and impacts the sampled teachers' perception of their role as EFL teachers, as moral guardians, or as both.

Despite teachers' dilemmas regarding *the whole child versus child as student* that are identified by Berlak and Berlak, this paper suggests that EFL teachers' responsibilities involve both developing students' language competence and students' moral conduct. This framing helps us to understand EFL teachers' pedagogic practices when the Indonesian educational authorities drew teachers' attention to children's moral development through the CE curriculum.

Research designs

This study was designed as a qualitative study within the constructivist-interpretive paradigm. This paradigm assumes a naturalistic set of methodological procedures (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) that applies methods such as interviews and

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observation to understand social realities. The data were collected through semi-structured interviews (Kvale & Brickman, 2009) with EFL teachers. Classroom observations were conducted three times for each teacher to determine how the teacher behaves with a group of students during a lesson (Martinez, Taut, & Schaaf, 2016).

The EFL teacher participants were recruited from three public schools and three private Islamic schools to reflect various working conditions in Indonesia. Pseudonyms were used for all the participants and places. All state school teachers who were recruited in this study included Teachers A, B, C, and D. Meanwhile, Teachers E, F, G, H, and I worked for private Islamic schools. All teachers in the sample were Muslim, except Teacher C who was Christian. The greater number of Muslims in this sample reflected the greater number of Muslims than Christians in Indonesia's population.

As mentioned previously, the data that were collected in this study were interviews and observations. Although the EFL teacher participants were all bilingual to a certain degree, this study chose to conduct the interviews in Bahasa *Indonesia* as the participants' first language to allow more freedom of expression. After the interviews and observational data were collected, transcription and translation were undertaken, and the English version was interpreted and coded based on a thematic analysis.

In this case, deductive thematic analysis was applied by which the researchers prepared theoretically driven questions to generate the data. The data then were identified and coded based on the themes that were explored from the relevant theories (Boyatzis, 1998). The themes that were taken from theories are pedagogic identity, pedagogic discourse, instructional discourse and moral discourse, and *whole child versus child as a student* to hear teachers' reports in mapping their responsibilities. The typical questions include 'What makes a good teacher?' 'How would you describe your responsibilities as

an EFL teacher?' and 'Do you consider yourself a teacher of children or a teacher of English?'.

Data Analysis

This section reports on the data from the state school teachers first and the private Islamic school teachers second. The analysis addresses to what extent the CE curriculum informed teachers' professional responsibility. In this way, the teachers' beliefs about what makes a good teacher are explored because it indicates their sense of professional responsibility.

State school teachers: Extended areas of responsibility

Public school teachers were asked to describe their views on whether their intentions were aligned with both teaching English as a subject and a broader role as a moral guardian. Below is the excerpt from A.

> R: What makes a good teacher?
> A: I think a good teacher is one who can control the classroom, prepare interesting teaching materials and assess her students' progress. She must be ready to encounter any difficulty … At least she should anticipate and cope with different kinds of students.
> R: Do you consider yourself a teacher of children or a teacher of English?
> A: I feel I am a teacher of children. I am not an English teacher only. Outside the English classroom, I am always available when students need my assistance. I will help them as much as I can.

A suggested that a good teacher was one who could cope with multiple professional responsibilities. These included responsibilities not only for the curriculum but also for students' moral guidance. The preparation that is required to create interesting teaching materials indicated her focus on the subject that she taught. Additionally, her report that described a teacher's role beyond the classroom indicated a

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broad conception of a teacher's responsibilities. This teacher considered her responsibilities not only to relate to the classroom setting but also to extend beyond the classroom setting. In this way, the CE curriculum led to the teachers' dual-roles of EFL teacher and moral guardian.

Similar to A, the other state school teachers in the sample described such unlimited and pervasive roles. B described these roles more explicitly.

> R: Do you consider yourself a teacher of children or a teacher of English?
> B: I am a teacher of children. English is only what I teach. A teacher of children is more than that, could be everything—not only teaching English but teaching morality and values ...
> Rr: What makes a good teacher?
> B: A good teacher is one who is eagerly awaited for by her students. Students might love her subject, her methods of teaching or her fantastic teaching materials. An ideal teacher must be professional. I mean she must be well prepared, and her teaching must be in line with a good lesson plan.

B described her multiple foci, which included not only teaching English but also developing students' morality. She understood her responsibilities as an English teacher and moral guardian. However, B's criteria for a good teacher reflected her more particular concerns as a teacher of English. Despite morals and values, she was concerned with the core curricular responsibilities that are attached to English teaching such as presenting appealing teaching methods and teaching materials and preparing proper lesson plans.

In addition, the interview script, the observed classes confirmed teachers' efforts to present English classes that were enjoyable for the students. The vignette below shows teachers' efforts to embrace both language teaching and morality teaching as can be seen in C's classes:

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Day 2. Class 1. Teacher C introduced different activities to the class. She started the class by giving an explanation of the Recount genre and its language features. Then, she asked the students to form groups to play a 'sequencing game' by which she gave six pictures to each group. The group worked to sequence the pictures in accordance with the story she read. While she read the story, Teacher C reminded her class the language feature that was used in the story. She gave a present to the group who won the game. After that, C introduced a song related to the story. All the class sang the song after she displayed the lyrics on the whiteboard. This teacher then named the moral lessons taken from the story before she closed the EFL class.

In her observed classes, C provided different class activities such as singing a song, playing a game, and storytelling. The class found the EFL class interesting because all students participated actively in the class activities. Disruptive conduct caused by boredom and disorientation was not evident in C's classes. From the vignette, it can be concluded that C focused on developing English teaching materials and teaching morality in her EFL class.

All state school teachers in the sample had similar opinions regarding teacher's responsibilities, as reported by A, B, and C. They perceived that an ideal teacher should be concerned with students' broad moral development and students' English competency. They all reported that their priority to develop students' morality— as promoted by the CE curriculum—did not distract them from their core responsibility as English teachers. Therefore, despite reporting dilemmas regarding the demands of multiple responsibilities, they envisaged their professional responsibilities to encompass students' moral development beyond the classroom setting. The next section presents the private Islamic school teachers' description regarding their professional identity and its responsibilities.

Private Islamic school: English competence or moral development?

The teachers who worked in a private Islamic school were asked similar questions regarding their areas of responsibility. Likewise, all the sampled teachers in Islamic schools described their role as being first and foremost 'teachers of children'. In this case, all the private Islamic school teachers also emphasised developing morality as their professional priorities. G expressed such an opinion in the excerpt below.

> G: A good teacher is a teacher who understands her students. For example, as there are various kinds of students, teacher should understand them.
> R: Do you consider yourself a teacher of children or a teacher of English?
> G: Teacher of children. Being a teacher of children, I can be very close to students. They can discuss their problems with me freely, without feeling embarrassed. Then, with such a close relationship, I can guide them. I can teach them many things, including giving them reprimands to perform prayers. I mean, I am not only teaching English.

G considered her role as a teacher whose responsibility is attached to moral guardianship alongside teaching EFL. As a moral guardian, she observed herself as a consultant for students that enabled her to enhance students' moral development. The interview script also reported that this teacher considered developing students' religiosity as her duty. By her account, she attached greater importance to students' moral and spiritual development than their language competency.

H demonstrated such an opinion when she was asked what she thought made a good teacher.

> H: …A good teacher is one who can assist her students. If her students have problems, she will help them. There are many problematic students in this school, I mean, many students have family problems in this school. To me, a good teacher should become a parent to her students.

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H suggested that a good teacher would be concerned about students' psychological and moral development. She also reported the typical students in her school as problematic regarding family issues. In this sense, she described her role as a moral guardian to assist her students. In this case, the teacher overrode students' English language competency since she did not report any responsibility attached to the subject that she taught.

Therefore, the reason for H's thinking was her students' misbehaviour. Students' moral development was important to H given that she worked with problematic and misbehaved students. The excerpt below was H's explanation regarding her frustrations in working with disruptive classes.

> H: … Sometimes I pulled their ear when they kept being disrespectful. I did it since I found that reprimand and correction are no longer effective and useless. Last week, when I entered the classroom, they kept playing with their laptops instead, and {pause} the classroom was very dirty. When I asked them to put the litter in the bins, no one responded to my command. Therefore, I walked out.
> R: What occurred then?
> H: Students felt no guilt. They even made noise and played outside the classroom.

H spoke about her limited success in controlling her classes. By her report, she found difficulties in working with students, so she approached students in the form of admonishment, reprimand, physical punishment, or walking out. Despite such an approach, her students remained disruptive.

Other private school teachers also described students' insistent disruptive behaviours in their EFL classes and described a similar approach as their way of regulating these classes. It was evident in the observed classes that the teachers who worked in private Islamic schools faced greater difficulties in regulating their classes. Their classes were interrupted by disruptive students, confrontations, disorientations

(when students needed to be told what to do), and problematic 'liminal periods' (Lemke, 1997, p.45) when the class shifted from one activity to another and required direction to stay focused. A sample of the private school teachers' working conditions could also be seen in F's classes through the fieldnote below.

> In Day 3 Class 1, F taught students the Recount text. He started giving an explanation about the generic structure and language features of the Recount genre. He asked the students to compose a Recount text. During the class session, he encountered trouble episodes that interrupted teaching and learning activities. He confronted five different kinds of disruptive student behaviour, such as yelling, uncooperativeness, and loitering, that made him stop giving instruction. Instead, he was busy with giving reprimands to the disruptive students and the class. At last, F punished the disrupting students by asking them to leave the classroom.

The fieldnote that was taken from F shows the difficult conditions that are encountered by teachers in private Islamic schools. The disruptive classes and uncontrolled behaviour were so evident that the teacher could not focus on teaching the English language. F solved the problems by giving reprimands and punishing the disruptive students.

Unlike the public school teachers who perceived equal roles (EFL and morality), private Islamic school teachers suggested more concern about teaching morality since they emphasised their main roles as the moral guardians for problematic and misbehaving students. In addition to disruptive student behaviour, another reason underlined the teachers' professional judgement. In this case, private Islamic school teachers reported that EFL is a much less important subject to learn, as seen in F's report below.

> F:... I feel deepest in my heart that teaching English is not my priority. Rather, developing students' morality is my priority...For me, English is merely related to the material world. English does not have any effect on the students' future. Teaching good character, however, will last forever.... My mission is not to make them clever

in English because as I said before, it is such a materialistic dimension (as opposed to the spiritual dimension). Such materialistic dimension can be learned later when they are grown up. However, spirituality and religiosity must be first prioritised and cultivated.

F reported his own priorities on moral and spiritual development. He suggested EFL was a morally compromised and less important subject to students' futures. By F's account, he did not endorse the disciplinary field that he taught since he perceived EFL as merely related to the material dimension as opposed to the spiritual one. The distinction between the spiritual and material dimensions is strong in the Muslim community. In Islam, the 'spiritual dimension is always powerful' and loftier than the material dimension (Dhaoeuadi, 1993 p.157). F's invocation of this binary indicates how his religious beliefs informed his professional priorities. When he considered English to be only related to the material dimension, it suggested that he considered his attendance at EFL classes to be mere compliance.

The following is another example of such thought that was articulated by E.

E: For me, students would be better off learning Arabic or local languages.
R: What do you think about English?
E: English is not important to teach. It is such colonisation of our nation. It is embarrassing for me when I found students are really proud to speak English but could not even understand Javanese (as a local language). Although I am an English teacher, I think this is such a wrong way to build character.... Therefore, why should I teach them English? Students can learn English by themselves through the internet....

E described how he would prefer to take students' moral development as his professional priority rather than teaching EFL. This description also indicates a deep conflict between what he was teaching and what he thought he should be teaching. E considered EFL to be a morally compromised subject, which in some ways, undermined

his role as a moral guardian. According to him, English teaching is a part of Indonesia's colonialisation, and this could alter his students' views on the local language. He also suggests that EFL teaching contradicts the objectives of the CE curriculum.

Both E and F reported a particular dilemma in teaching English. They mentioned how it was merely professional obligation that drove them to teach EFL. These two teachers suggested that Muslim EFL teachers can feel compromised by teaching another culture's language and discomforted by how the tensions conflict with their religiosity.

By learning from the teachers' accounts, all the private Islamic school teachers in the sample described their responsibilities first as moral guardians who were concerned about students' emotional and spiritual realms, with less focus on the responsibilities of teaching English. In this way, the private Islamic school teachers tended to embrace their responsibilities to develop students' morality, while they were less concerned about their responsibilities to enhance students' English competence. Despite EFL being the subject that they taught, E and F articulated some dilemmas with EFL as a subject because, in their view, EFL did not align with their agenda in developing students' morality.

To better understand the contrast between the private Islamic school teachers and public school teachers, the following section presents the theoretical description of how these differences arise.

The breadth of teachers' professional responsibilities

From the analysis above, the government's CE curriculum in Indonesia has successfully invoked EFL teachers' awareness towards the importance of developing student morality. Teachers' focus on developing student morality aligns with the concept of pedagogic discourse that was stipulated by Bernstein (2000) who puts moral discourse as the dominant discourse in teaching activities. These teachers were concerned with the

broader moral responsibility that coheres with the intent of the CE curriculum. However, a significantly different proportion of priority areas is evident between the two different groups of teachers in Indonesia.

The public school teachers in the sample took responsibility for both the subject matter and students' moral development. These teachers reported that they were committed to enhancing students' EFL competence but recognized their responsibility for students' moral development. Using Berlak and Berlak's (1982, 2013) dilemmas in schooling, this study found that the teachers who worked in public schools reported broader responsibilities. The public school teachers incorporated both the whole child and the child as a student into their professional responsibilities. They accepted responsibility for controlling a wide range of student developmental domains, including the emotional, moral, and even spiritual realms, along with responsibility for developing students' English language competence.

However, despite the extension of the teacher's role to include two different responsibilities, private Islamic school teachers highlighted developing students' morality and behaviour as their priority. The teachers' concern focused on controlling students' emotions, spirituality, and morality at the expense of their responsibility for the child as a student of EFL. Figure 1 below illustrates the different realms of responsibility that were described by each group of teachers.
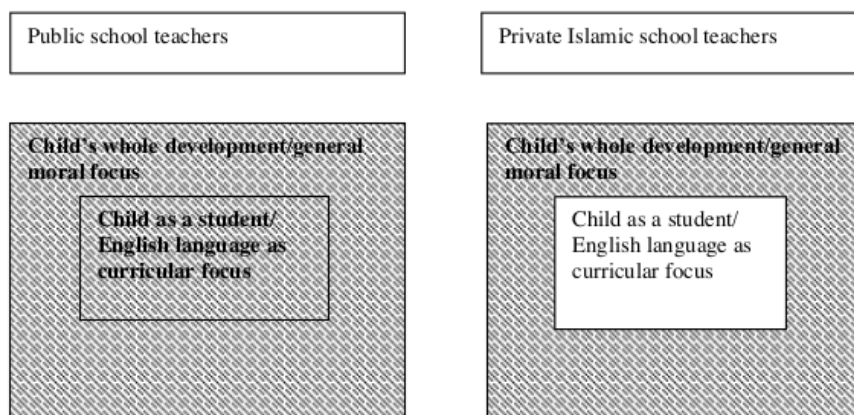
Public school teachers	Private Islamic school teachers
Child's whole development/general moral focus **Child as a student/ English language as curricular focus**	**Child's whole development/general moral focus** Child as a student/ English language as curricular focus

Figure 1 Teachers' areas of expressed responsibilities

Figure 1 visually maps how the public and private Islamic school teachers described their areas of professional responsibilities. The responsibilities of the public school teachers cover all the areas of students' moral development as well as their EFL competence. The private Islamic school teachers, however, typically limited their responsibility to their students' moral development.

This analysis suggests that the CE curriculum in Indonesia sits well with both sets of teachers and their sense of their professional responsibilities. In this way, all teachers in the sample described the whole-child mode of control and embraced students' moral development as an important responsibility. Using Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse, the teachers from public schools described more extensive responsibilities that were aligned with both aspects of pedagogic discourse: preparing engaging EFL classes in the IDs and developing students' morality and spirituality in the RD.

Meanwhile, the teachers in the religion-based schools reported different ways of mapping their professional identity. The schools' strong religious value informs teachers' personal belief—or otherwise—towards teaching the English language. These teachers reported being concerned more about students' moral and spiritual development than student competence in the EFL subject. Since these teachers did not define student language competence as their goal, the state's agenda and teachers' agendas are mismatched in projecting students. With the EFL and CE curriculum, the state aims to draw both PI and RI in the curriculum. The state requires that EFL instruction prepare students in future careers for nation global competitiveness and to prepare students to be good citizens. Teachers in private Islamic schools, however, project their students to be

more religious and respecting of local culture than to be properly prepared for nation's global competitiveness.

This analysis also suggests another rationale behind the decision that is made by Islamic schools' teachers alongside the schools' stronger religious base and teachers' beliefs. The teachers who work in this sector considered such an approach since they were working with many 'problematic' students with disruptive behaviour. Since moral or regulative discourse is dominant discourse (Bernstein, 2000), teachers' control over regulating classes should be the requisition for pedagogic discourse. When teachers struggle to regulate and control their classes, they find it difficult to commence the ID and teach English as amended by the curriculum. Therefore, they consider giving much more attention to students' disruptive behaviour than to teaching them the English language.

Turning to Bernstein's concepts of pedagogic discourse and Berlak's concept of *the whole child versus child as student*, these two concepts help this study to analyse how teachers' working conditions shape professional identity. When Bernstein suggests ID and RD as a single discourse, Berlak and Berlak identified as a conundrum teachers' focus on developing students' English competency and developing students' morality. Although the two concepts imply different foci in the operationalisation of subject competency and moral development in pedagogy, this study suggests that these two theories are not contradictory. Rather, they become important concepts for analysing teachers' professional identity. The sampled EFL public school teachers embrace two different realms of responsibility. Meanwhile, the Islamic schools' EFL teachers in the sample are caught in a tug of war by focusing either on student language competency or on students' moral development, especially when incorporating the cross-cultural meeting of the target culture and students' home culture.

To conclude, this study suggests that teachers' professional identity is socially constructed because identity is shaped by teachers' beliefs and the context that governs their practice. Teachers' professional identity then informs their curriculum implementation, which involves the process of introjection by which teachers fluctuate and shift official pedagogic identity positions. Although the official pedagogy prioritizes preparing students for global competitiveness and for social order, teachers might have a different viewpoint depending on their professional identities. In terms of the CE in EFL teaching, the participating teachers who worked in public schools reported having a more complex role that concentrated not only on students' moral development but also on their English competency. However, the private Islamic school teachers considered teaching morality more important than teaching English as a subject. Given that they worked at sites that were difficult in terms of lower student motivation, deep conflict about what they were teaching, and dilemmas regarding what they thought they should be teaching, the teachers who worked in Islamic schools used the CE curriculum to justify their professional identity as a moral guardian.

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